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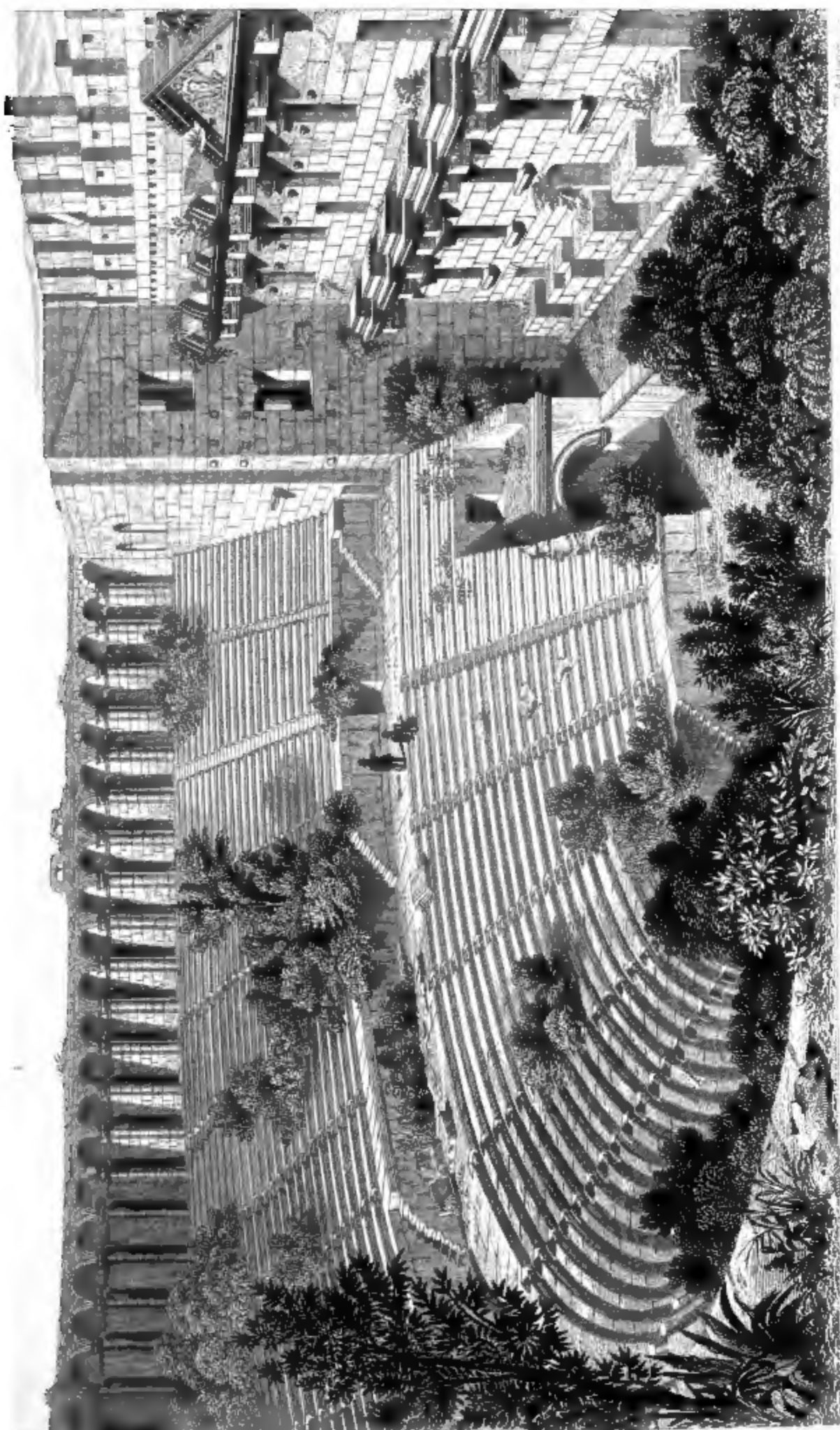












Theatre of Marcellus

THE  
THEATRE OF THE GREEKS,  
A TREATISE  
ON  
THE HISTORY AND EXHIBITION  
OF THE  
GREEK DRAMA,  
WITH VARIOUS SUPPLEMENTS.

BY  
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CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,  
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SEVENTH EDITION;

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE BEST ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

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TO  
WILLIAM BODHAM DONNE, ESQ.

HER MAJESTY'S LICENSER OF PLAYS,

*This Work*

IS INSCRIBED

AS A RECOGNITION OF HIS MANY VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

TO DRAMATIC CRITICISM, CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP,

AND GENERAL LITERATURE;

AND

AS A TRIBUTE TO THE GREAT MORAL WORTH,

THE GENUINE COURTESY,

AND THE UNAFFECTED KINDNESS,

WHICH HAVE ENDEARED HIM TO MANY

SINCERE FRIENDS.



## PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH EDITION.

---

**I**N this edition of the *Theatre of the Greeks* I have been, at last, permitted to deal with the book according to my own judgment, and I have been also allowed sufficient time for making those improvements which I deemed necessary. The result has been, that, instead of long extracts from other authors, preceded by an original introduction, the book is now substantially an independent treatise on the Greek Drama followed by about one hundred pages of supplementary matter. The following reasons will explain why I have felt myself compelled to make this change in the form and character of the work.

It seems to me, that the convenience of the student will be better consulted by placing before him a continuous discussion on the history and representation of the Greek Drama, than by giving him a certain amount of information in an introductory essay, and requiring him to go to Bentley and Schlegel for the most important details. With regard to Schlegel, the greater part of the extracts from his Lectures, which were incorporated in former editions of this work, consisted of an analysis of the different Greek plays; and as I have now introduced into my own treatise all that is necessary on



this head for the usual purposes of a student, I did not think it desirable to reproduce remarks, which, however acute and original, are rather slight in their texture and not always in accordance with the results of the most recent criticism. I have nevertheless retained many of Schlegel's more general observations, which are still very valuable and interesting, and have introduced these extracts as supplements to different chapters in my own treatise. With regard to Bentley, I should have been most reluctant to omit the passages from his *Dissertation on Phalaris*, had I thought that by so doing I should diminish the number of those who still make themselves acquainted with that admirable book. But those, who are likely to read the extracts, would be most likely to be attracted by the book itself; and I consider it of great importance, that as many students as possible should study *in extenso* a work, which not only constitutes an epoch in classical philology, but is the first example and origin of that historical criticism, which has produced and is still producing such important effects on our estimation of ancient literature in general. Accordingly, as the extension given to my own treatise and the expense incurred by the numerous illustrations rendered it necessary that some sacrifice should be made in the letter-press of the book, I have omitted Bentley, in the hope that he will be studied, independently of his contributions to the literary history of the Drama, by all who wish to become critics or scholars.

On the other hand, I have not only retained the translation of Aristotle's *Poetic*, on which I have bestowed some additional pains, but have also given extracts from Vitruvius and Julius Pollux, because it appeared that a complete introduction to a scholarlike study of the Greek drama ought to contain what

the ancients have written on the subject, the more so as I have made frequent references to these three sources of information.

The last part of the book, which gives an account of the language, metres, and prosody of the dramatists, is no longer a number of detached notes, but has assumed the form of a coherent disquisition. Mr Tate's essay, which is identified with this book and records the honest research of that successful and experienced teacher, has been retained out of respect for his memory, no less than on account of its practical value.

A prominent and distinctive feature of the present edition will be recognized in the numerous illustrations from the best ancient authorities, by which the details of a Greek theatrical performance are reproduced and rendered visible to the student. Some of these have been borrowed from Mr Rich's very useful *Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon*. The majority appear for the first time in an English book. With regard to the Theatre at Aspendus, which has done more than any ancient monument to substitute reality for conjecture in our notions of the ancient scene, it is to be regretted that Schönborn's photographs are not forthcoming; but Texier's views of the elevation and interior, which are here reproduced, are sufficient to give an adequate idea of the only ancient theatre which has come down to us without material dilapidations.

Thus remodelled and illustrated I venture to believe that the *Theatre of the Greeks* is now in harmony with the existing condition of our knowledge in regard both to Greek literature and to ancient art. It has at any rate assumed the form which I conceive to be most proper for such a work; and as I

hope that the study of the Greek Drama will never be altogether neglected by the countrymen of Shakespeare, I shall be glad to think that I have contributed something towards the pleasant and profitable cultivation of this important branch of classical learning.

J. W. D.

CAMBRIDGE, *September 20th*, 1860.

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## ERRATA.

- p. 255, line 4, for IV. 12 read VII. 6.  
 266, line 10 from bottom, for κόμμος read κομμός.  
 326, line 19, for ποιημάτων read παθημάτων.  
 352, last line but one from the foot, before *Tectum* supply 4.

## LIST OF PLATES.

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- PLATE 1. Ground Plan of the Theatre at Aspendus (to face p. 222).
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# PART I.

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A TREATISE

ON THE

HISTORY AND EXHIBITION

OF THE

GREEK DRAMA.





## BOOK I.

### *THE ORIGIN OF THE GREEK DRAMA.*

---

#### CHAPTER I.

#### THE RELIGIOUS ORIGIN OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

---

οὐ γὰρ τι νῦν γε κάχθεις, ἀλλ' αἶ ποτε  
ῥῆ ταῦτα, κούδεις αἶδεν ἐξ οὔτου 'φάνη.  
SOPHOCLES.

---

WE cannot assign any historical origin to the Drama. Resulting as it did from the constitutional tendencies of the inhabitants of those countries in which it sprang up, it necessarily existed, in some form or other, long before the age of history; consequently we cannot determine the time when it first made its appearance, and must therefore be content to ascertain in what principle of the human mind it originated. This we shall be able to do without much difficulty. In fact the solution of the problem is included in the answer to a question often proposed,—“How are we to account for the great prevalence of idol worship in ancient times?” For, strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless most true, that not only the drama, (the most perfect form of poetry,) but all poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture, and whatever else is beautiful in art, are the results of that very principle which degraded men, the gods of the earth, into grovelling worshippers of wood and stone, which made them kneel and bow down before the works of their own hands. This principle is that which is generally called the love of imitation,—a definition, however, which is rather ambiguous, and has been productive of much misunder-

standing<sup>1</sup>. We would rather state this principle to be that desire to express the abstract in the concrete, that "striving after objectivity," as it has been termed by a modern writer<sup>2</sup>, that wish to render the conceivable perceivable, which is the ordinary characteristic of an uneducated mind.

The inhabitants of southern Europe, in particular, have in all ages shown a singular impatience of pure thought, and have been continually endeavouring to represent under the human form, either allegorically or absolutely, the subjects of their contemplations<sup>3</sup>. Now the first abstract idea which presented itself to the minds of rude but imaginative men was the idea of God, conceived in some one or other of his attributes. Unable to entertain the abstract notion of divinity, they called in the aid of art to bring under the control of their senses the subject of their thoughts, and willingly rendered to the visible and perishable the homage which they felt to be due to the invisible and eternal. By an extension of the same associations, their anthropomorphized divinity was supposed to need a dwelling-place; hence the early improvements of architecture on the shores of the Mediterranean. His worshippers would then attempt some outward expression of their gratitude and veneration:—to meet this need, poetry arose among them<sup>4</sup>. The same feelings would suggest an imitation of the imagined sufferings or gladness of their deity; and to this we owe the mimic

<sup>1</sup> The German reader would do well to consult on this subject Von Raumer's Essay on the Poetic of Aristotle (*Abhandl. der Hist. Philologischen Klasse der Kön. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1828). We do not think Dr. Copleston's view of this subject (*Prælectiones Academicæ*, pp. 28 sqq.) sufficiently comprehensive.

<sup>2</sup> Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alterth.* II. 2, 113.

<sup>3</sup> See Wordsworth's *Excursion* (Works, v. pp. 160 foll.).

<sup>4</sup> Thus Strabo says, that "the whole art of poetry is the praise of the gods," ἡ ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ὑμνητικὴ. X. p. 468. (The word οὔσα, which is found in all the editions at the end of this sentence, has evidently arisen from a repetition of the first two syllables of the following word ὡσαύτως, and must be struck out. For the sense of the word ὑμνητικὴ, comp. Plato, *Legg.* p. 700 A.) And Plato, *Legg.* VII. 799 A, would have all music and dancing consecrated to religion. When Herder says (*Werke z. schön. Lit. und Kunst.* II. p. 82), "Poetry arose, not at the altars, but in wild merry dances; and as violence was restrained by the severest laws, an attempt was in like manner made to lay hold, by means of religion, on those drunken inclinations of men which escaped the control of the laws," he does not seem to deny the fact on which we have insisted, that religion and poetry are contemporaneous effects of the same cause; at all events, he allows that poetry was at first merely the organ of religion. And although V. Cousin endeavours to prove that religion and poetry were the results of different necessities of the human mind, he also contends that they were analogous in their origin. "Le triomphe de l'intuition religieuse est dans la création du culte, comme le triomphe de l'idée du beau est dans la création de l'art," &c. (*Cours de Philosophie*, p. 21, 2).

dances of ancient Hellas, and the first beginnings of the drama there.

But although art and religious realism have much in common even in their latest applications, we are not to suppose that all attempts to give an outward embodiment to the religious idea are to be considered as real approximations to dramatic poetry. All art is not poetry, and all poetry is not the drama<sup>1</sup>. Polytheistic worship and its concomitant idolatry are the most favourable conditions for the development of art in all its forms and applications. And conversely, those nations and epochs which have been most remarkable for the cultivation of a pure and spiritual religion have been equally remarkable for a prevalent distaste and incompetency for the highest efforts of art. In ancient times, we have the case of the Israelites: for many years they strove with varying success to resist the temptations to idolatry which surrounded them on every side, and left to Greece and modern Europe the greatest aid to abstract thought, in the alphabet which we still

<sup>1</sup> The view which we have taken in the text, of the origin of the fine arts, is, we conceive, nearly the same as that of Aristotle; for it appears to us pretty obvious that his treatise on Poetic was, like many of his other writings, composed expressly to confute the opinions of Plato, who taking the word *μίμησις* in its narrowest sense, to signify the imperfect counterfeiting, the servile and pedantic copying of an individual object, argued against *μίμησις* in general as useless for moral purposes. Whereas Aristotle shows that if the word *μίμησις* be not taken in this confined sense, but as equivalent to "representation," as implying the outward realisation of something in the mind, it does then include not only poetry, but, properly speaking, all the fine arts: and *μίμησις* is therefore useful, in a moral relation, if art in general is of any moral use. That he understood *μίμησις* in this general sense is clear from his *Rhetoric*, III. I, § 8: τὰ ὀνόματα μιμήματα ἐστὶν ὑπῆρξε δὲ ἡ φωνὴ πάντων μιμητικώτατον τῶν μορίων ἡμῶν διὸ καὶ αἱ τέχναι συνέστησαν, ἥ τε ῥαψωδία καὶ ἡ ὑποκριτικὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι. It was, however, as Schleiermacher justly observes (*Anmerkungen zu Platons Staat*, p. 543), not of art absolutely that Plato was speaking, but only of its moral effects; for doubtless Plato himself would have been most willing to assent to a definition of art which made it an approximation to or copy of the idea of the beautiful (comp. Plat. *Resp.* VI. p. 484 C); and this is only Aristotle's opinion expressed in other words. Von Raumer truly remarks in the essay above quoted, p. 118, "The παράδειγμα (*Poet.* XV. II, XXVI. 28), which Aristotle often designates as the object to be aimed at, is nothing but that which is now-a-days called the 'ideal,' and by which is understood the most utter opposite of a pedantic imitation." Herder also was fully aware that although Plato contradicts Aristotle in regard to the Dithyramb, he was speaking in quite a different connexion, "in ganz anderer Verbindung" (*Werke z. schön. Lit. u. Kunst.* II. p. 86). We may add, that our definition of *μίμησις* as a synonym for "art," which has also been given in direct terms by Müller (*Handb. der Archäol.* beginn.), "Die Kunst ist eine Darstellung (*μίμησις*) d. h. eine Thätigkeit durch welche ein Innerliches äusserlich wird," "Art is a representation (*μίμησις*), i. e. an energy by means of which a subject becomes an object" (comp. *Dorians*, IV. ch. 7, § 12), is the best way of explaining the pleasure which we derive from the efforts of the fancy and imagination, which, as has been very justly observed, is always much greater when "the allusion is from the material world to the intellectual, than when it is from the intellectual world to the material" (Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind*, I. p. 306).



employ. Yet we find that native art was, strictly speaking, non-existent among them. The few symbols which they employed in their early days were borrowed from Egypt or Chaldæa; and when, in the most flourishing epoch of their monarchy, their powerful and wealthy king wished to build a temple to the true God, he was obliged to call in the aid of his idolatrous neighbours the Tyrians<sup>1</sup>. Nay more, it would not be fanciful to connect the subsequent idolatry of Solomon with his patronage of the fine arts. It is remarkable, too, that the first trace of a dramatic tendency in the lyric poetry of the Israelites is visible in an idyll attributed to the same prince. And far as the book of Job is from any dramatic intention, the dialogues of which it mainly consists must be added to the many proofs which have been adduced of the comparatively modern date, and foreign origin, of that didactic poem<sup>2</sup>. Even the incomplete metrical system of the Hebrews, as compared with the wonderful variety and perfection of Greek prosody, must be regarded as furnishing supplementary evidence of the inartificial character and antimimetic tendencies of the early inhabitants of Palestine. So also in modern times, long after the drama had ceased to exhibit any traces of its original connexion with the rites of a heathen worship, and when it was looked upon merely as a branch of literature, or as an elegant pastime, in proportion as Christian nations adhered to or abhorred the sensual rites which the Church of Rome borrowed from heathendom, when it assembled its priest-ridden votaries within the newly-consecrated walls of a profane Basilica,—in the same proportion the drama thrived or declined, and, in this country, either inflicted vengeance on the hapless author of a *Histriomastix*, or concealed its flaunting robes from the austere indignation of *Smectymnus*.

To return, however, to the more immediate influences of polytheism and idolatry on the origination of the ancient drama, we observe that the dramatic art, wherever it has existed as a genuine product of the soil, has always been connected in its origin with the religious rites of an elementary worship<sup>3</sup>; that is, with those enthusiastic orgies which spring from a personification of the powers

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings vii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, *poetisch. Bücher des alten Bundes*, III. p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> In connexion with the Phallic rites of Hindostan and Greece, we may mention that in the South Sea Islands, at the time of Cook's second voyage, a birth was represented on the stage. See Süvern über *Aristoph. Wolken*, p. 63, note 6.

of nature. This was the case in India<sup>1</sup>, and in those parts of Italy where scenic entertainments existed before the introduction of the Greek drama. But in Greece this was so, not only in the beginning, but as long as the stage existed; and the circumstance, which gave to the Attic drama its chief strength and its highest charms, was its continued connexion with the state-worship of Bacchus, in which both Tragedy and Comedy took their rise. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by our knowledge of the fact that the drama of modern Europe, though derived from that of ancient Greece, exhibits no trace of its religious origin. The element which originally constituted its whole essence has been overwhelmed and superseded by the more powerful ingredients which have been introduced into it by the continually diverging tastes of succeeding generations, till it has at length become nothing but a walking novel or a speaking jest-book. The plays of Shakspeare and Calderon (with the exception, of course, of the *Autos Sacramentales* of the latter) are dramatic reproductions of the prose romances of the day, with the omission of the religious element which they owed to the monks<sup>2</sup>, just as the Tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles would have been mere epic dramas, had they broken the bonds which connected them with the elementary worship of Attica. But this disruption never took place. In ancient Greece the drama retained to the last the character which it originally possessed. The theatrical representations at Athens, even in the days of Sophocles and Aristophanes, were constituent parts of a religious festival; the theatre in which they were performed was sacred to Bacchus, and the worship of the god was always as much regarded as the amusement of the sovran people.

<sup>1</sup> "Like that of the Greeks, the Hindu drama was derived from, and formed part of, their religious ceremonies." *Quarterly Rev.* No. 89, p. 39. The comparative antiquity of the Greek and Indian drama is regarded very differently by the most eminent orientalists. For while Weber thinks it "not improbable that even the use of the Hindoo drama was influenced by the performance of the Greek dramas at the courts of Greek kings" (*Indische Skizzen*, p. 28), Lassen will not allow such an origin of the Indian drama, which he considers to be of native growth (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 1157). Even supposing however that the Indian drama was as old as the time of Asoka II. (*Asiat. Res.* XX. p. 50; Lassen, II. p. 502), it is admitted (Lassen, I. 616, 625; II. 507) that Krishna, who stood in intimate connexion with the origin of the Hindoo theatre, was specially worshipped in the Saurasenic or eastern district (Arrian, *Ind.* VIII. 5), and there is every reason to believe that he was an imported deity; so that the Indian stage, even if aboriginal, may have derived its most characteristic features from the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Malone's *Shakspeare*, Vol. III. pp. 8 sqq.; Lessing, *Geschichte der Engl. Schaubühne* (Werke, XV. 209).

This is a fact which cannot be too strongly impressed upon the student: if he does not keep this continually in view, he will be likely to confound the Athenian stage with that of his own time and country, and will misunderstand and wonder at many things which under this point of view are neither remarkable nor unintelligible. How apt we all are to look at the manners of ancient times through the false medium of our every-day associations! how difficult we find it to strip our thoughts of their modern garb, and to escape from the thick atmosphere of prejudice in which custom and habit have enveloped us! and yet, unless we take a comprehensive and extended view of the objects of archæological speculation, unless we can look upon ancient customs with the eyes of the ancients, unless we can transport ourselves in the spirit to other lands and other times, and sun ourselves in the clear light of bygone days, all our conceptions of what was done by the men who have long ceased to be, must be dim, uncertain, and unsatisfactory, and all our reproductions as soulless and un instructive as the scattered fragments of a broken statue<sup>1</sup>. These remarks are particularly applicable to the Greek stage. For in proportion to the perfection of the extant specimens of ancient art in any department, are our misconceptions of the difference between their and our use of these excellent works. We feel the beauty of the remaining Greek dramas, and are unwilling to believe that productions as exquisite as the most elaborate compositions of our own playwrights should not have been, as ours were, exhibited for their own sake. But this was far from being the case. The susceptible Athenian,—whose land was the dwelling-place of gods and ancestral heroes<sup>2</sup>,—to whom the clear blue sky, the swift-winged breezes, the river fountains, the Ægean gay with its countless smiles, and the teeming earth<sup>3</sup> from which he believed his ancestors were immediately created, were alike instinct with an all-pervading spirit of divinity;—the Athenian, who loved the beautiful, but loved it because it was divine,—who looked upon all that genius could invent, or art execute, as but the less unworthy offering to his pantheism<sup>4</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> See some good remarks on this subject in Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. I. p. 92, and in his letter to Count Adam Moltke (*Lebensn.* Vol. II. p. 91).

<sup>2</sup> Hegesias ap. Strab. IX. p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Æsch. *Prom.* V. 87—90.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Grote remarks (*Hist. of Greece*, VIII. p. 444), with special reference to the Athenian drama, that “there was no manner of employing wealth, which seemed so appropriate to Grecian feeling, or tended so much to procure influence and popularity

considered all his festivals and all his amusements as only a means of withdrawing the soul from the world's business, and turning it to the love and worship of God<sup>1</sup>, how could he keep back from the object of his adoration the fairest and best of his works?

We shall make the permanent religious reference of the Greek drama more clear, by showing with some minuteness how it gradually evolved itself from religious rites universally prevalent, and by pointing out by what routes its different elements converged, till they became united in one harmonious whole of "stateliest and most regal argument<sup>2</sup>."

The dramatic element in the religion of ancient Greece manifested itself most prominently in the connected worship of Apollo, Demeter, and Dionysus. Thus at Delphi, the main seat of the Dorian worship of Apollo, the combat with the serpent, and the flight and expiation of the victorious son of Latona, were made the subject of a representation almost theatrical<sup>3</sup>. And Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that Eleusis represented by torch-light the rape of Proserpine, and the wanderings and grief of her mother Demeter, in a sort of mystic drama<sup>4</sup>. Dionysus, who was worshipped both at Eleusis and at Delphi<sup>5</sup>, was personated by the handsomest young men who could be found, in a mimic ceremony at the Athenian Anthesteria, which represented his betrothal to the wife of the King Archon<sup>6</sup>; and there were other occasions, quite unconnected with theatrical exhibitions, in which the Bacchic mythology was made the subject of direct imitation<sup>7</sup>. But it was not in these forms of worship that the Attic drama immediately originated, however much it may have been connected with them in spirit. The almost antagonistic materials of Dorian and oriental mythology had to seek their common ground, and the lyric chorus of the Dorians had to combine itself with the epos of the Ionian rhapsode,

to its possessors, as that of contributing to enhance the magnificence of the national and religious festivals."

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, X. p. 467: ἡ τε γὰρ ἀνεσις τὸν νοῦν ἀπάγει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀσχολημάτων, τὸν δὲ ὀντως νοῦν τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.

<sup>2</sup> Milton's Prose Works, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.* II. p. 202, Wyttēb.; *De Defect. Orac.* II. pp. 710, 723, Wyttēb.

<sup>4</sup> *Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 12, Potter.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *de EI Delphico*, p. 591, Wyttēb.: τὸν Διόνυσον, ᾧ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν.

<sup>6</sup> Demosth. *in Neær.* pp. 1369, 70; Plutarch, *Nic.* c. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.* II. p. 228, Wyttēb.

before such a phenomenon as the full-grown Tragedy of Æschylus could become possible. We see these ingredients standing side by side, like oil and vinegar, and not perfectly fused<sup>1</sup>, in the first Attic tragedy which we open. It is the business of the following pages to point out how they came together.

In order to do this in a satisfactory manner, we must constantly bear in mind the important statement of Aristotle<sup>2</sup>, that "both Tragedy and Comedy originated in a rude and unpremeditated manner; the first from the leaders of the Dithyrambs, and the second from those who led off the Phallic songs." To reconcile all our scattered information on the subject with this distinct and categorical account of the beginning of the Greek drama, we must in the first place confine ourselves to Tragedy. We must see how the solemn choral poetry of the Dorians admitted of a union with the boisterous Dithyramb, which belonged to the orgiastic worship of an exotic divinity. And, we must inquire how the leaders of this lyrical and Dorized Dithyramb became the vehicles of the dramatic dialogues in which the Tragedy of Athens carried on the development of its epic plots. We shall then be able without much difficulty to consider the case of Comedy, which exhibited in its older form the unmitigated ingredients of the noisy Phallic Comus.

The following, therefore, will be the natural succession of the topics, to which we are invited by an inquiry into the origin of the Greek drama. As its first beginnings are to be sought in a form of religious worship, we must endeavour to ascertain at starting what was the nature of the system which gave rise to a ceremonial capable of dramatic representation. It has been mentioned generally that the religion, which produced the drama, is essentially connected with the worship of the elements, and that the Greek drama in particular manifests itself in the cognate worship of Apollo, Demeter, and Dionysus. It will therefore be our first business to show that the Greek worship of these deities was implicitly capable of producing, and in fact did produce, both the solemn chorus of Tragedy, and the Phallic extravagances of the old Comedy of Athens. As however this comic drama, though expressing more

<sup>1</sup> Æschyl. *Agam.* 322:

Ὅξος τ' ἀλειφά τ' ἐγχείας ταύτῳ κύτει,  
Διχοστατοῦντ' ἄν, οὐ φίλω, προσενέποις.

<sup>2</sup> *Poet.* c. iv. ; below, Part II.

plainly than Tragedy the original form and the genuine spirit of the religion of Bacchus, borrowed its theatrical attire from the completed Tragedy of Æschylus, we must trace the development both of the tragic chorus and of the tragic dialogue before we can speak of Athenian Comedy and its varieties; and we shall find that the latest form of ancient Comedy, while it approximates to the drama of modern Europe, in the machinery of its plot and incidents, derives its leading characteristics from the last of the great tragedians, and not only discards all allusions to the Phallic origin of the Comus, but even evades a direct reference to the religious festivals with which it was formally connected. Accordingly, the order, in which we propose to treat the subject, will both exhaust the materials at our disposal, without incurring a risk of repetition, and will present the facts connected with the growth of the Greek drama in the legitimate order of cause and effect, and in accordance with the laws of their historical development.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE CONNECTED WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS, DEMETER AND APOLLO.

δεῦτ' ἐν χορῶν, Ὀλύμπιοι,  
ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί.

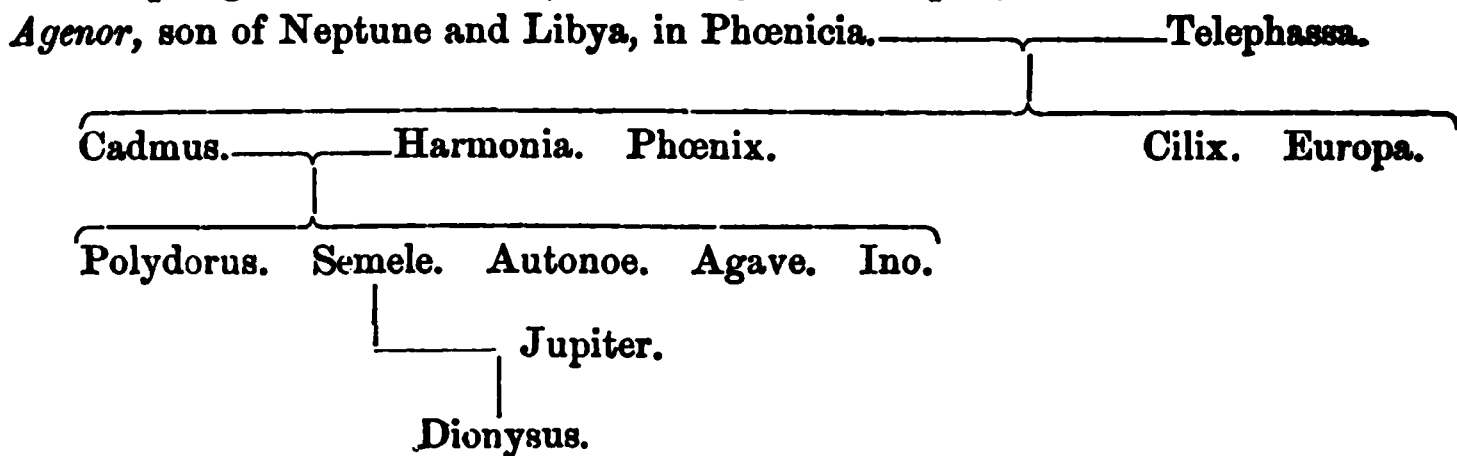
PINDAR.

WHATEVER opinion may be entertained respecting the indigenous character of other Greek deities, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the worship of Dionysus or Bacchus was of oriental origin, and that it was introduced into Greece by the Phœnicians, who, together with the priceless gift of the Semitic alphabet, imparted to the Pelasgian inhabitants of the Mediterranean coasts a knowledge of those forms of elementary worship which were more or less common to the natives of Canaan and Egypt. The mythical founder of Thebes, the Phœnician Cadmus, is connected with both of these innovations. For while he directly teaches the use of letters<sup>1</sup>, it is his daughter Semele, who, according to the tradition, in B.C. 1544 gives birth to Dionysus, the Theban wine-god<sup>2</sup>. The genealogy of Cadmus connects him not only with Phœnicia, but also with Egypt, Libya, Cilicia, and Crete<sup>3</sup>. And the historical interpretation of the legend is simply

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 58; Diod. III. 67, v. 57; Plin. *H. N.* VII. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. II. 145. According to Herodotus, II. 49, Cadmus himself was a worshipper of Dionysus, and taught this religion to Melampus.

<sup>3</sup> The pedigree is as follows (Creuzer, *Symbol.* IV. p. 8):





this, that the Phœnician navigators, who visited every part of the Mediterranean, carrying their commerce and their language to the distant regions of Spain and Britain, succeeded, after some opposition, in establishing their own worship on the main land of northern Greece about the middle of the sixteenth century before our æra.

In order that we may understand the true and original character of a religion, which the plastic fancy and eclectic liberalism of the Greeks modified by an intermixture of heterogeneous elements, it will be necessary to consider the forms of faith and worship, which were cultivated by the Phœnicians and other Semitic tribes in the country from which they set forth on their voyages for the purposes of commerce or colonisation.

Among the Semitic nations, as in all the most ancient communities of men, the Sun and Moon were the primary objects of adoration<sup>1</sup>. The Sun, on account of his greater power and brightness<sup>2</sup>, was worshipped as a male divinity under some one of the names *Bel* or *Baal*, and *Melek*, *Molech*, *Moloch*, *Milkom*, or *Malchan*, signifying "Lord" or "King" respectively<sup>3</sup>. The Moon, with her weaker light and the humidity which accompanied the period of her reign, was regarded as a female deity<sup>4</sup>, and worshipped as *Asherah*, the goddess of prosperity<sup>5</sup>, or *Astarte*, the bright star of heaven<sup>6</sup>. Each of these deities had its cheerful, as well as its gloomy aspect. The Sun, which ripens the fruit, also burns up vegetation. He is the god not only of generation but also of destruction. The Moon, which gives the fertilizing

<sup>1</sup> The attributes and worship of these Semitic deities have been well discussed by F. W. Ghillany, *die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*, Nürnberg, 1842, pp. 118 sqq. See also F. Nork, *Biblische Mythologie*, Stuttgart, 1842, Vol. I. pp. 12—137.

<sup>2</sup> Macrob. *Saturn.* I. 21, 12: *significantes hunc deum solem esse, regalique potestate sublimem cuncta despicere, quia solem Jovis oculum appellat antiquitas.*

<sup>3</sup> See *New Cratylus*, § 479. That the sun-god was a king was an idea familiar to the Greeks also. Thus Æschylus, *Persæ*, 228: *τῆλε πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἀνακτος Ἑλίου φθινασμάτων.*

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* c. 53; Macrob. *Sat.* I. 17, 53.

<sup>5</sup> *𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤓* from *𐤁𐤏𐤓* "to be happy," = *ἡ μακάρα*. Fuerst, however (*Handwörterb.* I. p. 155), renders it *socia*, *conjux*, i.e. of *Baal*, as the Phœnician *𐤁𐤏𐤓* (*Osir*) "the husband," is an epithet of the male god.

<sup>6</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 1083: "nil fere dubito quin *𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤓* idem sit quod *𐤁𐤏𐤓*, *stella*, κατ' ἐξοχήν *stella Veneris*, ita ut *Ἀστροδόρχη*, quomodo *Astarte* appellatur (Herodian. 5, 6, § 10), etymon bene referat." That *Astarte* was the Moon is distinctly stated by Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 4: *Ἀστάρτην δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἐμμεναί.* And this is shown by her representation as a horned goddess: see the passages quoted by Gesenius, *l. c.*



dew, is also the goddess of the dark hours of night from which she regularly withdraws from time to time her silver light. This division of attributes favoured the introduction of the other planets (for the Sun and Moon were classed with the planets) into the cycle of the deities to be worshipped. In his benignant aspect the Sun was occasionally represented by Jupiter<sup>1</sup>; as a malignant god he was generally superseded by Saturn<sup>2</sup>, though Mars assumed some of his functions as hostile to the human race<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, Astarte was as often represented by the planet Venus as by the Moon<sup>4</sup>. If Mercury played any part at all it was as a subordinate and inferior manifestation of goodness<sup>5</sup>. In their supposed order of distance from the earth, the seven so-called planets were arranged as follows: Saturn, the most distant, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon. And assigning each of the 24 hours of the day and the night to a repeated series of the planets in this order, they found that if the first hour of a particular day was assigned to Saturn, the first hour of the following day would belong to the Sun, of the next day to the Moon, and so on in the order preserved to our times by the names of the days of the week<sup>6</sup>. According to the Semitic mode of viewing the supremacy of the distant and gloomy Saturn, the seventh and last day was consecrated to him<sup>7</sup>, and when it was discovered that the number six was a perfect number, it was inferred that no other period could be assigned to the creation of all things under his auspices<sup>8</sup>. On the seventh day therefore the

<sup>1</sup> Phaethon was both Jupiter and the Sun. Cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* II. 20; Athenaeus, VII. p. 326 B; Horat. 2 *Carm.* XVII. 22: *te Jovis impio tutela Saturno refulgens eripuit*. Cf. Jul. Firmicus, p. 328. This opposition between Jove and Saturn is preserved in our adjectives "Jovial" and "Saturnine," derived from the Neo-Platonic school.

<sup>2</sup> Propert. IV. 1, 84; Lucan, I. 650; Tac. *Hist.* V. 4; Juv. VI. 369; Manetho, III. 245: *Κρόνου βλαβεράγχεος ἀστήρ*.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Am.* I. 8, 29: *stella tibi oppositi nocuit contraria Martis*.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, *de Natur. Deor.* III. 23; Phil. Bybl. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* I. 10; Theodoret, III. *Reg. Quæst.* 50; Augustin, *Qu. in Jud.* VII.; Suidas, s. v. Ἀστάρτη.

<sup>5</sup> Mercury is regarded as the messenger of the supreme deity, because he is nearest to the Sun and of equal apparent velocity (Cicero, *de Natur. Deor.* II. 20 ad fin.; *Tim.* c. 9, p. 505; *de Rep.* VI. 17, § 17). He was often identified with Apollo (Macrob. I. 19, 16) or with the Sun (*ibid.* 8).

<sup>6</sup> Dio Cassius, XXXVII. 19, p. 137, Bekker. The passage is translated at length in the *Philol. Mus.* I. pp. 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Creuser, *Symbol.* II. p. 186. We find the same number sacred to Apollo and Dionysus, who are other forms of the sun-god; Creuser, I. I. IV. p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> It seems clear that in the opinion of Plato, who echoed Pythagorean and Heraclitean theories more immediately derived from the last, the θεῖον γεννητόν, or the

priests clothed in black made an offering to Saturn in his black six-sided temple<sup>1</sup>. Similar offerings were made to the planets Mars and Jupiter on the third and fifth days of the week. But although these specialities of planetary worship appeared in the religious systems of most of the Semitic tribes, these nations were always ready to fall back on the general worship of the Sun and the Moon, the latter being also regarded as the goddess of the Earth; and while the former presided over all the modifications of the rites sacred to Baal or Moloch, the latter appears as his correlative in all that was either savage or lascivious in his peculiar worship.

As a malignant deity, or more specifically as Moloch, the sun-god is tauriform<sup>2</sup> and is appeased by the offering of human victims<sup>3</sup>. In the same capacity his sister deity, whether representing the Moon or the Earth, has the head of a cow<sup>4</sup>, and is always connected, in the oldest forms of her worship, with the same horrid rites. It is very interesting to trace this Semitic development of the idea that the Divine Being is wroth with man and is best appeased with the blood of his noblest creature, as it spreads itself along the Mediterranean till it is checked every where by the purer humanity and juster sentiments of the Greeks<sup>5</sup>. Both in Palestine and at Carthage Moloch was represented by a metal figure either human with a bull's head or entirely bovine, in which the human victims, generally children, were burnt alive<sup>6</sup>. There can be no doubt that the brazen bull of Phalaris at Agrigentum was a remnant of Carthaginian or Phoenician worship established there<sup>7</sup>, and that the burning of human victims, inaugurated by Perillus, was due rather to the Semitic worship than to the arbitrary cruelty of a tyrant, whose name, though treated with living

world (*de Anim. Procr. in Tim.* 1017C, p. 142, Wytténb.), was indicated by a period which was represented by the perfect number 6, the human creation, or the state, being represented by a series of arithmetical calculations based on this (*Plat. Resp.* p. 546; see our interpretation of the passage, *Trans. of Philol. Soc.* Vol. I. No. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Commentar. über d. Jesaia*, II. p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnal.* I. 21, § 20.

<sup>3</sup> Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 315 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See the figure in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1083, and comp. *New Cratylus*, § 470.

<sup>5</sup> Creuzer, *Symbol.* II. 447.

<sup>6</sup> See the passage quoted from B. Jarchi, *ad Jer.* VII. 31, by Winer, *Realwörterb.* s. v. *Molech*; the well-known description in Diodor. Sic. XX. 14; and the passage translated from *Jalkut* in Hyde, *Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> See J. E. Ebert, *Σικελ.* I. I, pp. 41—106, quoted by Creuzer, *Symbol.* II. p. 447; and Ghillany, *Menschenopf.* p. 226.

abhorrence by Pindar<sup>1</sup>, is perhaps as mythical as that of Busiris<sup>2</sup>. The fact that this bull was afterwards recognized at Carthage clearly proves its Semitic origin and religious use<sup>3</sup>. The rescue of Athens from the worshippers of Moloch in Crete is described mythically as the slaying by Theseus of an ox-headed Minotaur, to whom the Athenians were obliged to send every nine years a tribute of *seven* youths and *seven* maidens, the sacred number of the Semitic Saturn<sup>4</sup>. Hercules similarly liberates the Italians from their thralldom to the semi-aurine<sup>5</sup> Cacus, who murdered men in a cave or grotto corresponding to the Cretan labyrinth<sup>6</sup>. The man of brass called Talos, who haunted both Crete and Sardinia, and slew strangers in his red-hot embraces, is another form of the image of Moloch<sup>7</sup>. Nor was the female goddess without her share in these homicidal rites. The Europa or broad-faced moon, who is borne on the back of a bull to the Minotaur's island Crete, is the same deity as the Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλη of the coasts of the Euxine<sup>8</sup> to whom strangers were sacrificed. The interrupted sacrifice of Iphigenia points to the prevalence of such a rite in her worship. And the name Ὀρθωσία, or Ὀρθία, which was given to this goddess in Lemnos and elsewhere, undoubtedly referred to the loud wailings of her victims, for which the floggings of the Spartan youth were a sort of compromise<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Pyth.* I. 95: τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκῆν καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντὰ φάτις, where he is contrasted with the φιλόφρων ἀρετὰ of Croesus.

<sup>2</sup> The tradition that Phalaris feasted on children (*Aristot. Eth. Nic.* VII. 5, § 2) clearly identifies him with Moloch. It is not improbable that even the name Φάλαρις may be connected with the Bacchic attributes Φαλῆς and Φάλλος (i. e. with the Semitic מִלְכָּם and מִלְכָּה), and that he is merely himself a representative of the Διώνυσος Ταυροκέρως. If so, it will be a curious reflection that historical criticism arose in a controversy respecting the authenticity of some highly rhetorical epistles in Attic Greek attributed to this imaginary personage!

<sup>3</sup> See Cicero, *in Verrem*, IV. 33.

<sup>4</sup> That the Minotaur was an object of worship is clear from the representation on a vase, which exhibits the monster as about to sacrifice the seven Athenian maidens on an altar (*Böttiger, Ideen zur Kunstmyth.* Taf. v.). The names of Pasiphae, the mother, and Ariadne-Aridela (Ἀριδήλαν, τὴν Ἀριάδην Κρήτης, *Hesych.*), the sister of the Minotaur, point to his true character as a form of the Sun-god.

<sup>5</sup> Virgil (*Æn.* VIII. 192) merely calls him *Semihomo*, but we may supply the other half by a reference to Ovid's description of the Minotaur as *Semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem* (2 *Ar. Am.* v. 23).

<sup>6</sup> When he is called the son of Vulcan, and is said to breathe forth fire, the reference is no doubt to the brazen statue of Moloch.

<sup>7</sup> *Apollod.* I. 9, § 26.

<sup>8</sup> Kenrick, *On Herodotus*, II. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Creuzer, *Symbol.* II. 528.

Now it appears that Dionysus or Bacchus, the latter name and its synonym Iacchus referring to the outcries attending his worship, first appeared to the Greeks as a tauriform sun-god appeased by human victims<sup>1</sup>. As late as the classical days of the Greek drama it was customary to address him as appearing in the shape of a bull, or at least with the horns of that animal<sup>2</sup>. And many of his epithets pointed to the human blood which was shed at his altars. He was called Ὠμάδιος or Ὠμοφάγος, because he had human sacrifices at Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos<sup>3</sup>, and his name Ζαγρεύς is best explained by a similar reference<sup>4</sup>. Persian prisoners were solemnly offered up to him on the day before the battle of Salamis<sup>5</sup>. The Delphic oracle sanctioned the yearly sacrifice at Potniæ in Boeotia of a beautiful boy to Dionysus, until, as in the story of Iphigenia, a kid was substituted for the victim<sup>6</sup>. At the feast called Σκίεργα, a scourging of women took the place of the human sacrifice to Dionysus at Alea in Arcadia, in the same way as the boys were whipped rather than slain in honour of Artemis Orthosia<sup>7</sup>.

The Semitic sun-god and his Greek representative Dionysus were not only worshipped under the form of a wrathful and cruel Moloch, to whom the blood of human victims was an acceptable and even necessary offering. He appeared also as the god of generation and reproduction, as the cause both of human life, and of that annual growth of the fruits of the earth<sup>8</sup>, by which human life

<sup>1</sup> See the passages quoted by Ghillany, *Menschenopf.* p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bacchæ* of Euripides (1008) the chorus says to the god: φάγηθι ταῦρος, and we have in 1149: ταῦρον προσηγητήρα συμφορὰς ἔχων. In the festival of Dionysus of Elis, he was greeted as ἄξιε ταῦρε, and invited to come βοέω ποδί, i.e. with a blessing (Creuzer, *Symbolik*, II. p. 204, IV. p. 56); and similarly he is bidden to approach καθαρίω ποδί in Sophocles, *Antig.* 1143. The authority for the Elean usage is Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* xxxvi., who gives the hymn addressed to Bacchus by the Elean women as follows: ἐλθεῖν ἥρω Διόνυσσε ἄλιον ἐς ναὸν ἀγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοέω ποδί θύων· εἶτα δις ἐπάδουσιν· ἄξιε ταῦρε. He adds the question, πόττερον ὅτι καὶ βουγενῇ προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ ταῦρον τὸν θεόν. Euripides defines Bacchus as ταυρόκερως θεός (*Bacch.* 100): and he was also called ταυρόμορφος, βούκερως, κερασφόρος, κερατοφυής, χρυσόχερως, and the like. See on this subject F. Streber's elaborate paper, *Ueber den Stier mit dem Menschengesichte auf dem Munzen von Unteritalien und Sicilien*, *Munich Transactions* for 1837, II. pp. 453 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Porphy. *de Abst.* II. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Creuzer, *Symbol.* IV. pp. 96 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Themist.* c. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IX. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Id. VIII. 23.

<sup>8</sup> With reference to the functions of Dionysus as the god of all ripe fruits, Plato calls the γενναία ὀπώρα, or fruits which may be eaten from the trees, as distinguished from the ἀγροῖκος ὀπώρα, or fruits intended for ulterior applications, by the somewhat strange designation of παιδιὰ (not παιδεῖα) Διονυσίας ἀθησαύριστος (*Legg.* 844 D). Hence Bacchus is called δένδριτης; Plut. *Qu. Sympos.* p. 675 F; Athen. III. 78 B.

was sustained, above all, as the giver of the grape, which made glad the heart of man, and stimulated him to all that was pleasant and joyous. In this capacity, he was worshipped in his Semitic home as *Baal-Peor*<sup>1</sup>; in Byblus, and other Semitic cities, he bore the name of *Adonis*<sup>2</sup>; and the Jews called him also *Thammuz*, from the name of the month July, in which his worship, as that of the glowing and triumphant Sun, was more especially celebrated<sup>3</sup>. In some parts of Asia Minor the Sun, as the fructifying principle, was worshipped as Priapus<sup>4</sup>, and though this deity was really another form of Dionysus, one of the mythological legends made him the son of Venus, and a doubtful father, either Dionysus or Adonis<sup>5</sup>. In Palestine, and wherever it appeared, the worship of Baal-Peor was accompanied by frightful immoralities<sup>6</sup>, and there is every reason to believe that the pure and divine religion of the Jews, which denounced the inhuman rites of Moloch, was based on a still more formal repudiation of the worship of a deity, for whose name the Israelites indignantly substituted the word *Bosheth*, signifying "shame". The sun-god, as the giver of life, was represented under the more decent type of a serpent<sup>8</sup>; but the revolting emblem of the Phallus was openly displayed in every country to which this form of religion had penetrated<sup>9</sup>; it was a necessary accompaniment of the rural feast of Bacchus in Attica<sup>10</sup>; till the last century it existed in all its most repulsive features in the heart of

<sup>1</sup> בַּעַל פְּעֹר or פְּעֹר only (*Numbers* xxv. 1 sqq., xxxi. 16; *Josh.* xxii. 17). The name is represented by the Fathers as Βεελφαγώρ or *Belphegor* (*Etyim. M.* ad v.; Hieron. in *Os.* c. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Creuzer, *Symb.* II. pp. 472 sqq. The name is the common Semitic expression for "my Lord," and is therefore nearly synonymous with Baal.

<sup>3</sup> *Ezek.* viii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 499.

<sup>5</sup> *Schol. Apoll. Rh.* I. 932.

<sup>6</sup> Creuzer, *Symbol.* II. 411.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Hosea ix. 10, "They went to Baal-Peor and separated themselves unto that shame, and their abominations were according as they loved."

<sup>8</sup> For the serpent as the Orphic first principle, see Creuzer, *Symbol.* II. 224; IV. 83, 85; for its use as a symbol of Saturn or Moloch, see Creuzer, *ibid.* III. 69; for its use in the worship of Bacchus and along with the Phallus, see Creuzer, *ibid.* IV. 137; Gerhard, *Anthesterien*, pp. 158, 160. It was, in fact, a type of the Agathodæmon (Creuzer, IV. p. 55), an Egyptian symbol (Lampridius, *Heliogabal.* 28), as such adopted by the Israelites (*Numb.* xxi. 8). Justin Martyr says rather too generally (*Apol.* I. 27, p. 71 A): παρὰ παντὶ τῶν νομιζομένων παρ' ὑμῶν θεῶν ὁφίς σύμβολον μέγα καὶ μυστήριον ἀναγράφεται, but from the context he seems to have understood its meaning.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Herod. II. 48. That these figures existed in Palestine may be inferred from 1 *Kings* xiv. 23; 2 *Kings* xvii. 10, xxiii. 14; *Hos.* x. 1. For this worship in Italy, see Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 4, 7; August. *Civ. Dei*, VII. 21, 24, 2; Arnob. IV. 7.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 243.

Christian Italy<sup>1</sup>; and the oldest traditions derive the indecency of this adoration of the reproductive powers of nature from the drunkenness of the vine-god and his festival<sup>2</sup>.

It was as a Phallic god and as the giver of wine that Dionysus retained his place in the popular worship of ancient Greece. And in this capacity his worship connects itself indissolubly with the mysteries of Demeter and her daughter, the goddesses of the earth and of the under-world<sup>3</sup>. Generally the productiveness of the earth is regarded as the result of a marriage between the god of the sky,—whether he appears as the genial Sun or as the refreshing rain,—and the goddess, who represents the teeming earth, and weds her daughter to Plutus or Pluto, the owner of the treasures hidden below the surface of the ground, either actually, as metallic riches, or potentially, as the germs of vegetable growth<sup>4</sup>. To the last, this was the leading characteristic of the old Athenian worship of Dionysus, and his spring festival, the Anthesteria, was accompanied by mystic solemnities, pointing at once to this ideal of his religion, and to its Semitic origin<sup>5</sup>. At this festival the mysteries were entrusted to the wife of the king Archon, and to fourteen priestesses called γέραιραι, whose number is that of the victims sent to the Minotaur, and is obviously Semitic<sup>6</sup>. As the representative of the State, and as symbolizing the virgin daughter of Demeter, who returned to earth in the spring, the king Archon's wife was solemnly espoused to Dionysus<sup>7</sup>, just as conversely the

<sup>1</sup> At Isernia, one of the most ancient cities in the kingdom of Naples, situated in the Contado di Molise. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 1805, a judgment, as some might think, for this iniquity.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Chiliad.* VIII. 211:

Τοῦ οἰνοπύκτου εὐπετοῦ, φημὶ, τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου  
Τοῦ Νῶε καὶ Ὀσέριδος

with the tradition preserved by Berosus respecting the Phallic worship introduced by Ham: "hic est ille Belphegor" (says Cornelius Agrippa, *Opp.* II. p. 63), "idolum omnium antiquissimum, quod et Chamos dictum est, a Chamo filio Noe, qui, teste Beroso, idcirco *Esenna* cognominatus est, hoc est, impudicus sive ignominiosus propagator."

<sup>3</sup> This subject has been recently discussed by Gerhard, *über die Anthesterien und das Verhältniss der attischen Dionysos zum Koradienst*, Berlin, 1858.

<sup>4</sup> Petersen, *geh. Gottesd. b. d. Griech.* 1848, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> The principal passage for this ceremonial is in the speech against Neæra, attributed to Demosthenes, p. 1370.

<sup>6</sup> Servius, *ad Æneid.* VI. 21, Müller, *Dor.* I. 2, 2, § 14, recognizes the worship of Apollo, i. e. of the sun-god in the number 7, and the Ennaeteris in the period of the sacrifice.

<sup>7</sup> It was only on the day of these espousals, the 12th of Anthesterion, that the temple was opened (*Dem. in Neær.* p. 1377).



Venetian Dôge annually married the sea, and she alone was admitted to gaze on the mysterious emblems of the god's worship, on which the welfare of the State was supposed to depend, namely, the sacred serpent and the Phallus<sup>1</sup>. It is impossible not to recognize in this usage some connexion with the story of Theseus and his Cretan expedition. For Ariadne, whom the Athenian hero carries away from Crete and leaves at Naxos, becomes the bride of Dionysus. And the fourteen victims of the Minotaur reappear in the fourteen γέραιραι, and in the noble youths and maidens sacrificed to the sacred serpent of Bacchus<sup>2</sup>. As Semele represents the earth<sup>3</sup>, Dionysus appears not only as her son, but also as her husband; for in his original form he is the main representative of the fructifying power of heaven. These oscillations in the persons of the sacred allegory need not create any difficulty, for the free play of fancy has combined and recombined the elements of the picture, like the changing figures of a kaleidoscope.

The forms of elementary worship, in which the powers of the sky and earth were personified, and which we have thus traced from their Semitic origin, were established among the Pelasgian tribes of Greece long before the epoch called the return of the Heracleids, which marks the establishment of a Dorian, or purely Hellenic, race in the country which we call by their generic name. According to the ethnographic results which we adopt as most probable<sup>4</sup>, the Dorians or Hellenes, properly so styled, were ultimately the same race as the Persians. And they had from the earliest times a sun-god of a very different character from that of the Semitic tribes. The Ormuzd of the Persians was a god of light and purity, an archer-god, the giver of victory and empire, the charioteer of heaven, or the rider of the heavenly steed<sup>5</sup>; and the Apollo of the Dorians possessed many of these attributes. But although, as an essentially warlike people, and averse from agricultural employments, which they considered the proper occupation of those whom they had conquered with the spear<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard, *Myth.* 450, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Id. *Anthester.* notes 43, 44.

<sup>3</sup> "Semele denotes the ground, not only according to Diodorus, III. 61, but also according to the certain derivation of the name, as θεμέλη, θέμεθλον (cf. ἡϋθεμέθλιος); Welcker, *Götterlehre*, I. p. 536." Gerhard, *Anthest.* note 96.

<sup>4</sup> *New Cratylus*, § 92. Compare Gladstone, *Homeric Studies*, I. pp. 545 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Varronianus*, p. 61, ed. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See the spirited drinking song by Hybrias, the Cretan, *Athen.* p. 695 f, and cf.

the Dorians were not very likely to adopt for its own sake a merely elementary worship, which is the usual idolatry of the tillers of the soil, their national deity Apollo would of course retain his traditional position as a sun-god; and it was quite in accordance with the usual procedure that he should supersede the corresponding divinity, whom the northern tribes found established among their Pelasgian or Achæan subjects. The Dorians, when they conquered any country, generally introduced the worship of their own gods, but they endeavoured at the same time to unite it with the religion which they found established in their settlements. Thus they adopted the elementary gods of Laconia, the Tyndaridæ, taking care, however, to give their worship a *military* and *political* reference<sup>1</sup>, so as to make it coincide with the attributes of Apollo, whose office of leader of the army was transferred to them. Similarly Apollo was made the object of the Hyacinthia, an ancient festival connected with the elementary religion of the Ægidæ<sup>2</sup>. Now the Dorians worshipped, along with Apollo, a female form of that god, called by the same name (with of course a different termination), invested with the same attributes, and looked upon as his sister<sup>3</sup>. This need not surprise any one who has paid ordinary attention to systematic mythology; for we constantly find in all polytheisms sets of duplicate divinities, male and female<sup>4</sup>. Now this is most particularly the case with those divinities who were the *ἀρχηγέται* of the different nations. Thus there was both a Romus and a Roma<sup>5</sup>, a Vitellius and a Vitellia<sup>6</sup>. In some instances it may be accounted for from the fact that the original division of the nation has been two-fold<sup>7</sup>: and in this way we would explain the double form of the national divinity of the Dorians; for it appears to us that they were not always

Isocr. *Panath.* p. 326, Bekker: Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμελήσαντες γεωργιῶν καὶ τεχνῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀπάντων.

<sup>1</sup> See Müller's *Dorians*, II. ch. 10, § 8, and compare our remarks in the following chapter of this Book.

<sup>2</sup> Müller's *Dor.* II. ch. 8, § 15.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, if Apollo was *Loxias*, Artemis was *Loxo*, if he was *Hecaergos*, she was *Hecaergē*. See Müller's *Dor.* II. ch. 9, § 2, notes (u) and (x) especially. Buttmann, *Mytholog.* I. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> See Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* I. pp. 100, 101. And sometimes deities of doubtful sex: compare Thirlwall in the *Philol. Museum*, Vol. I. pp. 116, 117; and on the androgynous character of Bacchus, see Welcker on the *Frogs of Aristophanes*, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Malden's *Rome*, p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* I. p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Niebuhr, I. p. 287; comp. 224.



τριχάϊκες, but that they at first consisted only of the two branches of the family of Ægimius, the Dymanes and the Pamphylians, and that the Heracleids were not till afterwards incorporated among them<sup>1</sup>. However this may be, the fact is certain; there were two leading divinities in the Dorian religion. Now in the elementary worship of the Pelasgians and Achæans there were also two divinities similarly related. These were the Sun and the Moon, worshipped under the related names of Helios and Selene, and by the Pelasgian old inhabitants of Italy, as well under appellations connected with the Greek, as under the names of Janus or Dianus, and Diana<sup>2</sup>. In Greece, however, the original denominations of these divinities fell into disuse at an early period, and were rather employed to designate the natural objects themselves than the celestial powers whom they were supposed to typify; and Dionysus or Bacchus was adopted as a new name for the sun-god, and Deo or Demeter for the goddess of the Moon<sup>3</sup>. These divinities, as we have seen above, were Phœnician importations; and, connected as they were in many of their attributes with the old elementary worship of the Pelasgians, they soon established themselves as constituent parts of that worship, and were at length blended and confused with the gods of the country. For Dionysus was the wine-god, and Deo the fertile earth from which the vine sprang up. How natural, then, was the transition from the god who gave wine to mortals, to the Sun to whose influence its growth was mainly owing! But if he ascended from earth to heaven, it was necessary that his sister deity should go with him; and as his bride Ariadne shone among the stars, so might Demeter, Thyone, or Semele, his mother, sister, or wife, be also translated to the Moon, and rule amid the lights of night. Indeed, Bacchus himself is sometimes represented as a night-god, and in Sophocles he is invoked as the choragus, or choir-leader, of the

<sup>1</sup> See Müller's *Dor.* I. ch. I, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡλῖος and Σελήνη are connected like ὕλη and silva (cf. the proper name Sila, Paley, *ad Propert.* p. 52); Sol and (Se)luna are the same words under another form.

On Janus, or Dianus, see Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* I. p. 83; Buttmann, *Mytholog.* II. p. 73; Döderlein, *Lat. Synon. und Etym.* I. p. 6. There was also a Ἐκατος as well as a Ἐκάτη (see Alberti's note on *Hesych.* s. v. Ἐκάτοιο). Mr. Scott, of Brasenose College, Oxford, has given a further development of these principles in a very ingenious and satisfactory essay on the mythology of Io, which appeared in the *Classical Museum*, No. XII.

<sup>3</sup> That Bacchus was the sun-god clearly appears from the authorities quoted by Welcker (*Nachtrag zur Trilogie*, p. 190).

fire-breathing stars, as one celebrated by nocturnal invocations<sup>1</sup>. Thus Bacchus and Demeter were the representatives of those two heavenly bodies by which the husbandmen measured the returning seasons, and as such, though not immediately connected with agriculture<sup>2</sup>, are invoked by the learned Virgil at the commencement of the *Georgics*<sup>3</sup>. They also represented the earth and its productions: but there is still another phase which they exhibit; they were, in the third place, the presiding deities of the under-world<sup>4</sup>. This also admits of an obvious interpretation. The Greeks, as a consequence of their habit of imparting actual objective existence with will and choice to every physical cause, considered the cause of anything as also in some measure the cause of its contrary. Thus Apollo is not only the cause, but also the preventer of sudden death<sup>5</sup>; Mars causes the madness of Ajax<sup>6</sup>, he is therefore supposed to have cured the hero of his disease<sup>7</sup>; the violent wind which raised the billows also lulls them to rest<sup>8</sup>; night, which puts an end to day, also brings the day to light<sup>9</sup>; and Bacchus, the bright and merry god, is also the superintendent of the orphic or black rites; the god of life, he is also the god of death; the god of light, he is also the ruling power in the nether regions<sup>10</sup>.

The worship of Dionysus<sup>11</sup> consequently partook of the same variations as that of the sun-god whom he superseded; and while, on the one hand, his sufferings and mischances were bewailed, on the other hand, as the god of light, wine, and generation, as the giver of life and of all that renders life cheerful, his rites were celebrated with suitable liveliness and mirth. That mimicry should enter largely into such a worship, is only what we should expect<sup>12</sup>. A religion which recognizes a divinity in the great objects

<sup>1</sup> *Antig.* 1130.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> I. 5—7:

——— Vos, O clarissima mundi  
Lumina, labentem cœlo qui ducitis annum,  
Liber et alma Ceres.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. II. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Müller's *Dor.* II. ch. 6, § 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 179.

<sup>7</sup> Id. *ibid.* 706.

<sup>8</sup> Id. *ibid.* 674.

<sup>9</sup> Id. *Trachin.* 94. For this reason, says Eustath. *ad Iliad.* A. p. 22, Apollo is called the son of Latona, *τοῦτέστι, νυκτός*. Conversely Horat. *Carm. Sec.* 10:

Alme sol, curru nitido diem qui  
Promis et celas.

<sup>10</sup> Herod. II. 123.

<sup>11</sup> It seems to us that *Θυώνη* or *Διώνη* is the feminine form of *Διόνυσος*, or more anciently *Διώνυσος*.

<sup>12</sup> Above, p. 9. The mirror which is given to Bacchus by Vulcan is an emblem of

of nature,—which looks upon the Sun and Moon as visible representatives of the invisible potentates of the earth, and sky, and under-world,—is essentially imitative in all its rites. The reason why such a religion should exist at all, is, as we have already shown in a general way, also a reason why the ceremonies of it should be accompanied by mimicry. The men who could consider the Sun as the visible emblem of an all-seeing power who from day to day performs his constant round, the cause of light and life; the Moon, his sister goddess, who exercises the same functions by night; the two though distant (ἑκατοί) yet always present powers (προστατήριοι); the men who could see in the circling orbs of night “the starry nymphs who dance around the pole;” such men, we say, would not be long in finding out some means of representing these emblems on earth. If the Sun and the ever-revolving lights were fit emblems and suggestions of a deity, the circling dance round the blazing altar was an obvious copy of the original symbols, and an equally apt representation<sup>1</sup>.

The heavenly powers became gods of the earth, and it was reasonable that the co-ordinate natural causes of productiveness should also have their representatives, who would form the attendants of the personified primal causes of the same effects. The sun-god therefore, when he roamed the earth, was properly attended by the Sileni, the deities presiding over running streams<sup>2</sup>; the goddess of the Moon by the Naiades, the corresponding female divinities; nay, sometimes the two bands united to form one merry train<sup>3</sup>. To these Sileni were added a mixture of man and goat

the mimetic character of his worship—ὅλον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ, Plotinus, IV. 3, 12 (see the passages quoted by Creuzer in his note on p. 707, 1, 3, of his edition).

<sup>1</sup> See the author περὶ λυρικῶν, apud Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* IV. p. 458; *Rhein. Mus.* 1833, p. 169; cf. note on *Soph. Ant.* 1113, p. 224. Though all polytheisms are connected with the production of the mimetic arts, the modes of imitation differ with the nature of the religion. The *symbols* of an elementary religion are the objects of imitation; but in a mental religion, art is called upon to produce from the ideal a visible symbol. The mimicry of *action* is the result of the former, the mimicry of *sculpture* of the latter. Hence the primitive gods, who were parts of an elementary worship, were not originally represented by statues (comp. Müller, *Eumen.* § 89, 90, 93). “Ye eldest gods,” says Ion,

“Who in no statues of exactest form  
Are palpable; who shun the azure heights  
Of beautiful Olympus, and the sound  
Of ever-young Apollo’s minstrelsy.”

Talfourd’s *Ion*, Act iii. Sc. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, p. 468.

called Satyrs, who were sometimes confounded with the former, though their origin appears to have been quite different; for while the Sileni were real divinities of an elementary religion, the Satyrs were only the deified representatives of the original worshippers<sup>1</sup>, who probably assumed as portions of their droll costume the skin of the goat, which they had sacrificed as a welcome offering to their wine-god<sup>2</sup>.

Such was the religion of Bacchus as it appeared in Greece; and there is no doubt that it was speedily accepted by the Pelasgian and Achæan tribes; that it presented the duplicate form, which it had exhibited in its eastern home; that the mixed religion became prevalent both within and without the Peloponnese; and that the Dorians, having a pair of deities corresponding in many respects to those objects of elementary worship which they found established in most of the countries they subdued, very naturally adapted their own religion to the similar one already subsisting; and that accordingly Dionysus took or maintained his place by the side of Apollo even in the Delphic worship.

In addition to the circumstances which adapted the religions themselves to an amalgamation such as we find in their ultimate form, there were features in the rites of Dionysus, even in their most ancient halting-places in Crete and elsewhere, which recommended them to the martial tastes of the northern Hellenes. The dances of the Curetes and Corybantes were decidedly military<sup>3</sup>, and the Bacchic rites, at least as adopted by the Spartans, had a gymnastic character, which accorded well with the rigorous training of the female population in Laconia<sup>4</sup>.

From this brief sketch it will be seen that the connexion of the worship of Dionysus, Demeter, and Apollo, in which we recognize the earliest appearances of dramatic rites, was due to the common

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 466: τούτους γὰρ τινὰς δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν, κ.τ.λ. p. 471: καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρόπολοι θεῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ προσηγορεύθησαν.

<sup>2</sup> Varro, *de R. R.* l. 2, 18, 19; Virgil, *Georg.* II. 376—383; Ovid, *Fast.* I. 349—360; Eurip. *Bacch.* 138.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, p. 466.

<sup>4</sup> There were races at Sparta between young women in honour of Bacchus. Hesych.: Διονυσιάδες. ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι. Pausan. III. 13, 7: τῷ δὲ ἡρώϊ τούτῳ (Διονύσου ἡγεμόνι) πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιπλίδες [l. Λευκόποδες]. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἑνδεκά αἷς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· δρᾶν δὲ οὕτω σφίσις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. Something of the same kind appears to be alluded to in Eurip. *Bacch.* 853 sqq.: ἀρ' ἐν παννυχίοις χοροῖς θήσω ποτὲ λευκὸν πόδ' ἀναβακχεύουσα.

elements which they contained and to the readiness to adopt and appropriate the representative forms of human thought, which is universally characteristic of a plastic polytheism. We are now prepared to discuss the choral rites of the Doric Apollo, and to inquire into the circumstances under which the warlike dances of the northern Greeks came to be used in the celebration of religious solemnities consecrated to the Semitic wine-god.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE TRAGIC CHORUS.—ARION.

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*Doch hurtig in dem Kreise ging's,  
Sie tanzten rechts, sie tanzten links.*  
GÖTTE.

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IN the earliest times of Greece, it was customary for the whole population of a city to meet on stated occasions and offer up thanksgivings to the gods for any great blessings, by singing hymns, and performing corresponding dances in the public places<sup>1</sup>. This custom was first practised in the Doric states. The maintenance of military discipline was the principal object of the Dorian legislators; all their civil and religious organisation was subservient to this; and war or the rehearsal of war was the sole business of their lives<sup>2</sup>. Under these circumstances, it was not long before the importance of music and dancing, as parts of public education, was properly appreciated: for what could be better adapted than a musical accompaniment to enable large bodies of men to keep time and act in concert? What could be more suitable than the war-dance, to familiarize the young citizen with the various postures of attack and defence, and with the evolutions of an army? Music and dancing, therefore, were cultivated at a very early period by the Cretans, the Spartans, and the other Dorians, but only for the sake of these public choruses<sup>3</sup>: the preservation of military

<sup>1</sup> This is the reason why, according to Pausan. III. 11, 9, the *ἀγορά* at Sparta was called *χορός*. We are rather inclined to believe that the Chorus of Dancers got its name from the place; *χορός* is only another form of *χωρ-ος*: and hence the epithet *εὐρύχορος* which is applied to Athens (Dem. *Mid.* p. 531) as well as to Sparta (Athen. p. 131 D, in some anapæsts of Anaxandrides). Welcker's derivation of *χορός* from *χείρ* (*Rhein. Mus.* for 1834, p. 485) is altogether inadmissible. See farther, *New Cratylus*, § 280; *Antigone, Introduction*, p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *στρατοπέδου γὰρ* (says an Athenian to a Cretan, Plato, *Legg.* II. p. 666) *πολιτείας ἔχετε· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀστεσι κατφκηκότων*. All the Dorian governments were aristocracies, and therefore necessarily warlike, as Vico has satisfactorily shown, whatever we may think of his derivation of *πόλεμος* from *πόλις* (*Scienz. Nuov.* Vol. II. p. 160).

<sup>3</sup> "We and the Spartans," says Clinias, "*οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τινα δυνάμεθα ὥδῃν ἢ ἡν ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐμάθομεν ξυνήθεις ᾄδειν γενόμενοι*." Plato, *Legg.* p. 666.

discipline and the establishment of a principle of subordination, not merely the encouragement of a taste for the fine arts, were the objects which these rude legislators had in view; and though there is no doubt that religious feelings entered largely into all their thoughts and actions, yet the god whom they worshipped was a god of war<sup>1</sup>, of music<sup>2</sup>, and of civil government<sup>3</sup>, in other words, a Dorian political deity; and with these attributes his worship and the maintenance of their system were one and the same thing. This intimate connexion of religion and war among the Dorians is shown by a corresponding identity between the chorus which sang the praises of the national deity, and the army which marched to fight the national enemies. These two bodies were composed, in the former case inclusively, of the same persons; they were drawn up in the same order, and the different parts in each were distinguished by the same names. Good dancers and good fighters were alike termed *πρυλέες*, i. e. *προ-ιλέες*, or “men of the vanguard<sup>4</sup>,” those whose station was in the rear of the battle array, or of the chorus, were in either case called *ψιλεῖς*, or “unequipped<sup>5</sup>,” and the evolutions of the one body were known by the same name as the figures of the other<sup>6</sup>. It was likewise owing to this conviction of the importance of musical harmony, that the Dorians termed the constitution of a state—an order or regulative principle (*κόσμος*).

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπόλλων—Ἀπέλλων*, “the defender” (Müller’s *Dor.* II. ch. 6, § 6), who caused terror to the hostile army. *Æsch. Sept. c. Theb.* 147.

<sup>2</sup> He was particularly the inventor of the lyre—the original accompaniment of Choral Poetry. *Pind. Pyth.* V. 67: (*Ἀπόλλων*) *πόρεν τε κίθαριν δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγὼν ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν.*

<sup>3</sup> “The belief in a fixed system of laws, of which Apollo was the executor, formed the foundation of all prophecy in his worship.” Müller, *Dor.* II. 8, § 10. The Delphian oracle was the regulator of all the Dorian law-systems; hence its injunctions were called *θέμιστες*, or “ordinances.” See the authorities in Müller, II. 8, § 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *Varronianus*, p. 314; cf. *Athen.* XIV. p. 628 F: *ὅθεν καὶ Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι τοὺς κάλλιστα χορεύοντας ἀρίστους φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πολέμια, λέγων οὕτως*

*Οἱ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν, ἀριστοὶ  
Ἐν πολέμῳ*

*σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐξοπλισία τις ἦν ἡ χορεία, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>5</sup> Müller thinks (*Götting. Gel. Anz.* for 1821, p. 1051) that they were so called, because they were not so well dressed as the front-row dancers.

<sup>6</sup> See Müller’s *Dorians*, B. III. c. 12, § 10; B. IV. c. 6, § 4. And add to the passages cited by him, *Eurip. Troad.* 2, 3:

— *ἐνθα Νηρήδων χοροὶ  
Κάλλιστον ἶχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός.*

*Herc. Fur.* 967: *ὁ δ’ ἐξελίσσων παῖδα κίονος κύκλῳ  
τόρευμα (l. πόρευμα) δεινὸν ποδός.*



Thus Herodotus<sup>1</sup> calls the constitution of Lycurgus, “the *order* now established among the Spartans” (τὸν νῦν κατεστέωτα κόσμον τοῖς Σπαρτιήτησι); Clearchus<sup>2</sup> speaks of the Lacedæmonians who were prostrated in consequence of their having trodden under foot the most ancient *order* of their civil polity (οἱ τὸν παλαιότατον τῆς πολιτικῆς κόσμον συμπατήσαντες ἐξετραχηλίσθησαν); and Archidamus, in Thucydides<sup>3</sup>, tells his subjects that their good *order* (τὸ εὖκοσμον) is the reason why they are both warlike and wise; and concludes his harangue to the allied army, when about to invade Attica, with an enforcement of the same principle<sup>4</sup>.

This description of the Chorus may suffice to show, that, being both regular and stationary, or moving only within the limits of a particular space, it was distinguished, in the latter respect, from the marching troop, which was a regular body of men in a state of progress, and in both respects from the Comus (κῶμος), which was a tumultuous procession of revellers. We find the earliest description of the stationary Chorus in Homer’s “Shield of Achilles<sup>5</sup>,” where, as we shall see presently, the *Hyporcheme* is intended; and we have the moving or processional Chorus by the side of the Comus in Hesiod’s “Shield of Hercules<sup>6</sup>.” The regularity of the Chorus always necessitated a leader (ἑξάρχος), who was either the musician or some fugleman among the dancers, who “set the example<sup>7</sup>” to the others. Thus in a dirge the chief mourner was said “to lead off the lament<sup>8</sup>,” and even the chief player in a game at

<sup>1</sup> I. 65.<sup>2</sup> Ap. Athen. xv. p. 681 c.<sup>3</sup> I. 84.<sup>4</sup> II. 11: κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι.....ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι. This word κόσμος appears to be appropriated to dancing rather than to music: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ πορείᾳ καλὸν μὲν εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ κόσμος, κ.τ.λ. Athen. xiv. p. 628 d.<sup>5</sup> Hom. II. xviii. 590—606.<sup>6</sup> 272—285.<sup>7</sup> Küster, *de Verb. Med.* I. 23, II. 5.<sup>8</sup> The following passages will show the usage of ἑξάρχω:*Iliad* xviii. 50: αἱ δὲ (Νηρηίδες) ἅμα πᾶσαι  
Στήθεα πεπλήγοντο· Θέτις δ’ ἐξήρχε γοοιο.*Ibid.* 314: αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
Παννύχιοι Πάτροκλον ἀνестενάχοντο γοῶντες.  
Τοῖσι δὲ Πηλεΐδης ἀδινού ἐξήρχε γόοιο.*Ibid.* 604: δοίω δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ’ αὐτοὺς  
Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις.

To which we may add,

*II.* xxiv. 720: παρὰ δ’ εἶσαν ἀοιδούς  
Θρήνων ἐξάρχους ὅτε στονόεσαν ἀοιδῆν  
Οἱ μὲν ἄρ’ ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες.

With which compare *II.* i. 604; *Odys.* xxiv. 60. The simple ἀρχεῖν occurs in *Iliad* xix. 12. Archilochus, fr. 38, Liebel. Athen. xiv. p. 628 A;



ball is said ἄρχεσθαι μολπῆς<sup>1</sup>; whence it will be seen that the words μέλπεσθαι and μολπή, when used in speaking of the old Chorus, imply the regular, graceful movements of the dancers, and the *Eumolpids* were not singers of hymns, but dancers in the Chorus of Demeter and Dionysus<sup>2</sup>.

It would appear, then, that music and dancing were the basis of the religious, political, and military organisation of the Dorian states; and this alone might induce us to believe that the introduction of choral poetry into Greece, and the first cultivation of instrumental music, is due to them. However, particular proofs are not wanting. The strongest of these may be derived from the fact, that the Doric dialect is preserved in the lyric poetry of the other Grecian tribes. We may notice this in the choral portions of any Attic tragedy. Now it has been sufficiently shown<sup>3</sup> that the lyric poetry of the Greeks was an offspring not of the epos, but of the chorus songs; and if the lyric poetry of the Æolians and Ionians was always (with the exception perhaps of Corinna's Boeotian choruses) written in the Doric dialect, the choral poetry, of which it was a modification, must have been Dorian also<sup>4</sup>. Nor can any argument against this supposition be derived from the fact that the most celebrated of the early lyric poets were not Dorians; for choral dances existed among the Cretans long before the time of the earliest of these poets; and it is no argument against the assumed origin of an art in one country, to say that it attained to

Ὡς Διωνυσοῦ ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
Οἶδα διθύραμβον οἶνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

Archilochus, fr. 44, Liebel. Athen. iv. p. 180 E:

Αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Δέσβιον παίηονα

which Müller, *Dor.* II. 8, § 14 (note γ), mistranslates. He says: "there was always a person named ἐξάρχων who accompanied the song on an instrument. Thus Archilochus," &c. But ἐξάρχειν πρὸς αὐλὸν means "to lead off the Pæan, either by words or as a dancer, to the accompaniment of the flute played by another person." See Eurip. *Alcest.* 346: πρὸς Δίβιν λακεῖν αὐλόν: so that Toup has rightly introduced πρὸς αὐλὸν in Athenæus, p. 447 B (*Em. ad Suid.* I. p. 348). Pausan. v. 18, 4, speaking of the chest of Cypselus, πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ᾄδουσαι Μοῦσαι, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς καὶ σφίσι ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται,

Λατοῖδας οὗτος τάχ' ἀναξ ἐκέργος Ἀπόλλων,  
Μοῦσαι δ' ἀμφ' αὐτόν, χαριεῖς χορός, αἰσι κατάρχει.

*Sophocl. Vit.* p. 2: (Σοφοκλῆς) μετὰ λύρας γυμνὸς ἀηγιμμένος τοῖς παιανίζουσι τῶν ἐπινικίων ἐξῆρχε.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyss.* vi. 101; cf. Athen. i. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* Vol. I. p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> By Müller, *Dor.* B. IV. c. 7, § 11.

<sup>4</sup> The weight of this argument will be readily appreciated by the readers of Niebuhr's *Hist. Rom.* I. p. 82, Engl. Transl.

a higher degree of perfection in another<sup>1</sup>. With regard to Athens in particular, it appears to us, that we have in some sort positive evidence that choruses were not instituted there until the Athenians had recognized the Dorian oracle at Delphi; for some old Delphian oracles have come down to us<sup>2</sup>, particularly enjoining these Doric rites, a command which could hardly have been necessary, had they existed at Athens from the first.

It must be obvious that so long as the choral music and dancing of the Dorians were a religious exercise in which the whole population took a part, the tunes and figures must have been very simple and unartificial. A few plain regulative notes on the tetrachord, and as much concinnity of movement as the public drill-masters could effect, sufficed for the recitation and performance of Pæans in Lacedæmon, Crete, and Delos. But, as a natural consequence of the importance attached to music and dancing, in countries where they formed the basis of religious, political, and military organisation, it was not long before art and genius volunteered their services, and improvements in the theory and practice of instrumental music were eagerly adopted and imported, or cultivated by emulous harpers in the Dorian states. The Æolian colonists of Lesbos, from their proximity to the coast of Asia Minor, were among the first who sought to accommodate the more extensive and varied harmonies of the Phrygians and Lydians to the uses and requirements of the Dorian chorus. Terpander, of Lesbos, who gained the prize at the Lacedæmonian Carneia in B.C. 676<sup>3</sup>, substituted the seven-stringed cithara for the old tetrachord; and his contemporaries, the Græco-Phrygian Olympus, and the Boeotian Clonas, exercised an influence scarcely less important on the flute-music of the Greeks. A little later, Thaletas, the Cretan, imported into the choral worship of his own country and Sparta a more impassioned style of music and dancing, which was intimately connected with the rhythmical innovations of Terpander and Olympus<sup>4</sup>; and the Lydian Alcman, who was a great poet as well as a great musician, composed songs for the popular chorus, which may be considered as the true beginning of lyric poetry. As these improvements

<sup>1</sup> See Themistius, *Orat.* xxvii. p. 337 A, Harduin.: ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει τὰ παρ' ἑτέροις ἀρχὴν λαβόντα πλείονος σπουδῆς παρ' ἄλλοις τυγχάνειν.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Demosth. *Mid.* p. 531, § 15, Buttm.

<sup>3</sup> Athenæus, xiv. p. 635 E.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* c. xii. § 10.

gradually developed themselves, they necessarily superseded the ruder efforts of the old crowd of worshippers; and the poet, as *δημιουργός*, or “state-workman<sup>1</sup>,” with his band of trained singers and dancers, at length executed all the religious functions of the collective population.

The most ancient and genuine species of the Dorian choral song was the *Pæan*, which was not only practised in the rehearsals of the market-place, but carried to the actual field of battle. It was so thoroughly identified with the worship of Apollo, that we cannot doubt for a moment that its original accompaniment was the harp (*φόρμιγξ*), with which Apollo himself, in the Homeric Hymn, leads a chorus of Cretans; he dances with noble and lofty steps, and they follow him, singing the sweet strains of the *Iepæan*<sup>2</sup>. But as early as the days of Archilochus the flute had taken the place of the harp as an accompaniment to the *Pæan* at Lesbos<sup>3</sup>. That there was something grave and staid in the original *Pæan* may be concluded from the topics to which it was confined<sup>4</sup>; and as late as the time of Agesilaus it was performed at the mournful feast of the *Hyacinthia*<sup>5</sup>. Whence Plato speaks with disapprobation of the later practice of mixing up the *Pæan* with the Bacchic *Dithyramb*<sup>6</sup>; and in general we observe that the *Pæan*, as devoted to the children of Leto, is kept separate and distinct from the *Dithyramb*<sup>7</sup>, even

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xvii. 385:

Τίς γὰρ δὴ ξείνονα καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν  
 Ἄλλον γ' εἰ μὴ τῶν οἱ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασω  
 Μάντιν ἢ λητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δουρῶν  
 Ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἀείδων;

<sup>2</sup> *Hom. Hymn. Apoll.* 514 sqq.:

ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφι, ἀναξ Διὸς υἱός, Ἀπόλλων  
 Φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι ἔχων, ἀγατὸν κιθαρίζων,  
 Καλὰ καὶ ὑψὶ βιβὰς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο  
 Κρήτες πρὸς Πυθῶ, καὶ ἰηπαιήον' ἀείδον  
 Οἷοί τε Κρητῶν παῖδες.

Cf. *Pind. N.* v. 22 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Archiloch. apud Athen. v. p. 180 E.:

Αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα,  
 above, p. 30, note.

<sup>4</sup> The ideal of a *Pæan* is very well given in the first Chorus of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, 151 sqq. Plutarch (p. 389 B) calls the *Pæan* *τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μούσαν*.

<sup>5</sup> Xen. *Ages.* ii. 17: οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ἰακίνθια, ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνετέλει.

<sup>6</sup> *Legg.* iii. p. 700 D.

<sup>7</sup> See Pindar, *Thren. Fr.* 10, 103\*, according to the emendations which we have elsewhere proposed:

in those countries where the worship of Bacchus was cultivated along with that of Apollo, and after the time when the characteristic Dionysian hymn was raised to the dignity of lyric poetry.

From the Dorian *Pæan* three styles of choral dancing developed themselves at a very early period, and most probably received their chief improvements under Thaletas in Crete. These were the *Gymnopædic*, the *Pyrrhic*, and the *Hyporchematic* dances. The *γυμνοπαιδία*, or "festival of naked youths," was held in great esteem at Sparta<sup>1</sup>. The immediate object was the worship of Leto and her children, and the music was that of the *Pæan*. But an heroic and tragic character was given to the solemnity by its formal reference to the victory at Thyrea. The praises of the valiant Spartans, who fell on that occasion, were always sung at the *Gymnopædia*, and the Exarchus wore the Thyreatic crown<sup>2</sup>. The gesticulations and steps of the boys amounted to a rhythmical imitation of the wrestling match and pancration, which is partly implied by the absence of clothing<sup>3</sup>. The *Gymnopædic* dance was considered as a sort of introduction to the *Pyrrhic*, just as the exercises of the *Palæstra* in general were a preparation for military discipline. To be able to move rapidly in armour was a leading accomplishment of the Greek hoplite, and we are expressly told that the *Pyrrhic*, which was danced by boys in armour, was a rapid dance<sup>4</sup>. Beyond this rapidity of motion, it had no characteristic steps; the distinctive movements were those of the hands, whence it was called a "manual gesticulation" (*χειρονομία*), and might be performed by

Ἐντι μὲν χρυσαλακάτου Λατοῦς τεκέων ἀοιδᾶι  
 Ἰή[οι] παιᾶνιδες·  
 Ἐντι [δὲ σύγκω]μόν τισι κισσοῦ στέφανον  
 Ἐκ Δια[νύσου] μεταμ[αί]δμεναι.

<sup>1</sup> Ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴτις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδία διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσιν. Pausan. III. 11, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. xv. p. 678 B: Θυρεατικοί· οὕτω καλοῦνται στέφανοι πινες παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τῇ περὶ θνσιῶν, ψιλίνους αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων· φέρει δ' αὐτοὺς, ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης, τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσι. χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὸ μὲν εὐπροσώπων παίδων, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων, καὶ ἔδόντων Θαλήτου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ῥήματα, καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας. See Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clement.* Tom. III. p. 74, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. xiv. p. 631 B.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. xiv. p. 630 D. The same is indicated by the *Pyrrhic* (~~) and *Proceleusmatic* (~~~) feet, which are attributed to this dance. The latter, to which the ἐνόπλιος ῥυθμός refers, is tantamount to the anapaest, which is the proper rhythm for *embateria*.

the horsemen as well as by the foot-soldier<sup>1</sup>. Connected with the rites of the Curetes in Crete, and of the Dioscuri in Lacedæmon, the *Pyrrhic* was danced in later times to the notes of the flute; and the same was the case with the Castoreum and the embateria. But we have positive evidence that the lyre was the original accompaniment in the Cretan and Spartan marches, and that the flute was substituted only because its notes were shriller and more piercing<sup>2</sup>. The *Hyporcheme* was, as its name implies<sup>3</sup>, a dance expressing by gesticulations the words of the accompanying poem. It had thus, in effect, two different kinds of leaders. Going back to the earliest description of this dance, we find that not only is the citharist, who sits in the middle of the chorus and sings to his lyre while the youths and maidens dance around him, described as *leading off* (ἐξάρχων) their μολπή, or rhythmical steps and gesticulations, but that there are always two chief dancers, sometimes called “tumblers” (κυβιστητήρε), by whose active and violent motions the words of the song are expressed, and the main chorus regulated<sup>4</sup>. These leaders of the chorus seem to have been essential to the *Hyporcheme*, and particularly to that species of it which was called the “Crane” (γέρανος), where they led forward the two horns of a semicircle until they met on the other side of the altar of Apollo<sup>5</sup>. The *Hyporcheme* originated in Crete, and was thence imported into Delos, where it seems to have retained its primitive characteristics even in the days of Lucian<sup>6</sup>. Though connected originally with the religious rites of Apollo<sup>7</sup>, it was subsequently introduced into the worship of Bacchus by Pratinas<sup>8</sup>, and into that of Minerva of Iton by Bacchylides<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This must be the meaning of what Pindar says of Bellerophon and Pegasus, O. XIII. 86: ἀναβάς δ' εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθείς ἐπαιζεν. Cf. Virg. Georg. III. 115 sqq.:

Frena Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere  
Impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis  
Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Dor.* Book IV. c. 6, § 6, 7. On the orgiastic nature of the flute-music see Aristot. *Pol.* VIII. 7, § 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Gesner, on Lucian *de Saltat.* (Tom. v. p. 461, Lehmann).

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Il.* XVIII. 591—606 (*Od.* IV. 17—19) with *Hymn. Apoll.* 182—206.

<sup>5</sup> See the passages quoted by Müller, *Dor.* II. 8, § 14, note g.

<sup>6</sup> *De Saltat.* § 6: 'Εν Δήλῳ...παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ἐπ' αὐλῶ καὶ κιθάρα οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπὸρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἀριστοὶ, προκριθέντες ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰ γοῦν τοῖς χοροῖς γραφόμενα τούτοις ῥήματα, ὑπορχήματα ἐκαλεῖτο: where οἱ ἀριστοὶ manifestly agree with the κυβιστητήρες, which was another name for particularly active dancers.

<sup>7</sup> See Menandr. *de Encom.* p. 27, Heeren: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα παιᾶνας καὶ ὑπορχήματα νομίζομεν.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. p. 617.

<sup>9</sup> *Fragm.* ed. Neue, p. 33.

We have treated more at length of these three sorts of choral dances, because each of them had its representative in the dramatic poetry of a later age. This appears from a curious passage in Athenæus, probably derived from some author of weight<sup>1</sup>; "There are," he tells us, "three dances in scenic poetry, the *Tragic*, the *Comic*, and the *Satyric*; and likewise three in lyric poetry, the *Pyrrhic*, the *Gymnopædic*, and the *Hyporchematic*; and the *Pyrrhic* indeed corresponds to the *Satyric*, for they are both rapid;" (he had given just before a reason for the rapidity of the *Satyric* dance). "Now the *Pyrrhic* is considered a military one, for the dancers are boys in armour; and swiftness is needed in war for pursuit and flight. But the *Gymnopædic* dance is similar to the *Tragic* which is called *emmeleia*; both these dances are conspicuously staid and solemn. The *Hyporchematic* dance coincides in its peculiarities with the *Comic*, and they are both full of merriment."

The Bacchic hymn, which was first raised to the rank of choral and lyric poetry among the Dorians, was the *Dithyramb*, which is regularly opposed to the *Pæan*<sup>2</sup>. Originally, no doubt, it was nothing more than a Comus, and one too of the wildest and most Corybantic character. A crowd of worshippers, under the influence of wine, danced up to and around the blazing altar of Jupiter. They were probably led by a flute-player, and accompanied by the Phrygian tamborins and cymbals, which were used in the Cretan worship of Bacchus<sup>3</sup>. The subject of the song was properly the birth of Bacchus<sup>4</sup>, but it is not improbable that his subsequent adventures and escapes may have been occasionally celebrated<sup>5</sup>; and it is a reasonable conjecture that the Coryphæus occasionally assumed the character of the god himself, while the rest of the

<sup>1</sup> Athen. p. 630 D. He quotes Aristocles, Aristoxenus, and Scamo. With regard to the Hyporcheme cf. Athen. 21 D: ἡ δὲ Βαθύλλειος [ὄρχησις] ἱλαρωτέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπόρχημά τι τοῦτον διατίθεται.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *De EI Delphico*, p. 593: μξοβδαν γάρ, Δισχύλος φησί, πρέπει διθύραμβον δμαρτεῖν σύγκοινον Διονύσῳ· τῷ δὲ [Ἀπόλλωνι] παιᾶνα τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μούσαν. Ibid. p. 594: τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παιᾶνι χρώνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες διθύραμβον, τὸν δὲ παιᾶνα καταπαύσαντες τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν. See also above, p. 32, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> Euripides, *Bacch.* 123—133, distinctly identifies the worship of Bacchus with the Corybantic adoration of Demeter.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, *Legg.* III. p. 700 B: παῖνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο Διονύσου γένεσις, αἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος.

<sup>5</sup> This may be inferred from Herod. v. 67: καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιον· τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέωντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον.



chorus or comus represented his noisy band of thyrsus-bearing followers<sup>1</sup>. Whatever opinion we may agree to form respecting the etymology of the name, it is at least clear, from any justifiable analysis of the word *Δι-θύραμβος*, that it was addressed to the king of the gods<sup>2</sup>; and Bacchus belonged, as we have already seen, to a branch of Greek religion which admitted an assumption of his character on the part of his votaries.

ARION, a celebrated cithara-player (*κιθαρωδός*) of Methymna in Lesbos, who flourished in the days of Stesichorus and Periander, (*i. e.* about 600 B.C.) is generally admitted to have been the inventor of the *cyclic chorus* (*κύκλιος χορός*), in which the Dithyramb was danced around the blazing altar by a band of fifty men or boys<sup>3</sup>, to a lyric accompaniment. So intimately is Arion connected with this improvement, that he is called the son of *Cycleus*. We must be very careful not to confuse between this invention, or adaptation, of Arion's, and the improvements introduced into the older style of Dithyrambic poetry, some one hundred years later, by Lasos of Hermione, the teacher of Pindar and the rival of Simonides<sup>4</sup>. It is quite clear that the Dithyramb of Lasos gave rise to the style of poetry which existed under that name for many years, after the full development of Tragedy and Comedy, and which is always distinguished from the dramatic chorus. Instead of passing from the

<sup>1</sup> Bacchus is called *ὁ ἑξάρχος* by the Chorus of Bacchanalians in Euripides (*Bacch.* 141), and it seems obvious that the dithyramb must have endeavoured to represent the *θιασος* in all its parts.

<sup>2</sup> We have elsewhere discussed the etymology of this word at some length (*New Cratylus*, §§ 317 sqq.) and have endeavoured to show that it is the word *θύραμβος* = *θρίαμβος* appended to the dative of *Ζεύς*; that the termination is *αμβος* = *ιαμβος*, a word denoting a dance of people in close order, or a hymn sung by such a body; and that the root *θυρ* = *θρι* is the same as that which is found in *θύρ-σος*. To this opinion we still adhere. The only doubtful point, as it appears to us, is the explanation of the root of *θύρσος*. Hartung (*Classical Museum*, VI. p. 372 sqq.) proposes to connect *θύραμβος* with *θόρυβος*. If the one were really a by-form of the other, it would be *θόρυμβος*, not *θύραμβος*. Cf. *κόρυμβος*, *ἰθυμβος*, &c. As however the dithyrambic dance was called *τυρ-βασία* (Jul. Poll. IV. 104: *τυρβασία δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ διθυραμβικόν*), and as the root *θυρ-*, *θορ-*, *θρο-*, *θρι-*, might be connected with that of *τύρβη*, *turba*, from which this *τυρβασία* is formed, a question might arise whether the name of the *θύρσος* was derived from the tumultuous clamours (*θρόος*, *θροέω*, *θρύλλος*, &c.) of the *θιασος* of Bacchus; or whether it was expressive of the symbolical meaning of the Bacchic staff with its accompaniments.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Pind. *Ol.* XIII. 26. Simon. *Epigr.* 76:

Ξενοφίλου δὲ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει  
Πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶ.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the older grammarians were unable to make this distinction. Thus the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1403) says: *Ἀντίπατρος δὲ καὶ Εὐφρόνιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι φασὶ τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς στήσαι πρῶτον Λάσον τὸν Ἑρμιονέα, οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότεροι Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Δικαίλαρχος Ἀρίωνα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον.*

flute of the Comus to the lyre of the Chorus, it multiplied the *ap-poggiaturas* of the flute accompaniment<sup>1</sup>. Instead of assuming more and more a dramatic form, it is expressly described as having been distinguished from Tragedy and Comedy by its expository style, and by the pre-eminence given to the poet's own individuality<sup>2</sup>. Instead of approximating to the language of ordinary life, it became more and more turgid, bombastic, affected, and unnatural. Even Lasos himself indulged in an excess of artificial refinement. He composed odes, from which the sibilants were studiously excluded; and his rhythms were conveyed in prolix metres, which dragged their slow length along, in full keeping with the pompous phraseology, which was to the last days of Greek literature regarded as a leading characteristic of the Dithyramb<sup>3</sup>. Pindar, the great pupil of Lasos, speaks with disapprobation of this style of Dithyramb, which however, his own better example failed to correct: "Formerly," he says, "the Dithyramb crawled along in lengthy rhythms, and the *s* was falsified in its utterance<sup>4</sup>." Again, while the Dithyramb, as reformed by Arion, clung to the antistrophic and epodic forms introduced into the chorus by his contemporary Tisias, who derived his better-known surname *Stesichorus* from the stability which he thus gave to the movements of his well-taught body of dancers<sup>5</sup>, the Dithyramb of Lasos eventually became monostrophic;

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Mus.* p. 666, Wyttenb.: *Λᾶσος δὲ ὁ Ἑρμονεὺς εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνίᾳ κατακολουθήσας πλειοσί τε φθόγγοις καὶ διεῖρημένοις χρησάμενος εἰς μετάθεσιν τὴν προὔπάρχουσαν ἤγαγε μουσικὴν.*

<sup>2</sup> Plat. *de Republ.* III. p. 394 C: *ὅτι τῆς ποιήσεως τε καὶ μυθολογίας ἡ μὲν διὰ μιμήσεως ὅλη ἐστίν, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις τραγῳδία τε καὶ κωμῳδία, ἡ δὲ δι' ἀπαγγέλλιας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, εὖροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστα πού ἐν διθυράμβοις.*

<sup>3</sup> See Aristoph. *Pax*, 794—7; *Aves*, 1373 sqq. Hence *διθυραμβώδης* signifies tumid and bombastic. Plato, *Cratyl.* p. 409 C. Cf. *Hipp. Maj.* p. 292 C. Dionys. Hal. *de adm. vi Dem.* p. 1043, 10. Philostrat. p. 21, 6: *λόγων ἰδέαν οὐ διθυραμβώδη*, on which the Scholiast, published by G. I. Bekker (Heidelbergæ, 1818), says: *διθυραμβώδη συνθέτοις ὀνόμασι σεμνυνομένην καὶ ἐκτοπωτάτοις πλάσμασι ποικιλλομένην· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ διθύραμβοι ἄτε διονυσίων τελετῶν ἀφωρμημένοι.*

<sup>4</sup> *Fragn.* 47: *Πρὶν μὲν εἶπε σχοινοτένειά τ' αἰοιδὰ διθυράμβων  
Καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδαλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων.*

The adjective *σχοινοτενής* refers to rhythm, as appears from Hermogenes, *de Invent.* IV. 4 (Vol. III. p. 158, Walz), who after defining the *κόμμα* and the *κῶλον* says: *τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν σχοινοτενὲς κέκληται χρήσιμον προοιμίῳ μάλιστα καὶ ταῖς τῶν προοιμίων περιβολαῖς.* The second line alludes to the *ῥῥαλ ἀσιγμοὶ* of Lasos: see Athen. VIII. p. 455 C.

<sup>5</sup> See the explanations given by the grammarians and lexicographers of the proverbial phrases *πάντα ὀκτώ, τρία Στησιχόρου*, and *οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις*. With regard to the significance of his name, as applicable to the Bacchic Chorus in particular, it is worthy of remark that when the Delphic oracle (apud Dem. *Mid.* p. 531) enjoins the establishment of the Dorian form of Dionysiac worship at Athens, it expressly uses the phrase *ιστάναι χορόν*.



and returned in form to the primitive *Comus*, in the same proportion as it reverted to its original mimicry<sup>1</sup>. Above all, while the Dithyramb of Arion, influenced by the sedateness of the Doric muse, shook off by degrees all remembrances of the drunken frolics in which it took its rise, the other Dithyramb retained to the end many of its original characteristics. Epicharmus, who was a contemporary of Lasos, alludes to it in precisely the same manner as Archilochus, who flourished two hundred years earlier. That ancient poet says, that "he knows how to lead off the Dithyramb, the beautiful song of Dionysus, when his mind is dizzy with the thunder of wine<sup>2</sup>." Epicharmus tells us that "there is no Dithyramb, if you drink water<sup>3</sup>." And Simonides, the rival of Lasos, describes the Dithyramb as sung by noisy Bacchanalians crowned with fillets and chaplets of roses, and bearing the ivy-wreathed thyrsus<sup>4</sup>.

Although Arion was a Lesbian, it was in the great Dorian city of Corinth that he introduced his great choral improvements. In enumerating the various inventions which were traced to that city, Pindar asks: "Where else did the graces of Bacchus first make their appearance with the ox-driving Dithyramb?" alluding to the ox which was sacrificed as a type of the god, who was also worshipped under this form<sup>5</sup>. The account which is given of the specific improvements imported into the Dithyramb by Arion, though brief, is very distinct; and it is quite possible, from the

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Probl.* XIX. 15, p. 918, Bekker: μάλλον γὰρ τῷ μέλει ἀνάγκη μιμείσθαι ἢ τοῖς ῥήμασιν· διὸ καὶ οἱ διθύραμβοι, ἐπειδὴ μιμητικοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν ἀντιστρόφους, πρότερον δὲ εἶχον.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 29, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Apud Athen. p. 628 B:

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος, ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίης.

<sup>4</sup> Simonides, *Frag.* 150, Bergk, *Anthol. Pal.* II. p. 542:

Πολλάκι δὴ φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν ὦραι  
Ἀνωλόλυξαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις  
Αἱ Διονυσιάδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ἁώτοις  
Σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν,  
Οἱ τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων  
Θῆκαν· Κικυννεὺς δ' Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδασκεν ἄνδρας.

The student, however, must take care to remember that the Dithyramb never actually became a *Comus* after it had once been raised to the dignity of a Chorus. Even Pindar's processional songs, though nominally performed by a *Comus*, were invested with the dignity of choral poetry, and Comedy itself became at last choral. See note on Pindar, *Fragm.* 45, p. 344.

<sup>5</sup> *Olymp.* XII. 18:

ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανε  
Σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες διθυράμβῳ;

See above, p. 17, note 2.

notices which have come down to us, to draw up an accurate description of this Bacchic chorus as it was exhibited at Corinth in the days of Periander.

Of our authorities, the two most explicit are the earliest and the most recent, which stand related to one another as text and commentary. Herodotus tells us that "Arion was the most eminent cithara-player of his time, and that he was the first, as far as Herodotus knew, who made poems for the Dithyramb, who gave a name to these poems, and regularly taught the Chorus; and that he did this at Corinth<sup>1</sup>." The lexicographer Suidas gives the same information, but at greater length, and in such a manner as to show that Herodotus was by no means his only authority. He says: "Arion, the Methymnæan, a lyric poet, the son of Cycleus, was born about the 38th Olympiad. Some have told us that he was a scholar of Alcman. He is said to have been the inventor of the tragic style; and to have been the first to introduce a standing-chorus, and to sing the Dithyramb; and to give a name to what was sung by the Chorus; and to introduce Satyrs speaking in verse<sup>2</sup>." As these accounts are in strict agreement with one another, and with all the scattered and fragmentary notices of Arion which we meet with elsewhere<sup>3</sup>, we may conclude that we have here a true tradition, and proceed to interpret it accordingly. It appears, then, that the following were the improvements which the Methymnæan citharædus introduced into the Corinthian Dithyramb. 1. He composed regular poems for this dance<sup>4</sup>. Previously, the leaders of the wild irregular Comus, which danced the Dithyramb, bewailed the sorrows of Bacchus, or commemorated his wonderful birth, in spontaneous effusions accompanied by suitable action, for which they trusted to the inspiration of the wine-cup. This is the meaning of Aristotle's assertion that this primitive Tragedy was "extempore" (*αὐτοσχεδιαστική*<sup>5</sup>), and some such view of the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 23: 'Ἀρίωνα—ἔοντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἔοντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον· καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas: 'Ἀρίων Μηθυμναῖος, λυρικός, Κυκλέως υἱός, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λη' ὀλυμπιάδα· τινὲς δὲ καὶ μαθητὴν Ἀλκμᾶνος ἱστοροῦσιν αὐτόν. ἔγραψε δὲ ᾠδαί, προοίμια εἰς ἔπη β'. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετὴς γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας.

<sup>3</sup> Dio, ii. p. 101; Phot. Cod. 239, p. 985; Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 18; Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 1403.

<sup>4</sup> This is the true force of the phrases ποιῆσαι, ᾄσαι τὸ διθύραμβον.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. Poet. c. iv.

case is necessary to explain Archilochus' boast that he can play the part of leader in the Dithyramb when the wine is in his head<sup>1</sup>; for this presumes a sudden impulse rather than a premeditated effort. Arion, however, by composing regular poems to be sung to the lyre, at once raised the Dithyramb to a literary position, and laid the foundations of the stately superstructure which was afterwards erected. 2. He turned the *Comus*, or moving crowd of worshippers, into a standing Chorus<sup>2</sup> of the same kind as that which gave Stesichorus his surname. In fact, the steps of the altar of Bacchus became a stage on which lyric poetry in his honour was solemnly recited, and accompanied by corresponding gesticulations. 3. He was the inventor of the *tragic style* (τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετής). This means that he introduced a style of music or harmony adapted to and intended for a chorus of Satyrs<sup>3</sup>. For the word *τράγος*, "he-goat," was another name for *σάτυρος*, the goat-eared attendant of Bacchus<sup>4</sup>; and we have just seen that Suidas specifies the appearance of satyrs "discoursing," or holding a sort of dialogue, in verse, as one of the peculiarities of Arion's new Dithyramb. 4. He gave a name to what was sung by the Chorus<sup>5</sup>. What name? Not *διθύραμβος*, for that was the common designation in the time of Archilochus, some one hundred years before. As Arion substituted for the riotous *Comus* a stationary and well-trained Chorus, that which was sung—the *αἰοιδή*—could not be a *κωμωδία* or *Comedy*; but, as being the hymn of a Chorus of *τράγοι* or "satyrs," it was naturally termed a *τραγωδία*<sup>6</sup>. This name could have nothing to do with the goat, which was the subsequent prize

<sup>1</sup> See the lines of Archilochus quoted above, pp. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas: χορὸν στήσαι. Schol. Pind.: ἐστήσε δὲ αὐτὸν [τὸν κύκλιον χορὸν]. This standing chorus nevertheless might perform *ἐξελιγμοί* and other evolutions on the ground to which it was limited. The Chorus, as a whole, was stationary, though the separate dancers were in motion.

<sup>3</sup> On the *τρόποι*, "styles" or "harmonies" of Greek music, the student may consult Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* i. p. 152 [202].

<sup>4</sup> Hesych.: Τράγους· σατύρους—διὰ τὸ τράγων ὦτα ἔχειν. *Etym. M.*: τραγωδία δὲ τι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ χοροὶ ἐκ σατύρων συνίσταντο, οὓς ἐκάλουν τράγους.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus says, *ὀνομάσαντα τὸν διθύραμβον*: but Suidas more definitely, *ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ*.

<sup>6</sup> It is pretty clear that *τραγωδία* was the name of a species of lyrical poetry antecedent to, and independent of the Attic drama. See Böckh in the Appendix to this Chapter. Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 244: "The lyrical Tragedy was a transition step between the Dithyramb and the regular drama. It resembled the Dithyramb in representing by a chorus Dionysian and other myths (hence the Pæans of Xenocritus were called myths, because they related heroic tales), and differed from it in being sung to the lyre, and not to the flute."

of the early Attic Tragedy; for we are expressly told, that in Arion's days the ox was the prize<sup>1</sup>. Nor could it imply that the goat was the object of the song, as if τραγῳδός signified a man ὃς τράγον αἰεῖδει<sup>2</sup>. For, as κιθαρωδός means a man who sings to the cithara, so τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός denote the singer whose words are accompanied by the gesticulations or movements of a chorus of Satyrs, or a comus of revellers. That the form of Doric Chorus, which Arion first adapted to the Dithyramb, was the *Pyrrhic*, appears from what has been stated above<sup>3</sup>. It was probably not till the days of Thespis that the *Gymnopædic* dance appeared as the Tragic Emmeleia. In Arion's time the *tragic style* was still a form of the Dithyramb, strictly confined to the worship of Bacchus, to which the poet had been habituated in the early days of his Lesbian life<sup>4</sup>, formally satyric in the habiliments of its performers, and in every sense a new and important branch of the Dorian lyric poetry.

About the time when Arion made these changes in the Dithyramb at Corinth, we read that a practice began to obtain in the neighbouring city of Sicyon which could not be altogether unconnected with Arion's "tragic style." The hero Adrastus was there honoured with Tragic Choruses. And the tyrant Cleisthenes, for political reasons, restored these choruses to Bacchus<sup>5</sup>. The tendency, which was thus checked, shows that the Dithyrambic Chorus of Arion had proved itself well adapted for the representation of tragic incidents, and especially of those misfortunes which were traceable to an evil destiny; for Adrastus was a type of unavoidable suffering<sup>6</sup>, brought down by the unappeasable vengeance of heaven; and every reader of the later Greek Drama is aware that this was a main ingredient in the plots of the more finished Tragedies, in which the divine Nemesis was always at

<sup>1</sup> Athen. p. 456 D; Schol. ad Pind. Ol. XIII. 18.

<sup>2</sup> This is Ritter's opinion; ad Arist. Poet. p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> It appears too from Aristophanes (*Ranæ*, 153) that Kinesias, who was a celebrated Dithyrambist, was also renowned for his Pyrrhics.

<sup>4</sup> Bähr, ad Herod. l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Οἱ δὲ Σικυῶνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμῶν τὸν Ἀδρηστον...τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον, καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον· τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέωντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην τῷ Μελανίππῳ· ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστον οἱ πεποίητο. Herod. v. 67.

<sup>6</sup> His name, as is well known, indicated as much. See Antimach. p. 71 (apud Strab. p. 588).

work. There may, therefore, be some foundation for the claims set up by the Sicyonians<sup>1</sup>. By transferring the Bacchic Chorus to the celebration of other heroes, they made a step even beyond Arion towards the introduction of dramatic poetry properly so called; and it is very possible that Epigenes of Sicyon may have been the first of a series of sixteen lyrical dramatists ending with Thespis<sup>2</sup>, to whom, as we shall shortly see, we owe the actor<sup>3</sup>, the dramatic dialogue, the stage, and the epic elements of the Athenian Tragedy.

The only specimens of the Greek choral poetry which have come down to us complete are a certain number of the Epinician or triumphal Odes of Pindar, who was born three years after Æschylus, who was more than once an honoured guest at Athens after the establishment there of the tragic drama, and whose intercourse with Æschylus, in Attica and in Sicily, is attested by more than one indication of borrowed phraseology. We cannot therefore conclude the present chapter without endeavouring to ascertain how far the performance of one of Pindar's Epinician Odes partook of a dramatic or histrionic character.

We have already seen, on the authority of Plato, that the melic poem presumed a direct communication from the poet himself—it was δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, in other words, it represented the author of the poem as speaking in his own person, and was therefore distinguished from the imitative dialogue of dramatic poetry<sup>4</sup>. Now the ἐπινίκιον in particular belonged to the class of ἐγκώμια, which by the nature of the case implied a festive meeting<sup>5</sup> and more than any other form of melic poetry allowed the bard freely to introduce his own personality. It does not, however, follow from this that the poet was always present in person, and

<sup>1</sup> τραγωδίας εὐρεταὶ μὲν Σικυώνιοι, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοί. Themist. Orat. xxvii. 337 B.

See also Athen. xiv. p. 629 A: Ἀμφίλων—ἀγεσθαὶ φησιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι παίδων ὀρχήσεις μετὰ σπουδῆς παρατιθέμενος ἀρχαῖον ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

Ἀμφότερ', ὠρχεύμαν τε καὶ ἐν Μώσαις ἐδίδασκον  
Ἄνδρας, ὃ δ' αὐλήτας ἦν Ἀνακος Φιαλεύς·  
Εἰμὶ δὲ Βακχείδας Σικυώνιος. ἧ ῥα θεοῖσι  
Τοῖς Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπεκείτο γέρας.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas in Θέσπις.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. xiv. p. 630 C: συνέστηκε δὲ καὶ Σατυρική πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγωδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον.

<sup>4</sup> Plat. Resp. iii. 394 C. Ast interprets ἀπαγγελία as "ea exponendi ratio qua poeta lyricus utitur qui suis ipse verbis omnia refert, suæ ipse mentis sensa explicat."

<sup>5</sup> Below, Chapter v.

took an immediate part in the public performance of his ode. On the contrary, as the triumphal ode was generally celebrated in the victor's native city, and sometimes repeated from time to time on the anniversary of his success, the poet would more frequently than otherwise be absent, and if the ode contained any direct ἀπαγγελία from the author, he must have been represented by the leader of the chorus, who thus became, to all intents and purposes, an actor or the exponent of an assumed personality. It is probable in itself that there was a class of persons, who laid themselves out for this species of impersonation, and the fact that it was so is proved by the Orchomenian Inscription (No. 1583), quoted in the Appendix to this chapter. We find there that a certain Theban named Nicostratus gained the prize at the Charitesia as κωμῳδός in regard to the ἐπινίκια, i.e. not the celebration of the victory, as Böckh supposes, but the songs composed for that celebration. For in order to sing the ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν θῆκα, as Pindar calls it<sup>1</sup>, it was necessary that there should be a κωμῳδός, a leader of the band, that is, either the poet himself who is mentioned in the following inscription<sup>2</sup>, or some professional leader, like this Nicostratus. There is sufficient evidence in Pindar's odes to prove that the ἀπαγγελία of the poet himself was thus undertaken by a professional representative, who was distinct from the teacher of the Chorus.

There are two of Pindar's Epinicia, the sixth Olympian and the second Isthmian ode, in which the poet directly addresses the χοροδιδάσκαλος. In the fifth strophe of the former he says<sup>3</sup>: "now urge your comrades, Æneas, first to sing of Hera Parthenia, and then to make known whether we truly escape from the old reproach—*Bæotian sow!* For you are a true messenger, the despatch-staff of the fair-haired Muses, a sweet mixing-cup of loudly uttered songs. Then tell them to remember Syracuse and Ortygia." There is every reason to believe that this ode was sung at Stymphalus in Arcadia. Agesias had driven the mule-car himself at Olympia, otherwise the allusion to his danger<sup>4</sup> would have no meaning; but the chariot driven by his friend Phintis formed part of the triumphal procession which accompanied the performance of the ode, as appears from the address to the charioteer<sup>5</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> *Pyth.* x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 87 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> l. 47: τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμῳδιῶν ποιητής.

<sup>4</sup> vv. 9—11.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 22 sqq.



“unenvying citizens<sup>1</sup>,” who are represented as taking part in the song of victory, are of course the Arcadians, tacitly opposed to the envious Syracusans, who slew Agesias three years after his victory, and who are implied in the statement that “envy impends from others envying him<sup>2</sup>.” That Pindar could not have been present at the Arcadian festival is clear from his calling Æneas “a messenger” (ἄγγελος) and “a despatch-staff” (σκυτάλη); and that Æneas was not the κωμῳδός, but merely the χοροδιδάσκαλος, is proved from this address to him. From the words immediately preceding: “Theba whose delightful water I will drink when I weave a varied strain for warriors<sup>3</sup>,” it appears that Pindar was at Thebes when he was meditating another hymn on the Olympic victory of Agesias, which was to be performed at Syracuse under the auspices of Hiero; for the ἄνδρες αἰχμηταί undoubtedly refer to Agesias, who is described as distinguished by his military excellences no less than by his connexion with the prophetic clan of the Iamidæ<sup>4</sup>. In the other case, where the χοροδιδάσκαλος is addressed, namely, at the end of the second Isthmian ode, although Thrasybulus, the son of the deceased victor Xenocrates, is accosted in the second person in the preceding stanzas<sup>5</sup>, the concluding epode is directed to the trainer of the choir, Nicasippus, and the poet speaks as though all that had gone before was a message to be delivered to Thrasybulus, when Nicasippus next saw him. He says<sup>6</sup>: “let him not be prevented by the envious hopes of others from speaking his father’s praise and publishing these hymns” (the second Isthmian and another composed for recitation at Agrigentum), “for I have not made them to tarry in one place (like a statue, as he says elsewhere<sup>7</sup>) but to pass to and fro among men. Communicate (or impart<sup>8</sup>) these injunctions, O Nicasippus, when you shall have come to my respected friend.”

From these passages it appears that the κωμῳδός of the Epini-cian Ode sometimes directly represented the person of the poet.

<sup>1</sup> v. 7: ἐπικύρσαις ἀφθόνων ἀστῶν ἐν ἡμερταῖς ἀοιδαῖς.

<sup>2</sup> v. 74: μῶμος ἐκ δ’ ἄλλων κρέμαται φθονεόντων.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 85—87: Θήβαν, τᾶς ἐρατεινὸν ὕδωρ  
πλομαι, ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων  
ποικίλον ὕμνον.

We have maintained, in our note on this passage, that πλομαι must be future here: and have compared *Isthm.* v. 74: πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ.

<sup>4</sup> vv. 17, 18.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 1, 31.

<sup>6</sup> vv. 43—48.

<sup>7</sup> *Nem.* v. 1.

<sup>8</sup> ἀπόνειμον. The scholiast says it means ἀναγνώθι, “read,” as in *Soph. Fragm.* 150: σὺ δ’ ἐν θρόνοισι γραμμάτων πτύχας ἔχων ἀπόνειμον.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

ORCHOMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

1583.

Μνασίῳ ἀρχοντος, ἀγωνο-  
θετόντος τῶν Χαριτεῖσιον  
Εὐάριος τῷ Πάντωνος, τύδε  
ἐνίκωσαν τὰ Χαριτεῖαια·  
σαλπίγκτας  
Φιλῶνος Φιλῶνι Ἀθανεῖος,  
κάρουξ  
Εἰρώδας Σωκράτιος Θειβεῖος,  
ποείτας  
Μήστωρ Μήστορος Φωκατεὺς,  
ραψάφυδος  
Κράτων Κλίωνος Θειβεῖος,  
αὐλειτάς  
Περιγένεις Ἡρακλῖδαο Κουζικηνός,  
αὐλάφυδος  
Δαμήμετος Γλαύκῳ Ἀργῖος,  
κιθαριστάς  
Ἀγέλοχος Ἀσκληπιογένιος Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μουρίνας,  
κιθαράφυδος  
Δαμάτριος Ἀμαλῳτῳ Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μουρίνας,  
τραγάφυδος  
Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Πουθέαο Ταραντῖνος,  
κωμάφυδος  
Νικόστρατος Φιλοστράτῳ Θειβεῖος,  
τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμάφυδος  
Εὐαρχος Ε[ἰ]ροδότῳ Κορωνεὺς.

1584.

Οἶδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Χαριτησίων·  
σαλπιστῆς  
Μῆνις Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀντισχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου,  
κήρυξ  
Ζώϊλος Ζωῖλου Πάφιος,  
ραψῳδός  
Νουμήνιος Νουμηνίου Ἀθηναῖος,  
ποιητῆς ἐπῶν  
Ἀμνίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος,  
αὐλητῆς  
Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπολλοδότου Κρησαῖος,  
αὐλῳδός



Ῥόδιππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος,  
 κιθαριστῆς  
 Φανίας Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Φανίου, Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Κύμης,  
 κιθαρωδὸς  
 Δημήτριος Παρμενίσκου Καλχηδόνιος,  
 τραγωδὸς  
 Ἴπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος,  
 κωμωδὸς  
 Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος,  
 ποιητῆς Σατύρων  
 Ἀμνίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος,  
 ὑποκριτῆς  
 Δωρόθεος Δωροθέου Ταραντῖνος,  
 ποιητῆς τραγωδιῶν  
 Σοφοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτῆς  
 Καβίριχος Θεοδώρου Θηβαῖος,  
 ποιητῆς κωμωδιῶν  
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτῆς  
 Ἀτταλος Ἀττάλου Ἀθηναῖος.  
 Οἶδε ἐνίκων τὸν νεμητὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀμολωτῶν  
 παῖδας αὐλητὰς  
 Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος,  
 παῖδας ἡγεμόνας  
 Στρατῖνος Εὐνίκου Θηβαῖος,  
 ἄνδρας αὐλητὰς  
 Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος,  
 ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας  
 Ῥόδιππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος,  
 τραγωδὸς  
 Ἴπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος,  
 κωμωδὸς  
 Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος,  
 τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμωδιῶν ποιητῆς  
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος.

These two Inscriptions were formerly in a chapel of the Virgin at Orchomenus in Boeotia. The stones are now removed. The first Inscription is written in Boeotic, and is supposed by Böckh to be of older date than Olymp. 145 (B.C. 220).

To the foregoing Inscriptions we will add a third; a Thespian Inscription, engraved in the later age of the Roman emperors, which relates to the same subject; and then give the inferences which Böckh has drawn from these three interesting agonistic monuments.

1585.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.  
 Ἐνείκων ἐπὶ Φλαουτῷ Παυλείῳ ἀγωνοθετοῦντι Μουσῶν, εἰ[π']  
 ἄρχοντι Μητροδώρῳ τῷ Ὀν[η]σιφόρου  
 ποιητῆς προσοδίου

Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιεύς  
 καὶ Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,  
 κήρυξ  
 Πομπήϊος Ζωσίμου Θεσπιεύς,  
 σαλπικτὰς  
 Ζώσιμος Ἐπίκτου Θηβαῖος,  
 ἐγκωμογράφος εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα  
 Πούπλιος Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος Νε[ω]κορείτης,  
 ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μούσας  
 Πούπλιος Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος Νε[ω]κορείτης,  
 ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα  
 Αἰμίλιος Ἐπίκτητος Κορίνθιος,  
 ποίημα εἰς τὰς Μούσας  
 Δαμόνεικος Δάμωνος Θεσπιεύς,  
 ραψῳδὸς  
 Εὐτυχιανὸς Κορίνθιος,  
 πυθαύλας  
 Φάβιος Ἀντιακὸς Κορίνθιος,  
 κ[ι]θαριστὰς  
 Θεόδωρος Θεοδότου Νεικομηδεύς  
 [κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας]  
 . . . . .  
 τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀσπένδιος,  
 ποιητὴς καινῆς κωμῳδίας  
 Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς κωμῳδίας  
 Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ποιη[τῆ]ς καινῆς τραγῳδίας  
 Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς τραγῳδίας  
 Ἀγαθήμερος Πυθοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος,  
 χοραύλης  
 Ὅσιος Περγαμηνός,  
 νεαρωδὸς  
 Α. Κλώδιος Ἀχιλλεύς Κορίνθιος,  
 σατυρογράφος  
 Μ. Αἰμίλιος Ἰήττιος,  
 \* διὰ πάντων  
 Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιεύς.

These Inscriptions were first printed by Böckh at the end of his treatise on the *Public Economy of Athens*. We subjoin some of the remarks which he there makes upon them (IIter Band, p. 361 fol.).

“Before I leave these two Inscriptions, I may be permitted to make a few remarks on the games mentioned in them. We find in both, first of all, trumpeters and a

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\* “Haud dubie formulæ sententia est, hunc inter omnes victores esse præstantissimum judicatum, victorem inter victores; unde ultimo loco scriptus est.”—Böckh in loc.

herald, who began the games: their art was doubtless an object of contest in most sacred games, and the heralds in particular contended with one another in the gymnastic games (Cicero, *Fam.* v. 12); which may perhaps have been the principal reason why the ancients had trumpeters and heralds, whom no one of the present day could have matched in strength of voice. Comp. Pollux, iv. 86—92; Athen. x. p. 415 F, seqq.; Ælian, *V. H.* l. 26. These are followed by the Epic poet, together with the Rhapsodist who recited his poem: then we have the flute-player and harper with the persons who sang to these instruments respectively. Next come, in both Inscriptions, Tragedians and Comedians. At the new Charitesia, however, three additional dramatic games are mentioned: ποιητῆς Σατύρων and ὑποκριτῆς, ποιητῆς τραγωδιῶν and ὑποκριτῆς, ποιητῆς κωμωδιῶν and ὑποκριτῆς. At the Homoloia in the second Inscription, Tragedians and Comedians occur, and for the celebration of the victory (τῇ ἐπὶ νίκῃ) another Comedy, but without actors. It is sufficiently clear from this, that when merely Tragedians and Comedians are mentioned, without actors, as is so often the case in authors and Inscriptions, we are not to understand a play, but only a song: if, however, a Play is to be signified, this must first be determined by some particular addition. As soon as an actor (ὑποκριτῆς) is mentioned, we understand by Tragedy and Comedy a dramatic entertainment. For a long time Tragedians and Comedians alone appeared in the Charitesia at Orchomenus, and it is only in later times that we find there all the three kinds of dramatic representations, when the theatre of Athens had extended its influence on all sides; nevertheless, even then the tragic and comic poets are Athenians, and only the satirical poet a Theban. But Tragedians and Comedians, as lyric bards, were to be found everywhere from the most ancient times. This has not been properly attended to, and many passages in ancient writers have consequently been considered as enigmatical or suspicious. In the list of Pindar's Works, given by Suidas, we have seventeen δράματα τραγικά. I have no doubt that Pindar wrote Tragedies, but they were lyric poems, and not Dramas. With this remark, we recognize at once what is true or false in this account. Simonides of Ceos is said by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, by Suidas and Eudocia, to have written Tragedies, which Van Goens (p. 51) doubts; but what objection can be raised to this statement, if we only understand in it lyrical and not dramatic Tragedies? Whether the Tragedies of the younger Empedocles (see Suidas in Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, comp. Sturz, *Empedocl.* p. 86, seqq., where, however, there are all sorts of errors) were just such Dorian lyric Tragedies, or real dramatic exhibitions, I leave undecided. Arion seems to have been considered as the inventor of this lyric goat-song, since the introduction of the tragic manner (τραγικὸς τρόπος) is ascribed to this Dithyrambic poet, although he is said to have added satyrs to the chorus as acting persons (comp. Fabric. *B. Gr.* Vol. II. p. 286, Harles' edition). It is admitted that the Drama grew out of a lyric entertainment, and was formed from the chorus; but it is not so generally known that among the Dorians and Æolians a lyric Tragedy and Comedy existed before, and along with the dramatic, as a distinct species, but people usually referred merely to the rude lyrical beginnings in the Festal games. Thus tragedies before the time of Thespis remained a thorn in the eyes of critics, which it was needful to have taken out; and Bentley's services (*Opusc.* p. 276) in this respect have been very highly estimated. But let not us be deceived by it. The Peloponnesians justly claimed Tragedy as their property (Aristot. *Poet.* III.): its invention and completion as a lyrical entertainment belongs undoubtedly to the Sicyonians, whose Tragedies are mentioned by Herodotus (v. 67, comp. Themist. XIX. p. 487): on which account the invention of Comedy also is sometimes attributed to the Sicyonians (Orest. *Anthol.* Part II. p. 328, 326); and Thespis may very well have been

the sixteenth from the lyric Tragedian, Epigenes (Suidas in *Θέσπης* and *οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*). Aristocles, in his book about the choruses, said very well (Athen. xiv. 630 c): *Συνεστήκει δὲ καὶ σατυρικὴ πᾶσα ποίησις τοπαλαιοῦν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγωδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον*. Just so Diogenes (III. 56) relates, certainly not out of his own learning, that before Thespis the chorus alone played in Tragedy (*διεδραμάτιζε*). This Tragedy, consisting of chorus only, was brought to perfection in very early times, and before the people of Attica, to whom alone the dramatic Tragedy belongs, had appropriated the Drama to themselves: of course only romancers, like the author of the *Minos*, or dialogue of law, have placed the latter far above Thespis; a position against which I have expressed my opinion on a former occasion (*Gr. Trag. Princip.* p. 254). All that I have said is equally applicable to Comedy: in our Inscriptions we find a lyrical Comedy before the dramatical at Orchomenus; and lower down, the dramatical Comedy is introduced, as from Attica, along with which an actor is mentioned: the former was the old peculiarity of the Dorians and Æolians, among whom lyric poetry for the most part obtained its completion. Even if we pass over Epicharmus, and the traces of a lyric Comedy in the religious usages of Epidaurus and Ægina (Herod. v. 83), the Dorians, and especially the Megarians, might still have had well-founded claims to the invention of Comedy, which, according to Aristotle, they made good. Besides, the view which we have taken of the lyrical Comedy sufficiently proves that the name is derived, not from *κῶμη*, but from the merry *κῶμος*: such a one took place at the celebration of the victory, and consequently we find in our Inscriptions *τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμαφυδός*, and *τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμωδιῶν ποιητής*, who is certainly in this place a dramatic Comedian, Alexander of Athens. We cannot, however, call Pindar's songs of victory old Comedies: and the greater is the distinction between the lyric and the dramatic Comedy, the less entitled are we to draw, from this view, any conclusions in favour of the opinion that the Pindaric poems were represented with corresponding mimicry."

Böckh has reprinted these Inscriptions in his *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Tom. i. pp. 763—7, with some additional remarks in defence of his view from the objections of Lobeck and Hermann.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE TRAGIC DIALOGUE.—THESPIS.

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*C'est surtout dans la Tragédie antique, que l'Épopée ressort de partout. Elle monte sur la scène Grecque sans rien perdre en quelque sorte de ses proportions gigantesques et démesurées. Ce que chantaient les rhapsodes, les acteurs le déclament. Voilà tout.*  
VICTOR HUGO.

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IN addition to the choruses, which, together with the accompanying lyrical poetry, we have referred to the Dorians, another species of entertainment had existed in Greece from the very earliest times, which we may consider as peculiar to the Ionian race; for it was in the Ionian colonies that it first sprang up. This was the recitation of poems by wandering minstrels, called rhapsodes (ῥαψῳδοί); a name probably derived from the *æsacus*<sup>1</sup>, a staff (ῥάβδος) or branch (ἔρνος)<sup>2</sup> of laurel or myrtle, which was the symbol of their office. Seated in some conspicuous situation, and holding this staff in the right hand, the rhapsodes chanted in slow *recitativo*, and either with or without a musical accompaniment<sup>3</sup>, larger or smaller portions of the national epic poetry, which, as is well known, took its rise in the Ionian states; and, in days when readers were few, and books fewer, were well-nigh the sole depositories of the literature of their country.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych.: αἰσακος. ὁ τῆς δάφνης κλάδος ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνου τοὺς θεοὺς. Plutarch, *Sympos.* p. 615: Ἦιδον ᾠδὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ—ἐκάστῳ μυρσίνης διδομένης ἣν Ἄσακον, αἶμαι διὰ τὸ ᾄδειν τὸν δεξιόμενον, ἐκάλουν. Welcker has established most clearly (*Ep. Cycl.* p. 364) that ῥαψῳδός is another form of ῥαπισῳδός=ῥαβδῳδός. Comp. χρυσόβ-ῥαπ-ις, β-ῥαβ-εύς, and ῥαπ-ίξεσθαι, as applied to Homer by Diog. Laert. (ix. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Hence they were also called ἄρνωδοί, i. e. ἐρνωδοί.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to determine the degree of musical accompaniment which the rhapsodes admitted; the rhapsode, as such, could hardly have accompanied himself, as one of his hands would be occupied by his rod. We think Wachsmuth is hardly justified in calling (*Hellen. Alterth.* ii. 2, 389) Stesandrus, who sang the Homeric battles to the cithara at Delphi, a rhapsode (*Athen.* xiv. p. 638 A). Terpander was the first who set the Homeric Poems to regular tunes (see Müller's *Dor.* iv. 7, § 11). On the recitation of the rhapsodists in general, the reader would do well to consult Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* pp. 338 fol.; Grote, *Hist. Gr.* Vol. ii. pp. 184 foll.

Their recitations, however, were not long confined to the Epos. All poetry was equally intended for the ear, and nothing was written but in metre: hence the Muses were appropriately called the children of Memory. Now, the Epos was soon succeeded, but not displaced, by the gnomic and didactic poetry of Hesiod, which, as has been justly observed, was an ornamental appendage of the older form of poetry<sup>1</sup>. These poems therefore were recited in the same way as the Epos<sup>2</sup>, and Hesiod himself was a rhapsode<sup>3</sup>. If the *Margites*, in its original form, belonged to the epic period of Greek poetry, it cannot be doubted that this humorous poem was also communicated to the public by means of recitation. The Epos of Homer, with not a little borrowed from the sententious poetry of Hesiod, formed the basis of the tragic dialogue; and in the same way the *Margites* contained within itself the germs of Comedy. The change of metre, which alone rendered the transition to the other forms more simple and easy, is universally attributed to the prolific genius of ARCHILOCHUS, one of the greatest names in the history of ancient literature. This truly original poet formed the double rhythm of the trochee from the equal rhythm of the dactyl, and used this metre partly in combination with dactyls, and partly in dipodiæ of its own, which were considered as ultimately equivalent to the dactylic number<sup>4</sup>. He soon proved that his new verses were lighter and more varied than the old heroic hexameters, and employed them for nearly equivalent purposes. At the same time, he formed the inverse double rhythm of the iambic from the anapæst, or inverted dactyl, which was the natural measure of the march, and was probably used from very early days in the songs of the processional comus<sup>5</sup>. Here again he had an admirable vehicle for the violent satire, in which he indulged, and which found its best justification in the scurrilities and outrageous personalities that were bandied to and fro at the feasts of Demeter

<sup>1</sup> Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alterthumsk.* II. 2, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Legg.* II. p. 658.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. IX. 30, 3: καθήται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι ἔχων, οὐδὲν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ἦδεν. Hesiod could not play on the lyre, X. 7, 2: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος ἅτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ψῆδῃ δεδιδαγμένον.

<sup>4</sup> It is expressly testified by Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 1, § 9, that the tragic poets passed from the trochaic to the iambic verse, the former having been the original metre in dramatic poetry.

<sup>5</sup> See Donaldson's *Greek Grammar*, 647, 651, 656.

in his native island of Paros<sup>1</sup>, and paved the way for the coarse banter of the old Comedy at Athens. The iambic verse, however, was very soon transferred from personal to general satire, from the invectives of the *Margites*, and from the fierce lampoons of Archilochus, to the more sweeping censures and more sententious generalities of gnomic and didactic poetry. Simonides of Amorgus, who flourished but a little later than Archilochus<sup>2</sup>, used the iambic metre in the discussion of subjects little differing from those in which Hesiod delighted. For example, his general animadversions on the female sex are almost anticipated by the humorous indignation of the *Theogony*<sup>3</sup>. But in other passages he approaches to the sententious gravity of the later tragedians. Thus, his reflections on the uncertainty of human life might be taken for a speech from a lost tragedy, if the dialect were not inconsistent with such a supposition<sup>4</sup>. And the same remark is still more applicable to some of the trochaics and iambics of Solon, who lived to witness the first beginnings of Tragedy. Now all this iambic and trochaic poetry was written for rhapsodical recitation: for though we must allow (as even the advocates of the Wolfian hypothesis are willing to admit<sup>5</sup>) that the poems of Archilochus were committed to writing, it cannot be denied that the means of multiplying manuscripts in his time must have been exceedingly scanty; and that, if his opportunities of becoming known had been limited to the number of his readers, he could hardly have acquired his great reputation as a poet. We must, therefore, conclude that his poems, and those of Simonides, were promulgated by recitation; and as such of them as were written in iambics would not be sufficiently diversified

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Hist. Litt. Gr.* c. XL § 5, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Archilochus is first heard of in the year 708 B.C. (Clinton, *P. H.* i. p. 175), and Simonides the elder is placed by Suidas 490 years after the Trojan era (B.C. 693. See *Rhein. Mus.* for 1835, p. 356). It is interesting to observe how the poetry of the colonists in Asia Minor seems to have crept across, step by step, to Attica and other parts of old Greece. Homer represents the greatest bard and rhapsode of the Homeric confraternity in Chios; Hesiod was an Æolian of Cyme; Arion a Lesbian; and the isles of Paros, Amorgos, and Ceos produced Archilochus and the two Simonides'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 591 sqq. Simonides of Amorgos, *Fragm.* 6, Bergk. The 5th fragment of Simonides, quoted by Clemens Alex. *Strom.* VI. p. 744:

Γυναικὸς οὐδὲν χρῆμ' ἀνὴρ λήϊζεται  
'Εσθλῆς ἀμεινον οὐδὲ ῥίγιον κακῆς

is merely a repetition in Iambics of what Hesiod had previously written in Hexameters (*Op. et D.* 700):

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ λήϊζεν' ἀμεινον  
Τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὐ ῥίγιον ἄλλο.

<sup>4</sup> Simonid. *Fr.* 1.

<sup>5</sup> Wolf, *Proleg.* § 17.

in tone and rhythm to form a musical entertainment, we may presume that the recitation of their pieces, even if they were monologues, must have been a near approach to theatric declamation.

Fortunately we are not without some evidence for this view of the case. We learn from Clearchus<sup>1</sup>, that "Simonides, the Zacynthian, recited (ἐρράψωδεν) some of the poems of Archilochus, sitting on an arm-chair in the theatres;" and this is stated still more distinctly in a quotation from Lysanias which immediately follows: he tells us that "Mnasion, the rhapsode, in the public exhibitions acted some of the iambics of Simonides" (ἐν ταῖς δείξεσι τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι<sup>2</sup>). Solon, too, who lived many years after these two poets, and was also a gnomic poet and a writer of iambics, on one occasion committed to memory some of his own elegiacs, and recited them from the herald's bema<sup>3</sup>. It is exceedingly probable, though we have no evidence of the fact, that the gnomes of Theognis were also recited.

The rhapsodes having many opportunities of practising their art, and being on many occasions welcome and expected guests, their calling became a trade, and probably, like that of the Persian story-tellers, a very profitable one. Consequently their numbers increased, till on great occasions many of them were sure to be present, and different parts were assigned to them, which they recited alternately and with great emulation: by this means the audience were sometimes gratified by the recitation of a whole poem at a single feast<sup>4</sup>. In the case of an epic poem, like the Iliad, this was at once a near approach to the theatrical dialogue; for if one rhapsode recited the speech of Achilles in the first book of that poem, and another that of Agamemnon, we may be sure they did their parts with all the action of stage-players.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. XIV. p. 620 c.

<sup>2</sup> This word is very often used of the rhapsode. For example, we have in Arist. *Rhet.* III. 1, § 3: καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ραψωδίαν ὁψὲ παρήλθεν (ἢ ὑπόκρισις)· ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγωδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον. See Wolf, *Prolegom.* p. cxvi; Heyne, *Excursus*, III. 2. It is also applied to the recitation of the Ionic prose of Herodotus, which may be considered as a still more modern form of the Epos. Athen. XIV. p. 629 D: Ἰάσων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεια φησὶ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἠγησίαν τὸν κωμωδὸν τὰ Ἡροδότου.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, VIII. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, *Hipparch.* p. 228: Ἰππάρχῳ, ὅς...τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐπη...ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ραψωδοὺς παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διύειναι ὥσπερ νῦν ἐτι οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Compare Diog. Laert. I. 57, and Suidas v. ὑποβολή.



With regard to the old iambic poems we may remark, that they are often addressed in the second person singular. We venture from this to conjecture, and it is only a conjecture, that these fragments were taken from speeches forming parts of moral dialogues, like the mimes of Sophron, from which Plato borrowed the form of his dialogues<sup>1</sup>; for on the supposition that they were recited, we have no other way of accounting for the fact.

At all events, it is quite certain, that these old iambic poems were the models which the Athenian tragedians proposed to themselves for their dialogues<sup>2</sup>. They were written in the same metre, the same moral tone pervaded both, and, in many instances, the dramatists have borrowed not only the ideas but the very words of their predecessors<sup>3</sup>. The rhapsode was not only the forerunner of the actor, but he was himself an actor (ὑποκριτής<sup>4</sup>). If, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Plato is said to have had Sophron under his pillow when he died. Sophron—mimorum quidem scriptor, sed quem Plato adeo probavit ut suppositos capiti libros ejus cum moreretur habuisse tradatur. Quintil. I. 10, 17. See Spalding's note.

<sup>2</sup> This is expressly stated by Plutarch, *de Musica*, Tom. x. p. 680: ἔτι δὲ τῶν λαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κρούσιν, τὰ δὲ ᾄδεσθαι Ἀρχίλοχόν φασι καταδείξαι, εἴθ' οὕτω χρήσασθαι τοὺς τραγικούς. Do not the first words apply to a rhythmical recitation by the exarchus, followed by a musical performance by the chorus?

<sup>3</sup> Whole pages might be filled with the plagiarisms of the Attic tragedians from even the small remains of the gnomic poets. The following are a few of the most striking.

Archiloch. p. 30, l. 1, Liebel:

χρημάτων ἀελπτων οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον·

is repeated by Soph. *Antig.* 386:

ἄναξ, βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμοτον.

Æsch. *Eumen.* 603:

τὰ πλείστ' ἀμείνον' εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη·

from Theognis, v. 762 (p. 52, Welcker):

ὦδ' εἶναι καὶ ἀμείνον' εὐφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας.

Æsch. *Agam.* 36:

τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώττης μέγας·

from Theognis, 651, Welcker:

βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσσης κρατερῶ ποδὶ λάξ ἐπιβαίνων  
ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον.

Soph. *Antig.* 666:

Τοῦδε [ἄρχοντος] χρὴ κλύειν  
Καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάναντία·

(i. e. μεγάλα καὶ ἄδिका), from Solon's well-known line:

Ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κᾄδिका, as it ought to be read.

<sup>4</sup> When Aristotle says (*Rhet.* III. 1): εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ῥαψωδίαν ὁψὲ παρήλθεν (ἢ ὑπόκρισις), ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγωδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον, he evidently means by the word ὑπόκρισις the assumption of the poet's person by another; which we conceive to have been the original, as it is the derived, meaning of the word. Compare ὑπόρχημα, &c. We think it more than probable that the names of the actors, πρωταγωνίστης, &c. were derived from the names of the rhapsodes who recited in

the difference between the lyric Tragedy of the Dorians and the regular Tragedy of the Athenians consisted in this, that the one had actors (ὑποκριταί) and the other had none, we must look for the origin of the complete and perfect Attic drama in the union of the rhapsodes with the Bacchic chorus.

There can be little doubt that the worship of Bacchus was introduced into Attica at a very early period<sup>1</sup>; indeed it was probably the religion of the oldest inhabitants, who, on the invasion of the country by the Ionians, were reduced, like the native Laconians, to the inferior situation of *περίοικοι*, and cultivated the soil for their conquerors. Like all other Pelasgians they were naturally inclined to a country life, and this perhaps may account for the elementary nature of their religion, which with its votaries was thrown aside and despised by the ruling caste. In the quadripartite division of the people of Attica the old inhabitants formed the tribe of the *Ægicores* or goatherds, who worshipped Dionysus with the sacrifice of goats. But though they were at first kept in a state of inferiority and subjection, they eventually rose to an equality with the other inhabitants of the country. There are very many Attic legends which point to the original contempt for the goatherd's religion, and its subsequent adoption by the other tribes. This is indicated by the freedom of slaves at the Dionysian festivals, by the reference of the origin of the religion to the town Eleutheræ, by the marriage of the King Archon's wife to Bacchus<sup>2</sup>; and we may perhaps discover traces of a difference of castes in the story of Orestes at the Anthesteria. It was natural, therefore, that the *Ægicores*, when they had obtained their freedom from political disabilities, should ascribe their deliverance to their tutelary god, whom they therefore called *Ἐλεύθερος*: and in later times, when all the inhabitants of Attica were on a footing of equality, the god Bacchus was still looked upon as the favourer of the commonalty, and as the patron of democracy.

succession (ἐξ ὑπολήψεως) in the *ῥαψωδῶν ἀγῶνες*. See Pseudoplat. *Hipparch.* p. 228, and the other passages quoted by Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* pp. 371 fol.

<sup>1</sup> On the early worship of Bacchus in Attica see Welcker's *Nachtrag*, pp. 194 fol. and *Phil. Mus.* II. pp. 299—307.

<sup>2</sup> —καὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ ὑμῖν ἔθνε τὰ ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ εἶδεν δ' οὐ προσῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ξένην οὔσαν, καὶ τοιαύτη οὔσα εἰσῆλθεν οἱ οὔδεις ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων τοσοῦτων ὄντων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή, ἐξώρκωσέ τε τὰς γεραιὰς τὰς ὑπηρετούσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάτρια τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, πολλὰ καὶ ἄγρια καὶ ἀπόρρητα. Pseud. Demosth. *in Neær.* pp. 1369—70. Above, p. 19.

As we have before remarked, it was not till the Athenians had recognized the supremacy of the Delphian oracle, that the Dorian choral worship was introduced into Attica, and it was then applied to the old Dionysian religion of the country with the sanction of the Pythian priestess, as appears from the oracle which we have quoted above, and from the legend in Pausanias, that the Delphian oracle assisted Pegasus in transferring the worship of Bacchus from Eleutheræ to Athens<sup>1</sup>. Consequently the cyclic chorus would not be long in finding its way into a country so predisposed for its reception as Attica certainly was; and there is every reason to believe that the Dorian lyric drama, perhaps with certain modifications, accompanied its parent<sup>2</sup>.

The recitations by rhapsodes were a peculiarly Ionian entertainment, and therefore, no doubt, were common in Attica from the very earliest times. At Brauron, in particular, we are told that the *Iliad* was chanted by rhapsodes<sup>3</sup>. Now the Brauronia was a festival of Bacchus, and a particularly boisterous one, if we may believe Aristophanes<sup>4</sup>. To this festival we refer the passage of Clearchus, quoted by Athenæus<sup>5</sup>, in which it is stated that the rhapsodes came forward in succession, and recited in honour of Bacchus. By a combination of these particulars, we can at once establish a connexion between the worship of Bacchus and the rhapsodic recitations. Before, however, we consider the important inferences which may be derived from these facts, we must enter a little into the state of affairs in Attica at the time when the Thespian Tragedy arose.

The early political dissensions at Athens were, like those between the *populus* and the *plebs* in the olden times of Roman history, the consequences of an attempt on the part of the inferior

<sup>1</sup> I. 2, 5: συνελάβετο δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that the *oscilla* on the trees referred to the hanging of Erigone, which probably formed the subject of a standing drama with mimic dances like the Sicyonian Tragedies, with which the dramas of Epigenes were connected. Welck. *Nachtrag*, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych.: Βραυρωνίοις. τὴν Ἰλιάδα ᾗδον ῥαψῳδοὶ ἐν Βραυρώνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς. καὶ Βραυρωνία ἐορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδι Βραυρωνία ἀγεται καὶ θύεται αἰξ. Does this mention of the sacrifice of a goat point to the rites of the Ægicore?

<sup>4</sup> *Pax*, 874, and Schol.

<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of the Seventh Book, p. 275 B: Φαγήσια, οἱ δὲ Φαγησιοπόσια προσαγορεύουσι τὴν ἐορτήν. ἐξέλιπε δὲ αὕτη, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ῥαψῳδῶν, ἣν ᾗγον κατὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἐν ᾗ παριόντες ἕκαστοι τῷ θεῷ ὅλον τιμὴν ἀπετέλουν τὴν ῥαψῳδίαν. Welcker reads ἐκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν, and takes quite a different view of this passage, except so far as he agrees with us in referring it to the Brauronia (*Ep. Cycl.* p. 391).

orders in an aristocracy of conquest<sup>1</sup> to shake off their civil disabilities, and to put themselves upon an equality with their more favoured fellow-citizens. Solon had in part effected this by taking from the Eupatrids some of their exclusive privileges, and establishing a democracy in the place of the aristocracy. At this time, Athens was divided into three parties; the Πεδιαῖοι, or the landed aristocracy of the interior; the Πάραλοι, the people dwelling on the coast on both sides of Cape Sunium; and the Διάκριοι or Ὑπεράκριοι, the highlanders who inhabited the north-eastern district of Attica<sup>2</sup>. The first party were for an oligarchy, the last for a democracy, and the second for a mixture of the two forms of government<sup>3</sup>. The head of the democratical faction was Pisistratus, the son of Hippocrates, of the family of the Codrids, and related to Solon: he was born at Philaïdæ, near Brauron, and therefore was by birth a Diacrian. Having obtained by an artifice the sovran power at Athens, he was expelled by a coalition of the other two factions. After a short time, however, Megacles, the leader of the Paralians, being harassed (περιελαυνόμενος<sup>4</sup>) by the aristocratic faction, recalled Pisistratus and gave him his daughter in marriage. The manner of his return is of the greatest importance in reference to our present object. "There was a woman," says Herodotus, "of the Pæanian deme, whose name was Phya: she was nearly four cubits in stature, and was in other respects comely to look upon. Having equipped this woman in a complete suit of armour, they placed her in a chariot, and having taught her beforehand how to act her part in the most dignified manner possible (καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φαίνεσθαι ἔχουσα<sup>5</sup>), they drove to the city." He adds, that they sent heralds before her, who, when they got to Athens, told the people to receive with good-will Pisistratus, whom Athena herself honoured above all

<sup>1</sup> See Arnold's *Thucydides*, Vol. I. p. 620. We think the fact that one of the classes in Attica was called the "Hopletes," points to a conquest of Attica in remote times by the Ionians.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. I. 59: στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων...τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* XIII. p. 85: ἦν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος δημοκρατικώτερον, ὀλιγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ Πάραλοι μέσον τινα καὶ μεμιγμένον αἰρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον. Comp. Arnold's note on *Thucyd.* II. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. I. 60.

<sup>5</sup> See the passages quoted by Ruhnken on *Timæus*, sub ν. σχηματιζόμενος (pp. 245—6), to which add Plat. *Resp.* p. 577 A: ἐκπλήττεται ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τυραννικῶν προστάσεως ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω σχηματίζονται...ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνὸς ἂν ὀφθείη τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς.

men, and was bringing back from exile to her own Acropolis. Now we must recollect who were the parties to this proceeding. In the first place, we have Megacles, an Alcmaeonid, and therefore connected with the worship of Bacchus<sup>1</sup>; moreover, he was the father of the Alcmaeon, whose son Megacles married Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, and had by her Cleisthenes, the Athenian demagogue, who is said to have imitated his maternal grandfather in some of the reforms which he introduced into the Athenian constitution<sup>2</sup>. One of the points, which Herodotus mentions in immediate connexion with Cleisthenes' imitation of his grandfather, is the abolition of the *Homeric* rhapsodes at Sicyon, and his restitution of the Tragic Choruses to Bacchus. May we not also conclude that Megacles the elder was not indifferent to the policy of a ruler who was so nearly connected with him by marriage? The other party was Pisistratus, who was, as we have said, born near Brauron, where rhapsodic recitations were connected with the worship of Bacchus; the strong-hold of his party was the Tetrapolis, which contained the town of Œnoë<sup>3</sup>, to which, and not to the Boeotian town of the same name, we refer the traditions with regard to the introduction of the worship of Bacchus into Attica<sup>4</sup>; his party doubtless included the Ægicores (who have indeed been considered as identical with the Diacrians<sup>5</sup>), and these we have seen were the original possessors of the worship of Bacchus; finally, there was a mask of Bacchus at Athens, which was said to be a portrait of Pisistratus<sup>6</sup>; so that upon the whole there can be little doubt of the interest which he took in the establishment of the rites of the Ægicores as a part of the state religion. With regard to the actress, Phya, we need only remark that she was a garland-seller<sup>7</sup>, and therefore, as this trade was a very public one, could not easily have passed herself off upon the Athenians for a

<sup>1</sup> See Welcker's *Nachtrag*, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 67: ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλ. οὗτος τὸν ἐωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα, Κλ. τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ...ῥαψωδοὺς ἐπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων ἐνεκα. Mr. Grote has shown good reasons for believing that the poems recited at Sicyon as Homeric productions were the *Thebais* and the *Epigoni*. *Hist. Gr.* Vol. II. p. 173, note.

<sup>3</sup> See the passages quoted by Elmsley on the *Heracl.* 81.

<sup>4</sup> The Deme of Semachus was also in that part of Attica.

<sup>5</sup> See Wachsmuth, I. 1, p. 229; Arnold's *Thucydides*, pp. 659—60.

<sup>6</sup> *ὅπου καὶ τὸ Ἀθήνησι τοῦ Διονύσου πρόσωπον ἐκείνου τινὲς φασιν εἰκόνα.* Athenæus, XII. p. 533 C.

<sup>7</sup> στεφανόπωλις δὲ ἦν. Athen. XIII. p. 609 C.

goddess. The first inference which we shall draw from a combination of these particulars is, that the ceremony attending the return of Pisistratus was to all intents and purposes a dramatic representation<sup>1</sup> of the same kind with that part of the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, in which the same goddess Athena is introduced for the purpose of recommending to the Athenians the maintenance of the Areopagus<sup>2</sup>.

Before we make any further use of the facts which we have alluded to, it will be as well to give some account of the celebrated contemporary of Pisistratus to whom the invention of Greek Tragedy has been generally ascribed. THESPIS was born at Icarius<sup>3</sup>, a Diacrian deme<sup>4</sup>, at the beginning of the sixth century B. C.<sup>5</sup> His birth-place derived its name, according to the tradition, from the father of Erigone<sup>6</sup>; it had always been a seat of the religion of Bacchus, and the origin of the Athenian Tragedy and Comedy has been confidently referred to the drunken festivals of the place<sup>7</sup>: indeed it is not improbable that the name itself may point to the old mimetic exhibitions which were common there<sup>8</sup>. Thespis is stated to have introduced an actor for the sake of resting the Dionysian chorus<sup>9</sup>. This actor was generally, perhaps always, himself<sup>10</sup>. He invented a disguise for the face by means of a pigment, prepared from the herb purslain, and afterwards constructed a linen mask, in order, probably, that he might be able to sustain more than one character<sup>11</sup>. He is also said to have introduced some important alterations into the dances of the chorus, and

<sup>1</sup> Solon (according to Plutarch, c. xxx.) applied the term *ὑποκρίνεσθαι* to another of the artifices of Pisistratus. Diogen. Laërt. *Solon*, i. says: *Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσεν (ὁ Σόλων) τραγωδίας ἀγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς ἀνωφελεὴ τὴν ψευδολογίαν. ὅτ' οὖν Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωπεν, ἐκείθεν μὲν ἔφη ταῦτα φῦναι.*

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be nearly the view taken of this pageant by Dr. Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. II. p. 60. Mr. Keightley is inclined to conjecture from the meaning of the woman's name (*Phya—size*) that the whole is a myth.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas, *Θέσπιν*, *Ἰκαρίου πόλεως Ἀττικῆς*.

<sup>4</sup> Leake *on the Demi of Attica*, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Bentley fixes the time of Thespis' first exhibition at 536 B. C.

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ἰκαρία*; Hygin. *Fab.* 130; Ov. *Met.* vi. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Athen. II. p. 40: *ἀπὸ μέθης καὶ ἡ τῆς κωμωδίας καὶ τῆς τραγωδίας εὗρεσις ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εὐρέθη.*

<sup>8</sup> See Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> *Ὅσπερον δὲ Θέσπιν ἓνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεύρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορόν.* Diog. Laërt. *Plat.* LXVI.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* XXIX: *ὁ Σόλων ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς.* See also Arist. *Rhet.* III. 1, and Liv. VII. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 271; Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, Vol. II. p. 126.



his figures were known in the days of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>. These are almost all the facts which we know respecting this celebrated man. It remains for us to examine them. It appears, then, that he was a contemporary of Pisistratus and Solon. He was a Diacrian, and consequently a partizan of the former; we are told too that the latter was violently opposed to him<sup>2</sup>. He was an Icarian, and therefore by his birth a worshipper of Bacchus. He was an ὑποκριτής; and from the subjects of his recitations it would appear that he was also a rhapsode<sup>3</sup>. Here we have again the union of Dionysian rites with rhapsodical recitations which we have discovered in the Brauronian festival. But he went a step farther: his rhapsode, or actor, whether himself or another person, did not confine his speech to mere narration; he addressed it to the chorus, which carried on with him, by means of its coryphæi, a sort of dialogue. The chorus stood upon the steps of the thymele, or altar of Bacchus; and in order that he might address them from an equal elevation, he was placed upon a table (ἐλῆος)<sup>4</sup>, which was the predecessor of the stage, between which and the thymele in later times there was always an intervening space. The waggon of Thespis, of which Horace writes, must have arisen from some confusion between this standing-place for the actor and the waggon of Susarion<sup>5</sup>. Themistius tells us that Thespis invented a *prologue* and a *rhexis*<sup>6</sup>. The former must have been the proœmium which he spoke as exarchus of the improved Dithyramb; the latter the dialogue between himself and the chorus, by means of which he developed a myth

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1479.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* xxix. xxx. and p. 59, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The names of some of his plays have come down to us: they are the Περσέας, Ἀθλα Πελοῦ, ἡ Φορβὰς; Ἱερεῖς, Ἡτῆροι (Jul. Poll. vii. 45; Suid. s. v. Θέσπις). Gruppe must have founded his supposition that Ulysses was the subject of a play of Thespis (*Ariadne*, p. 129) on a misunderstanding of Plut. *Sol.* xxx. in which he was preceded by Schneider (*De Originibus Trag. Gr.* p. 56).

<sup>4</sup> See Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 248. We think that the joke of Dicæopolis (Arist. *Acharn.* 355 sqq.) is an allusion to this practice. Solon mounted the herald's bema, when he recited his verses to the people. (V. Plut. c. 8).

<sup>5</sup> See Welcker, *Nachtrag*, p. 247. Gruppe says quaintly, but, we think, justly (*Ariadne*, p. 122), "It is clear enough that the waggon of Thespis cannot well consist with the festal choir of the Dionysia; and, in fact, this old coach, which has been fetched from Horace only, must be shoved back again into the lumber-room." The words of Horace are (*A. P.* 275—277):

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ  
Dicitur et plaustriis vexisse poemata Thespis,  
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

<sup>6</sup> p. 316, Hard.: Θέσπις δὲ πρόλογόν τε καὶ ῥῆσιν ἐξεῦρεν.

relating to Bacchus or some other deity or hero<sup>1</sup>. Lastly, there is every reason to believe, that Thespis did not confine his representation to his native deme, but exhibited at Athens<sup>2</sup>.

From a comparison of these particulars respecting Thespis with the facts which we have stated in connexion with the first return of Pisistratus to Athens, we shall now be able to deduce some further inferences. It appears, then, that a near approximation to the perfect form of the Greek Drama took place in the time of Pisistratus: all those who were concerned in bringing it about were Diacrians, or connected with the worship of Bacchus; the innovations were either the results or the concomitants of an assumption of political power by a caste of the inhabitants of Attica, whose tutelary god was Bacchus, and were in substance nothing but an union of the old choral worship of Bacchus, with an offshoot of the rhapsodical recitations of the Ionic epopœists<sup>3</sup>.

We can understand without any difficulty why Pisistratus should encourage the religion of his own people, the Diacrians or Ægicores; and why Solon, who thought he had given the lower orders power enough<sup>4</sup>, should oppose the adoption of their worship as a part of the religion of the state; for in those days the religion and privileges of a caste rose and fell together. It might, however,

<sup>1</sup> This is the sense which the word ῥῆσις bears in Hom. *Odys.* XXI. 290, 291:

— αὐτὰρ ἀκούεις  
ἡμετέρων μύθων καὶ ῥήσιος.

*Æschyl. Suppl.* 610: τοιδᾷδ' ἔπειθε ῥῆσιν ἀμφ' ἡμῶν λέγων.

See Welcker, *Nachtr.* p. 269. The invention of the ῥῆσις seems also to be referred to by Aristotle, when he says (*Poet.* c. 4): λέξεως δὲ γενομένης.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachtrag*, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> The conclusions of Gruppe are so nearly, in effect, the same as ours, and so well expressed, that we think it right to lay them before our readers (*Ariadne*, p. 127). "Thespis developed from these detached speeches of the Choreutæ, especially when they were longer than usual, a recitation by an actor in the form of a narrative; a recitation, and not a song. Thespis, however, was an inhabitant of Attica, an Athenian, and as such stood in the middle, between the proper Ionians and the Dorians. The formation of the epos was the peculiar property of the former, of lyric poetry that of the latter. So long as tragedy or the tragic chorus existed in the Peloponnese, they were of a lyrical nature. In this form, with the Doric dialect and a lyrical accompaniment, they were transplanted into Attica; and here it was that Thespis first joined to them the Ionic element of narration, which, if not quite Ionic, had and maintained a relationship with the Ionic, even in the language." We may here remark, that all the old iambic poets wrote strictly in the Ionic dialect. Welcker has clearly shown this by examples in the case of Simonides of Amorgus. (See *Rheinisch. Museum* for 1835, p. 369.)

<sup>4</sup> Solon, ed. Bach, p. 94: Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσον ἐπαρκεῖ. Is not Niebuhr's translation of this line wrong? (*Hist. Rom.* Vol. II. note 700.) Comp. *Æsch. Agamemn.* 370:

ἔστω ἀπήμαντον ὥστε κάπαρκεῖν εἰς πραπίδων λαχόντα.



be asked why Pisistratus and his party, who evidently in their encroachments on the power of the aristocracy adopted in most cases the policy of the Sicyonian Cleisthenes, should in this particular have deviated from it so far as to encourage the rhapsodes, whom Cleisthenes, on the contrary, sedulously put down on account of the great predilection of the aristocracy for the Epos<sup>1</sup>. This deserves and requires some additional explanation. Pisistratus was not only a Diacrian or goat-worshipper: he was also a Codrid, and therefore a Neleid; nay, he bore the name of one of the sons of his mythical ancestor, Nestor: he might, therefore, be excused for feeling some sort of aristocratical respect for the poems which described the wisdom and valour of his progenitors. Besides, he was born in the deme Philaïdæ, which derived its name from Philæus, one of the sons of Ajax, and he reckoned Ajax also among his ancestors: this may have induced him to desire a public commemoration of the glories of the Æantidæ, just as the Athenians of the next century looked with delight and interest at the Play of Sophocles<sup>2</sup>: and we have little doubt but he heard in his youth parts of the Iliad recited at the neighbouring deme of Brauron<sup>3</sup>. If we add to this, that by introducing into a few passages of the Homeric poems some striking encomiums on his countrymen, he was able to add considerably to his popularity, and that it is always the policy of a tyrant to encourage literature<sup>4</sup>, we shall fully understand why he gave himself so much trouble about these poems in the days of his power<sup>5</sup>. Solon also greatly encouraged the rhapsodes, and shares with Pisistratus the honour of arranging the rhapsodies according to their natural and poetical sequence<sup>6</sup>: we must not forget, too, that Solon

<sup>1</sup> Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alt.* II. 2, 389.

<sup>2</sup> See *Rheinisch. Mus.* for 1829, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> See Nitzsch, *Indag. per Od. Interpol. præpar.* p. 37; *Hist. Hom.* p. 165; Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> "Debbe un principe," says Machiavelli (*il Principe*, cap. XXI. fin.), "ne' tempi convenienti dell' anno tenere occupati i popoli con feste e spettacoli; e perchè ogni città è divisa o in arti o in tribù, debbe tener conto di quelle università."

<sup>5</sup> Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. *Cicer. de Orat.* III. 34.

Πεισίστρατος ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονευόμενα ἡθροίζετο. *Pausan.* VII. 26, p. 594.

Ὑστερον Πεισίστρατος συναγαγὼν ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν. *Ælian*, V. H. XIII. 14.

See also Joseph. *c. Apion.* 1, 2; Liban. *Panegy. in Julian.* T. I. p. 170, Reiske; Suidas, v. Ὀμηρος; and Eustath. p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Diog. *Sol.* I. 57, with Ps. Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 228 B.

was one of those writers of gnomic poetry, whom we have considered as the successors of the Epopœists, and from whose writings the Attic tragedians modelled their dialogue. Now we know that Pisistratus endeavoured, as far as was consistent with his own designs, to adopt the constitution of Solon, and always treated his venerable kinsman with deference and respect. May not a wish to reconcile his own plans with the tastes and feelings of the superseded legislator have operated with him as an additional reason for attempting to unite the old epic element with the rites of the Dionysian religion, which his political connexions compelled him to transfer from the country to the city? may not such a combination have been suggested by his early recollections of the Brauronia? did the genius of the Icarian plan the innovation, or was he merely instrumental towards carrying it into effect? was the name Thespis originally borne by this agent of Pisistratus, or was it rather a surname, derived from the common epithet of the Homeric minstrel<sup>1</sup>, and implying nothing more in its connexion with the history of the drama, than that it arose from a combination such as we have described?

But whatever reason we may assign for the union of the rhapsody with the Bacchic chorus, it seems pretty clear that this union was actually effected in the time of Pisistratus. And herein consists the claim of Thespis to be considered as the inventor of Attic Tragedy. Arion's satyrical chorus, and even the lyric drama of Epigenes, may have been imitated at Athens soon after their introduction in the Peloponnesus. The cyclic chorus was performed as a separate affair till the latest days of Athenian democracy<sup>2</sup>, and the Pyrrhic dance, which was adopted by the Satyrs, was also a

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *Od.* i. 328:

τοῦ δ' ὑπερωϊόθεν φρεσὶ σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν  
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο.

——— VIII. 498:

ὥς ἄρα τοι πρόφρων θεὸς ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν.

——— XVII. 385:

ἧ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, δ' κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων.

See Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, i. p. 166. It was very common to invent names for persons from their actions, or for persons to change their own names according to their profession. Thus Helen is called the daughter of Nemesis, Arion the son of Cycleus, and Tisias changed his name into Stesichorus, by which alone he is known at the present day (above, p. 37, and see Clinton's *F. H.* Vol. i. p. 5); so that Thespis may even be an assumed name.

<sup>2</sup> Lys. ἀποδ. δωροδ. p. 698.

distinct exhibition<sup>1</sup>. Nay, the Homeric rhapsody was recited by itself on the proper occasion; that is to say, generally at the great Panathenæa<sup>2</sup>: nor would the Homeric hexameter have been so well suited to a dramatic dialogue as the trochaic tetrameter and senarius, which the vigorous and sententious poetry of Archilochus and the elder Simonides had made well known and popular in Attica and in the Ægean. Whether anticipated or not by Sarsarion, in the employment of the Iambic metre in dramatic speeches, Thespis may claim the merit of having been the first to combine with the Bacchic chorus, which he received from Arion, a truly epic element, and he was clearly the first who made the rhapsode appear as an actor sustaining different characters, and addressing the audience from a fixed and elevated stage. At first he may have been contented, like the exarchi of the improved Dithyramb, with personating Bacchus, and surrounding himself with a chorus of Satyrs; but there is every reason to believe that he soon extended his sphere of myths, and that his plots were as various as those of his successors.

Bentley was interested in the establishment of his proposition that Thespis did not write his plays, and naturally manifested the eagerness of a pleader rather than the impartiality of a judge<sup>3</sup>. There is no antecedent improbability in the statement of Donatus that Thespis wrote tragedies. Solon, and, much earlier, Archilochus and Simonides committed their poems to writing; and in the days of Pisistratus it is not likely that a favourite rhapsode would leave his compositions unpublished. The destruction of Athens, in B.C. 480, made the older specimens of Attic literature very scarce, but there must have been some remains of his writings in the time of Sophocles, otherwise that poet would hardly have published strictures on him and Choerilus<sup>4</sup>, which, as we may infer from his criticisms on Æschylus<sup>5</sup>, in all probability referred to the harshness of their style. Aristophanes speaks of him precisely in the same terms as he does of Phrynichus, predicating an antiquated stiffness of both these old Tragedians<sup>6</sup>. We may grant that the lines attri-

<sup>1</sup> Lys. u. s.; *Schol. Aristoph. Nub.* 988.

<sup>2</sup> Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* p. 161; Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 228 B; Ælian, *V. H.* VIII. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Dissertation on Phalaris*, pp. 237 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Suid. s. v. Σοφοκλῆς: περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ πρὸς Θέσπιω καὶ Χοίριλον ἀγωνιζόμενος.

<sup>5</sup> See Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* Vol. I. p. 340, and our note on the translation.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Vesp.* 220: ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα μέλη, "antiquated honey-sweet

buted to Thespis by Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>1</sup> contain internal evidence of their spuriousness, but there is no presumption against the authenticity of the quotations in Plutarch<sup>2</sup> and Julius Pollux<sup>3</sup>, beyond the ill-founded hypothesis, that Thespis composed only ludicrous dramas. This hypothesis, as we have seen above, rests on the old confusion between Thespis and Susarion. The forgeries of Heraclides Ponticus are themselves no slight proof of the originally serious character of the Thespian drama; for if his contemporaries had really believed that Thespis wrote nothing but ludicrous dramas, a scholar of Aristotle would hardly have attempted to impose upon the public with a set of plays, altogether different in style and title from those of the author on whom he wished to pass them off. The fact is, that the choral plays from which the Thespian drama was formed were satyrical, for the Dithyramb in the improved form which it received from Arion was performed by a chorus of satyrs<sup>4</sup>; and there is little doubt that Thespis may have been a satyric poet before he was a tragedian, in the more modern sense of the word: but Chamæleon seems to have expressly mentioned the fact, that Thespis passed from Bacchic to Epic subjects<sup>5</sup>. With regard to the titles of his plays preserved by Suidas and Julius Pollux, they are not really open to cavil. For even supposing that they refer rather to the apocryphal compositions of Heraclides than to the lost tragedies of the old Icarian, there is no reason for concluding that the titles were not borrowed by the fabricator from obsolete but genuine dramas. Unless we are prepared to maintain, against the prevalent tendency of all the authorities, that Thespis never wrote or acted a play of grave or pathetic character, we cannot assert that he was unlikely to have brought

and popular ditties from the *Phoenissæ* of Phrynichus," with a passage in a subsequent part of the same play (1479):

ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται  
τὰρχαί' ἐκεῖν' οἷς Θέσπης ἠγωνίζετο.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. p. 675, Potter.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *de Audiendis Poetis*, p. 134, Wyttenb.

<sup>3</sup> Jul. Poll. VII. 45. Another fragment has been lately published from a papyrus by Letronne, *Fragmens inédits d'anciens poètes Grecs*, Par. 1838, p. 7: οὐκ ἐξαθρήσας οἶδ'· ἰδὼν δέ σοι λέγω, where ἐξαθρέω is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be the proper interpretation of the passage in Photius, *Lex.* s. v. οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον—τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τοῦτοις ἠγωνίζοντο ἀπερ καὶ σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τραγωδίας γράφειν κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν μηκέτι τοῦ Θεοῦ μνημονεύοντες, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν κ. τ. λ. καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῇ περὶ Θέσπιδος. Below, p. [69], note 1.

forward dramas, bearing the titles in question—namely, “Pentheus;” “the Funeral Games of Pelias,” or “Phorbas;” “the Priests;” “the Youths;” indeed it would not be difficult to show that these subjects were very well adapted for the narrative speeches which must have abounded while the actor was limited to the personation of one character at a time.

With regard to the violent and ludicrous dances, which were attributed to Thespis, and of which Aristophanes gives a somewhat ludicrous picture at the end of his “Wasps<sup>1</sup>,” we have only to remark that all antiquated postures, attitudes, and movements, appear ridiculous to those whose grandfathers practised them. Apollo himself is described as leading the Pæan with high and springy steps<sup>2</sup>; and the gymnopædic dance, in which the Tragic Emmeleia took its rise, must have been originally distinguished by the agility which it prescribed. In the early days of the drama a great deal of energetic and expressive gesticulation was expected from the chorus, and even in the time of Æschylus it is recorded that Telestes, the ballet-leader of that poet, invented many new forms of *χειρονομία* or manual gesticulations, and that in the “Seven against Thebes” he represented the action of the piece by his mimic dancing<sup>3</sup>.

The statement of Suidas, that Phrynichus was the first who introduced women on the stage (*πρῶτος γυναικεῖον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν*), which Bentley, perhaps purposely, mistranslates, is no reason for concluding that Thespis never wrote a Tragedy called “Alcestis,” were there any real evidence to show that this was the title of one of his plays; for it would have been perfectly easy to handle that subject in the Thespian manner, that is, with more narrative than dialogue, without the introduction of Alcestis herself<sup>4</sup>. Indeed we cannot conceive how she could be introduced as talking to the chorus, whom she does not once address in the play of Euripides, and there was no other actor for her to talk with.

<sup>1</sup> V. 1848 sqq.; Bentley, *Phalaris*, pp. 265 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 32, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Welcker, *Nachtrag*, pp. 266, 7; Athen. I. p. 21 F: καὶ Τέλεισις δὲ ἡ Τελέστης, ὁ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος, πολλὰ ἐξέύρηκε σχήματα ἁκρῶς ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ λεγόμενα δεικνυούσαις ..... Ἀριστοκλῆς γοῦν φησὶν ὅτι Τελέστης ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὀρχηστῆς οὕτως ἦν τεχνίτης ὥστε ἐν τῷ ὀρχεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας φανερὰ ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα δι’ ὀρχήσεως. See Heindorf, *ad Plat. Cratyl.* § 51.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Suppliants*, one of the most archaic of the extant plays of Æschylus, no female character is introduced on the stage, although all the interest centres in the daughters of Danaus, who form the chorus.

Of course, there could be no theatrical contests in the days of Thespis<sup>1</sup>: but the dithyrambic contests seem to have been important enough to induce Pisistratus to build a temple in which the victorious choragi might offer up their tripods<sup>2</sup>, a practice which the victors with the tragic chorus subsequently adopted.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Πύθιον, ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονός· εἰς δὲ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χορῷ νικήσαντες τὰ θαργήλια. Photius. Comp. Thucyd. ii. 15, vi. 54.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE PROPER CLASSIFICATION OF GREEK PLAYS. ORIGIN OF COMEDY.

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*The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited. For the law of writ and the law of liberty these are the only men.*

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SHAKESPEARE.

IT is generally stated that there were three kinds of Greek Plays, and three only—Tragedy, Comedy, and the Satyrical Drama. It will be our endeavour in the present chapter to examine this classification, and to see whether some better one cannot be proposed. With a view to this it will be proper to inquire into the origin of the comical and satyrical dramas, just as we have already investigated the origin of Tragedy, and to consider how far the Satyrical Drama differed from or agreed with either the Tragedy or Comedy of the Greeks.

The word Tragedy—τραγωδία—is derived of course from the words *τράγος* and *ὥδή*. The former word, as we have already seen, is a synonym for *σάτυρος*<sup>1</sup>: for the goat-eared attendant of Dionysus was called by the name of the animal which he resembled, just as the shepherd or goatherd was called by the name of the animal which he tended, and whose skin formed his clothing<sup>2</sup>. *Τραγωδία* is therefore not the song of a goat, because a goat was the prize of it; but a song accompanied by a dance performed by persons in the guise of satyrs, consequently a satyric dance; and we have already shown how Tragedy in its more modern sense arose from such performances. At first, then, Tragedy and the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 40, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> The word *Tityrus* signifies, according to Servius, the leading ram of the flock; according to other authorities it means a goat: and some have even supposed it to be another form of *Satyrus*. See the passages quoted by Müller, *Dor.* iv. ch. 6, § 10, note (e).



Satyrical Drama were one and the same. When, however, the Tragedy of Thespis had firmly established itself, and Comedy was not yet introduced, the common people became discontented with the serious character of the new dramatic exhibitions, and missed the merriment of the country satyrs; at the same time they thought that their own tutelary deity was not sufficiently honoured in performances which were principally taken up with adventures of other personages: in the end they gave vent to their dissatisfaction, and on more than one occasion the audience vociferously complained that the play to which they were admitted had nothing to do with Bacchus<sup>1</sup>. The prevalence of this feeling at length induced Pratinas of Phlius, who was a contemporary of Æschylus, to restore the tragic chorus to the satyrs, and to write dramas which were indeed the same in form and materials with the Tragedy, but the choruses of which were composed of satyrs, and the dances pyrrhic instead of gymnopædic<sup>2</sup>. This is the drama which has been considered by some as specifically different both from Tragedy and Comedy, but which was in fact only a subdivision of Tragedy<sup>3</sup>, written always by Tragedians, and, we believe, seldom<sup>4</sup> acted but along with Tragedies<sup>5</sup>.

We have already referred to the statement that the Comedy of the Greeks arose from the Phallic processions, just as their Tragedy

<sup>1</sup> In his opening Symposiacal disquisition, Plutarch thus speaks: "Ὡς περ οὖν, Φρυγίχου καὶ Αἰσχύλου τὴν τραγωδίαν εἰς μύθους καὶ πάθη προαγόντων, ἐλέχθη· τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;—οὕτως ἔμοιγε πολλάκις εἰπεῖν παρέστη πρὸς τοὺς ἔλκοντας εἰς τὰ συμπόσια τὸν κυριεύοντα—ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;—*Sympos.* I. I.

Zenobius gives this explanation of the phrase Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον:—Τῶν χορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον, οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον ἐκβάντες τῆς συνηθείας ταύτης Ἀλάντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν. Ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες ἔλεγον, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον. Διὰ γοῦν τοῦτο τοὺς Σατύρους ὕστερον ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προεισάγειν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσιν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. p. 40.

Suidas, in his explanation of the same saying, after mentioning the opinion by which it was referred to the alterations of Epigenes the Sicyonian, adds: Βέλτιον δὲ οὕτω· Τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες, τούτοις ἡγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ Σατυρικά ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὸ τραγωδίας γράφειν, κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διονύσου μνημονεύοντες·—ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν. Καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ. So also Photius, above, p. 65, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrius says (*de Elocut.* § 169, Vol. ix. p. 76, Walz): ὁ δὲ γέλως ἐχθρὰ τραγωδίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπινοήσειεν ἂν τις τραγωδίαν παίζουσαν, ἐπεὶ σάτυρον γράφει ἀντὶ τραγωδίας.

<sup>4</sup> If Pratinas wrote only eighteen tragedies to thirty-two satyrical dramas, some of the latter must have been acted alone. See Welcker, *Trilogie*, pp. 497—8.

<sup>5</sup> It has been plausibly conjectured that the satyrical drama was originally acted before the Tragedy. Welk. *Nachtr.* p. 279.



did from the Dithyramb<sup>1</sup>. Its progress, however, and its successive advances from rudeness to perfection, are involved in so much obscurity, that even Aristotle is unable to tell us any thing about it; but he is willing to concede that it was started in Sicily<sup>2</sup>, or primarily in Megaris<sup>3</sup>. And this appears very probable; for not only was Susarion, who is generally admitted to have been the earliest comic poet<sup>4</sup>, a native of Tripodiscus in Megaris, but continual allusions are made in ancient writers<sup>5</sup> to the coarse humour of the Megarians and their strong turn for the ludicrous, qualities which they seem to have imparted to their Sicilian colonists.

But whatever may have been the birth-place of Greek Comedy, it is quite certain that it originated in a country festival: it was in fact the celebration of the vintage, when the country people went round from village to village, some in carts<sup>6</sup>, who uttered all the vile jests and abusive speeches with which the Tragedy of Thespis has been most unjustly saddled; others on foot, who bore aloft the Phallic emblem, and invoked in songs Phales the comrade of Bacchus<sup>7</sup>. This custom of going round from village to village suggested the derivation of Comedy from κώμη, and Aristotle has been misled by his own learning into an apparent approbation of this, on many accounts, absurd etymology<sup>8</sup>. One reason which has been advanced in defence of this etymology is extraordinarily ridiculous. We are told<sup>9</sup> that the word cannot be derived from κῶμος, because

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 10. Thus we read that Antheas the Lindian κωμῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ποιημάτων, ἃ ἐξήρχε τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ φαλλοφοροῦσι. (Athen. p. 445 B.)

<sup>2</sup> Αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγωδίας μεταβάσεις, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο, οὐ λελήθασιν. ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔλαθε. Καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὄψε ποτε ὁ ἀρχὼν ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθέλονταί ἦσαν· ἡδὴ δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται· τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν, ἢ λόγους, ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἡγνόηται. Τοῦ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις ἦρξαν· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξαρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε. Aristot. Poet. v.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς μὲν κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, οἳ τε ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας. Poet. III. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Proleg. Aristoph. Küst. p. xi: τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἠρῆσθαι φασὶ ὑπὸ Σουσαρίωνος.

<sup>5</sup> See Müller's Dorians, IV. 7, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Lucian. Ζεὺς τραγωδός (VI. p. 388, Lehmann): ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν Διονυσίων παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν καθήμενοι ἐσκωπτοὺν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο πολλά. See the passages in Creuzer's note on Lydus, de Mens. p. 127, ed. Röther.

<sup>7</sup> The reader will see these particulars in Aristoph. Acharn. 240 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> ποιούμενοι τὰ ὄνματα σημείον, οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ (Πελοποννήσιοι) κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασίν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δήμους. ὡς κωμῳδοὺς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος. Poet. c. III.

<sup>9</sup> By Schneider (de Orig. Comm. p. 5).

one of the meanings of that word is ἡ μετ' οἴνου φῶδή. This would scarcely be an argument if it were only the signification of the word κῶμος: but this is so far from being the case, that it is not even the primary or most usual meaning of the word. Κῶμος<sup>1</sup> signifies a revel continued after supper. It was a very ancient custom in Greece for young men, after rising from an evening banquet, to ramble about the streets to the sound of the flute or the lyre, and with torches in their hands; such a band of revellers was also called a κῶμος. Thus Æschylus says<sup>2</sup>, very forcibly, that the Furies, although they had drunk their fill of human blood in the house of the Pelopidæ, and though it was now time that they should go out like a κῶμος, nevertheless obstinately stuck to the house, and would not depart from it. And as the band of revellers "flown with insolence and wine," as Milton says<sup>3</sup>, not unfrequently made a riotous entrance into any house where an entertainment was going on<sup>4</sup>, the verb ἐπείσχωμάζω is used metaphorically by Plato to signify any interruption or intrusion, whether it be the invasion of a philosophical school by mere pretenders to science<sup>5</sup>, or the evasion of the proper subject of inquiry by the introduction of extraneous matter<sup>6</sup>. Hence the word Κῶμος is used to denote any band or company. In a secondary sense, it signifies a song sung either by a convivial party or at the Bacchic feasts (not merely in honour of the god, but also to ridicule certain persons), or lastly, by a procession in honour of a victor at the public games. By a still further transition, κῶμος is used for a song in general; and a peculiar flute tune, together with its corresponding dance, was known by this name. It was in the second sense of the word that the Bacchic reveller was called a κωμῳδός, namely, a comus-singer, according to the analogy of τραγωδός, ἰλαρωδός, &c., in which the first part of the compound refers to the performer, the second to the

<sup>1</sup> See Welcker in Jacobs' edition of *Philostratus*, p. 202. The remarks in the text are an abstract of what he says on the signification of this word. He supposes, however, that κωμῳδός is derived from the secondary sense of the word, in which he agrees with Kanngiesser (*Kom. Bühn.* p. 32).

<sup>2</sup> *Agamemnon*, 1161, Wellauer:

Καὶ μὴν πεπωκὼς γ' ὥς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον  
Βροτείον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει  
Δύσπεμπτος ἔξω συγγόνων Ἐρινύων.

<sup>3</sup> *Par. L.* i. 502.

<sup>4</sup> Like Alcibiades in Plato's *Sympos.* p. 212 c.

<sup>5</sup> *Resp.* p. 500 B: τοὺς ἔξωθεν οὐ προσήκον ἐπείσχωμακότας.

<sup>6</sup> *Theætet.* p. 184 A: καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὗ ἕνεκα ὁ λόγος ὠρμηται, ἐπιστήμης πέρι, τί ποτ' ἐστίν, ἀσκεπτον γένηται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπείσχωμαζόντων λόγων.

song, and as *τραγωδία* signifies a song of satyrs, so *κωμωδία* means a song of comus. It is clear, from the manner in which the Athenian writers speak of the country Dionysian procession, that it was considered as a comus<sup>1</sup>; and we think this view of the case is confirmed by the epithet *ξύγκωμος*, which Dicæopolis applies to Phales as the companion of Bacchus<sup>2</sup>.

The Phallic processions, from which the old Comedy arose, seem to have been allowed in very early times in all cities; Aristotle tells us that they still continued in many cities even in his time<sup>3</sup>, and the inscriptions quoted above<sup>4</sup> prove that a lyrical Comedy had developed itself from them. In the time of the orators, the *ἰθύφαλλοι* were still danced in the orchestra at Athens<sup>5</sup>, and we learn from the speech of Demosthenes against Conon, that the riotous and profligate young men, who infested the streets, delighted to call themselves by names<sup>6</sup> derived from these comic buffooneries. But probably they were always more common in the country, which was their natural abode; and if a modern scholar<sup>7</sup> is right in concluding from the words of the Scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>8</sup>, that there were two sorts of Phallic processions, the one public, the other private, we cannot believe that the private vintage ceremonies ever found their way into the great towns. Pasquinades of the coarsest kind seem to have formed the principal part of these rural exhibitions<sup>9</sup>, and this was probably the reason why Comedy was established at Athens in the time of Pericles; for the demagogues, wanting to invent some means of attacking their political opponents with safety, could think of no better way of effecting this than by introducing into the city the favourite country sports of the lower orders, and then it was, and not till then, that

<sup>1</sup> Thus in an old law quoted by Demosthenes (*c. Mid.* p. 517), we have *ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῶδοι*.

<sup>2</sup> *Acharn.* 263: *Φαλῆς, ἐταῖρε Βακχίου, ξύγκωμε.*

<sup>3</sup> *τὰ φαλλικά αἰ ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα.* *Aristot. Poet.* c. IV.

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 45 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Hyperides apud Harpocrat. v. *Ἰθύφαλλοι*.

<sup>6</sup> They termed themselves *Ἰθύφαλλοι* and *Αὐτολήκυθοι*. *Demosth. Conon*, 194 (1261). Cf. *Athen.* XIV. p. 622; *Lucian*, II. 336.

<sup>7</sup> Schneider, *de Orig. Com.* p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Acharn.* 243 (p. 775, l. 32, Dind.): *πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἡγγελέμοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φάλλους ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν καὶ τούτοις ἐγέραιρον τὸν θεόν.*

<sup>9</sup> *Platonius, περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμῶδιῶν*: *Ἵποθέσεις μὲν γὰρ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῶδας ἦσαν αὗται τὸ στρατηγοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν, κ.τ.λ.*

the performance of Comedies became, like that of Tragedies, a public concern<sup>1</sup>. When it was formally established as a distinct species of drama at Athens, the old Comedy was supplied, like Tragedy, with a chorus, which, though not so numerous or expensively attired as the tragic, was as carefully trained and as systematic in its songs and dances. In effect, it was the same modification of an original *comus* as that which performed the *Epinicia* of Pindar. It appears from several passages that the comic actors were originally unprovided with masks, but rubbed their faces over with wine-lees as a substitute for that disguise<sup>2</sup>.

The Tragedy and Comedy of the Greeks had, therefore, an entirely different origin. We must in the next place consider what were their distinctive peculiarities, how far they differed intrinsically, and whether any of the remaining Greek plays cannot be considered as belonging strictly either to Tragedy or Comedy. We shall do this more satisfactorily, if we first set forth the definitions which have been given by Plato and Aristotle. Plato has rather alluded to, than expressed, the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy in their most perfect form, but his slight remarks nevertheless strike at the root of the matter. Comedy, he considers<sup>3</sup> to be the generic name for all dramatic exhibitions which have a tendency to excite laughter; while Tragedy, in the truest sense of the word, is an imitation of the noblest life, that is, of the actions of gods and heroes. As a definition, however, this account of Tragedy, although excellent as far as it goes, is altogether incomplete. Aristotle's, on the other hand, is quite perfect. He makes the distinction, which Plato leaves to be inferred, between the

<sup>1</sup> *χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὅψέ ποτε ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀρχων.* Aristotle, above, p. 70, note 2.

Gruppe labours under some extraordinary mistake in supposing (*Ariadne*, p. 123) that Comedy was not originally connected with religion.

<sup>2</sup> Hence a comedian is called *τρυγῳδός*, "a lee-singer." It does not appear that masks were always used even in the time of Aristophanes, who acted the part of Cleon in the *Ἰππῆς* without one. In later times, however, it was considered disreputable to go in any *comus* without a mask. Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* p. 433: τοῦ καταράτου Κυρηβίωνος ὃς ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἀνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει.

<sup>3</sup> *Legg.* VII. p. 817: ὅσα μὲν οὖν περὶ γέλωτά ἐστι παίγνια, ἃ δὴ κωμῳδίαν πάντες λέγομεν.....μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου ὃ δὴ φάμεν πάντες γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην. The *κάλλιστος καὶ ἀριστος βίος* signifies the life of a man who is in the highest degree *καλοκάγαθος*, and this term exactly expresses the persons who figured in the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles; for, as Dr. Thirlwall remarks, in his beautiful paper *On the Irony of Sophocles*, "None but gods or heroes could act any prominent part in the Attic tragedy" (*Phil. Mus.* II. p. 493). And this is perhaps the reason why Plato, in another passage (*Gorgias*, p. 502 A), talks of ἡ σεμνὴ καὶ θαυμαστὴ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίαςποίησις.

objects of tragic and comic imitation, and adds to it the constituent characteristic of Tragedy, namely, that it effects by means of pity and terror the purgation of such passions<sup>1</sup>. Aristotle's definition of Tragedy is so full and comprehensive, that it has been adopted even by modern writers as a description of what modern Tragedy ought to be<sup>2</sup>; there is one particular, however, which he has not expressly stated, and which is due rather to the origin of Greek Tragedy than to its essence, we mean the necessity for a previous acquaintance on the part of the audience with the plot of the Tragedy: this it is which most eminently distinguishes the Tragedies of Sophocles from those of Shakspeare, and to this is owing the poetical irony with which the poet and the spectators handled or looked upon the characters in the piece<sup>3</sup>. Aristotle is supposed by his commentator Eustratius, to allude to this in a passage of the Ethics<sup>4</sup>: we are disposed to believe on the contrary, that he is referring to the different effects which events related in a Tragedy, as having taken place prior to the time of the events represented, and those events which are represented by action, produce on the minds of the spectators: for example, the calamities of Œdipus, when alluded to in the Œdipus at Colonus, do not strike us with so much horror as when they are represented in the Œdipus at Thebes.

If, however, all the prominent characters in the true Tragedy were gods or heroes, it follows that the Πέρσαι of Æschylus, and the Μιλήτου ἄλωσις and Φολίνισσαι of Phrynichus, were not Tragedies in the truest sense<sup>5</sup>, and must be referred to the class of

<sup>1</sup> ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἐστίν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μὲν, οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστὶ τὸ γελοῖον μῦθον. *Poet.* c. v.—ἐστὶν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης ——— δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. *Poet.* c. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Hurd's definition (*On the Province of the Drama*, p. 164) is a mere copy of Aristotle. Schiller, who has a better right to declare *ex cathedra* what Tragedy ought to be, than any writer of the last century, thus defines it: "That art which proposes to itself, as its especial object, the pleasure resulting from compassion, is called the tragic art in the most comprehensive sense of the word." *Werke*, in einem Bande, p. 1176.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Thirlwall's *Essay On the Irony of Sophocles*.

<sup>4</sup> I. II, § 4: διαφέρει δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἕκαστον περὶ ζῶντας ἢ τελευτήσαντας συμβαίνειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ παράνομα καὶ δεινὰ προὔπάρχειν ταῖς τραγῳδαῖς ἢ πράττεσθαι.

<sup>5</sup> Niebuhr, *Hist. Rome*, Vol. I. note 1150: "The *Destruction of Miletus* by Phrynichus, and the *Persians* of Æschylus, were plays that drew forth all the manly feelings of bleeding or exulting hearts, and not tragedies: for these the Greeks, before the Alexandrian age, took their plots solely out of mythical story. It was essential that their contents should be known beforehand; whereas the stories of Hamlet and

Histories, which exist in all countries where the drama is much cultivated, as a subordinate species of Tragedy: the other Tragedies we may call myths or fables<sup>1</sup> as distinguished from the true stories, to which they bore the same relation in the subdivision of Ionian literature, that the Epos bore to the history of Herodotus.

In the course of time, another rib was taken from the side of the primary Tragedy, and Tragi-comedy sprang up under the fostering care of Euripides, which was probably the forerunner of the *ἱλαροτραγωδία* of Rhinthon, Sopatrus, Sciras, and Blæsus<sup>2</sup>. One old specimen of this kind of play remains to us in the *Ἀλκυστις* of Euripides, which was performed as the satyrical drama of a Tragic Trilogy, 438 B.C., and we are inclined to consider the *Orestes* as another of the same sort<sup>3</sup>. It resembled the regular Tragedy in its outward form, but contained some comic characters, and always had a happy termination.

Of the Satyrical Drama we have already spoken: we cannot, however, quit the subject of Tragedy and its subordinate forms, without noticing a play called *Εἰλωτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταυνάρῳ*, which was, according to Herodian<sup>4</sup>, a satyrical drama. This statement has occasioned some difficulties. It has been asked<sup>5</sup>, were the Helots, who doubtless composed the chorus, dressed like satyrs, or mixed up with satyrs? But if it was a satyrical drama, what mythological subject is reconcilable with a chorus of Helots? and on the same supposition, how could the comedian Eupolis, to whom Athenæus<sup>6</sup> ascribes the play, have been its author? for a trespass by a comedian on the domains of the tragic muse, to whom the satyrical drama belonged, was, especially in those times, something

Macbeth were unknown to the spectators; at present, parts of them might be moulded into tragedies like the Greek; that is, if a Sophocles were to rise up."

<sup>1</sup> The words of Suidas, quoted above, appear to allude to this distinction: *κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν*.

<sup>2</sup> Müller's *Dor.* iv. ch. 7, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> In an argument to the *Alcestis*, published from a Vatican MS. (No. 909) by Dindorf, in 1834, we find the following words: *Τὸ δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη ἱξ. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἀρχοντος τὸ λ. πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμαιῶνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκῆστιδι. τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα κωμικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν κατασκευήν*. The last sentence is a repetition in effect of the statement in the Copenhagen argument. (Matthiæ, vii. p. 214.) On the date see Welcker, *Rheinisch. Mus.* for 1835, p. 508; Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. i. p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> See Eustathius on *Iliad* ii. p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> By Müller in *Was für eine Art Drama waren "die Heloten"?* Niebuhr's *Rhein. Mus.* iii. p. 488.

<sup>6</sup> iv. p. 138.



quite unheard of. There is, it must be admitted, some difficulty in this, and principally in regard to the last question. The Helots, with their dresses of goatskin or sheepskin, and their indecent dances in honour of Bacchus, were very fit substitutes for the satyrs, and it is quite possible to conceive that a Dionysian myth might be represented in a play, the chorus of which consisted of Helots. From the statement, however, that Eupolis was the author, and from the purely comic and criticizing tone of one of the fragments<sup>1</sup>, we are disposed to conclude that Herodian is mistaken in calling it a satyrical drama, and that he has been misled by the resemblance between the guise of the Helots, and that of the satyrs; whereas the play was a regular Comedy with a political reference, perhaps not unlike the *Λακεδαιμόνες* of the same author.

The Comedy of the Greeks first attained to a distinct literary and political importance in the country which witnessed its final development in a form corresponding to that of its modern representatives. Whatever may have been the value of the writings of Epicharmus, they have not reached our time except in fragments. For us, Greek Comedy, both in itself, and in its Roman transcriptions, is the Comedy of Athens. So far as we are acquainted with its literary history, it owes its first development and completion to the political and social condition of that great democratic metropolis; and it is so intimately connected with all that is characteristic of Attic life, that the greatest scholars of Alexandria, Lycophron and Eratosthenes, wrote formal and elaborate treatises on the subject. Considered, then, as peculiarly Athenian, the Comedy of the Greeks admits of subdivision into three species, or rather three successive variations in form, which are generally distinguished as the Old, the Middle, and the New Comedy. These three subdivisions must be considered separately, and with a brief review of their distinctive characteristics.

The Old Comedy was, as we have already seen, the result of a successful attempt to give to the waggon-jests of the country comus a particular and a political bias. Its outward form was burlesque in its most wanton extravagance. Its essence, or to use the words of Vico<sup>2</sup>, its *eterna proprietà*, was personal vilification. Not merely the satire of description, the abuse of words; but the satire of repre-

<sup>1</sup> In Athen. XIV. p. 638.

<sup>2</sup> *Scienza Nuova*, III. p. 638: "La satira serbò quest' *eterna proprietà*, con la qual ella nacque, di dir villanie ed ingiurie."

sentation. The object of popular dislike was not merely called a coward, a villain, a rogue, or a fool, but he was exhibited on the stage doing everything contemptible and suffering everything ludicrous. This systematic personality, the *ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα*<sup>1</sup> of the old popular farce, would not have sufficed to obtain for Comedy an adequate share of attention from the refined and accomplished democracy, which established itself at Athens during the administration of Pericles. It was necessary that the comic poet who would gain a hearing in the theatre at Athens should borrow from Tragedy many of its most striking peculiarities—its choral dances, its masked actors, its metrical forms, its elaborate scenery and machines, and above all that chastened elegance of the Attic dialect, which the fastidiousness of an Athenian citizen required and exacted from the poets and orators. The comedy became a regular drama, recalling indeed a recollection of the old phallic comus by an extravagant obscenity of language and costume, but often presenting an elegance in the dialogues and a poetic refinement in the melic portions, which would have borne a comparison with the best efforts of the contemporary tragic muse. Upon this stock the mighty genius of Aristophanes grafted his own Pantagrueism, which has in every age, since the days of its reproducer Rabelais, found in some European country, and in some form or other, a more or less adequate representative,—Cervantes, Quevedo, Butler, Swift, Sterne, Voltaire, Jean Paul, Carlyle, and Southey. By Pantagrueism we mean—in accordance with the definition which we have elsewhere given of the term<sup>2</sup>—an assumption of Bacchanalian buffoonery as a cloak to cover some serious purpose. Rabelais, who invented the word to express a certain literary development of the character sustained by the court-fools in the middle ages, must have been quite conscious that he was reproducing, as far as his age allowed, not only the spirit but even the outward machinery of the Old Comedy. At any rate he adopts the disguise of low buffoonery for the express purpose of attacking some form of prevalent cant and imposture; and this was consistently the object of Aristophanes. Whether he professedly takes Aristophanes as his model, and as the lamp to light him on the way<sup>3</sup>, may

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Poet.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Quarterly Review*, No. CLXI. pp. 137 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> We have shown in the paper on Pantagrueism already cited, that the reference to Aristophanes and Cleanthes as the lanterns of honour (Rabelais, v. c. 33) is derived



be regarded as an open question; but there can be no doubt that the manner and the object of the *curé* of Meudon were identical with those of the great comedian of Athens; and that the name of Pantagrulist, invented by the one, accurately describes the leading characteristics of his main prototype. The chief difference between the Old Comedy of Athens, as represented by Aristophanes, and the modern manifestations of the same riotous drollery, as a cover for some serious purpose, which it might be premature, unsafe, or generally inexpedient to disclose, must be sought in the peculiar relations which subsisted between the old comedian and his democratic audience during the short period of the Old Comedy's highest perfection, namely, the interval between the commencement of the Peloponnesian war and the Sicilian expedition, when the irritable Demos was so conscious of his power and was so exhilarated by his good fortune that, like the kings of the middle ages, he was willing to tolerate any jokes at his own expense, if the satirist would only pay him the compliment of adopting the thin veil of caricature, and pretend to put forward as an outpouring of privileged folly what he really meant to be taken as the most serious remonstrance or the most biting reproof<sup>1</sup>.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to draw a clearly defined line of demarcation between the latest *writers* of the Old and the earliest *writers* of the Middle Comedy. We cannot say of them that this author was an old comedian; that a middle comedian: they may have been both, as Aristophanes certainly was, if the criterion was the absence or presence of a *Parabasis*<sup>2</sup>, or speech of the chorus in which the audience are addressed in the name of the poet, and without, in many cases, any reference to the subject of the

from Varro (*L. L.* v. 9, p. 4, Müller), who is speaking of Aristophanes, the grammarian of Byzantium, and of the grammatical studies of the Stoics; but Rabelais, like his commentators, may have misunderstood Varro.

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes openly avows this mixture of the serious and the ridiculous in his later comedies, when he no longer practised it with the same objects. *Ran.* 391: καὶ πολλὰ μὲν γελοῖά μ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαῖα. *Eccles.* 1200: σμικρὸν δ' ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς κριταῖσι βούλομαι· τοῖς σοφοῖς μὲν τῶν σοφῶν μεμνημένους κρίνειν ἐμέ· τοῖς γέλωσι δ' ἡδέως διὰ τὸν γέλωτα κρίνειν ἐμέ.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ τὰς παραβάσεις οὐκ ἔχοντα ἐδιδάχθη ἐξουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μεθισταμένης καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας κρατούσης. Platonius. With regard to the attempt of Meineke (*Quæstion. Scenica*, Sp. III. p. 50) to prove that Antiphanes was a new comic poet, because he mentioned the ματτύη (*Athen.* XIV. p. 662 F), we may remark, that the word cannot be used as a criterion to enable us to distinguish between two schools of comedians, for it is mentioned by Nicostratus, the son of Aristophanes (see Clinton in *Phil. Mus.* I. p. 560), and the dainty was not unknown to Aristophanes himself, who uses the word ματτυολοιχός (*Nub.* 451).

play. Nor will the proper interpretation of the law *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*<sup>1</sup> enable us to distinguish between the comedians as belonging to one class or the other. As to the *comedies* themselves; however, we may safely conclude on the authority of Platonius, that the Middle Comedy was a form of the old, but differed from it in three particulars; it had no chorus, and therefore no parabasis,—this deviation was occasioned by the inability of the impoverished state to furnish the comic poets with choragi: living characters were not introduced on the stage,—this was owing to the want of energy produced by the subversion of the democratic empire: as a consequence of both these circumstances, the objects of its ridicule were general rather than personal, and literary rather than political. If, therefore, we were called upon to give to the Old and Middle Comedy their distinctive appellations, we should call one *Caricature*, and the other *Criticism*; and if we wished to illustrate the difference by modern instances, we should compare the former to the Lampoon, the latter to the Review. The period to which the writers of the Middle Comedy belonged, may be defined generally as that included between the termination of the Peloponnesian war and the overthrow of Athenian freedom by Philip of Macedon, from B.C. 404 to B.C. 340. The numerous comedies which appeared in this interval, especially those belonging to the latter half of the period, were chiefly occupied in holding up to light and not ill-natured ridicule, the literary and social peculiarities of the day. The writers seized on what was ludicrous in the contemporary systems of philosophy. They parodied and travestied not only the language but sometimes even the plots of the most celebrated tragedies and epic poems. And, in the same spirit, they not unfrequently took their subjects directly from the old mythology. In their satires on society they attacked rather classes of men, than prominent individuals, of the class. Courtesans, parasites, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clinton, in the Introduction to the second volume of his *Fasti Hellenici* (pp. xxxvi, &c.) has shown that the generally received idea, which would distinguish the Middle from the Old Comedy by its abstinence from personal satire, is completely at variance with the fragments still extant; and that the celebrated law—*τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινά*—simply forbade the introduction of any individual on the stage *by name as one of the dramatis personæ*. This prohibition, too, might be evaded by suppressing the name and identifying the individual by means of the mask, the dress, and external appearance alone. “This law, then, when limited to its proper sense, is by no means inconsistent with a great degree of comic liberty, or with those animadversions upon eminent names with which we find the comic poets actually to abound” (*Fast. Hell.* p. xlii). The date of the law is uncertain; probably about B.C. 404, during the government of the Thirty.

wanton revellers with their pic-nic feasts, were freely represented in general types<sup>1</sup>, and the self-conceited cook, with his parade of culinary science, was a standing character in the Middle Comedy<sup>2</sup>. Athenian politics were generally avoided; but these poets did not scruple to make sport of foreign tyrants, like the Dionysii of Syracuse and Alexander of Pheræ<sup>3</sup>. Their style was generally prosaic<sup>4</sup>, and they usually confined themselves to the comic trimeter. But long systems of anapæstic dimeters were sometimes introduced, and in their parodies and travesties they imitated the metres of the poets whom they ridiculed.

The New Comedy commenced, as is well known, with the establishment of the supremacy of Philip<sup>5</sup>, and flourished at Athens during the period distinguished as that of the Macedonian rulers, who are called the *Diadochi* and *Epigoni*; it belongs, therefore, to the interval between the 110th and 130th Olympiads, i.e. between B.C. 340 and B.C. 260. We can see in Plautus and Terence, who translated or imitated the Greek writers of this class, satisfactory specimens of the nature of this branch of Comedy. It corresponded as nearly as possible to our own comic drama, especially to that of Farquhar and Congreve, which Charles Lamb calls the Comedy of *Manners*, and Hurd the Comedy of *Character*. It arose in all probability from an union of the style and tone of the Euripidean dialogue with the subjects and characters of the later form, the Middle Comedy. The particular circumstances of the time had given a new direction to the warlike tendencies of the Greeks. Instead of serving in the ranks of the national militia and fighting in free warfare at home, the active, restless or discontented citizen found a ready welcome and good pay in the mercenary armies kept up by the Greek sovereigns of Asia and Egypt. Such a soldier or leader of mercenaries, having returned from abroad, with a full purse, an empty head, and a loud tongue, became a standing character in the

<sup>1</sup> See the anecdote about Antiphanes, Ath. XIII. pr.

<sup>2</sup> This was the principal character in the *Æolosicon*, one of the latest plays of Aristophanes, and it is always re-appearing.

<sup>3</sup> As in the *Dionysius* of Eubulus and the *Dionysalexandrus* of the younger Cratinus.

<sup>4</sup> Anonym. *de Comm.* III.: τῆς δὲ μέσης κωμῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ πλάσματος μὲν οὐχ ᾗψαντο ποιητικοῦ, διὰ δὲ τῆς συνήθους ἰόντες λαλιᾶς λογικὰς ἔχουσι τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥστε σπάνιον ποιητικὸν χαρακτῆρα εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

<sup>5</sup> Meineke says (*Hist. Crit. Com.* p. 435) that he dates the commencement of the new comedy from the period immediately preceding the battle of Chæroneia, and that the anonymous writer on comedy (p. xxxii) is not quite accurate in saying ἡ νέα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶχε τὴν ἀκμὴν.

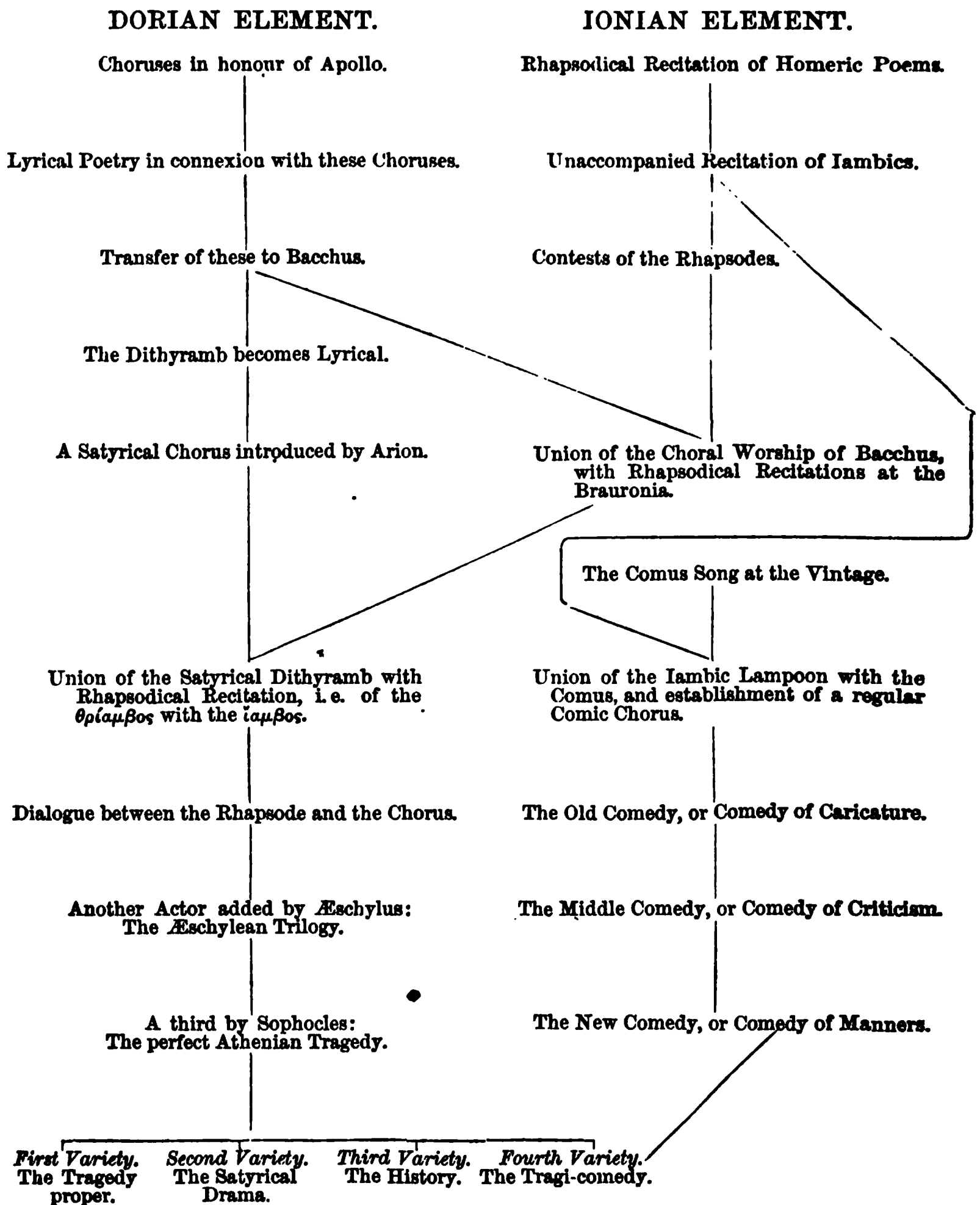
New Comedy. The other characters, the greedy parasite, the clever and unprincipled slave, and the scheming or tyrannical courtesan, may have appeared in the Middle Comedy; but they are the new comedian's indispensable staff. And now for the first time the element of love becomes the main ingredient in dramatic poetry<sup>1</sup>. The object of the young man's passion is not the free-born Athenian maiden, but some accomplished *ἑταίρα*, or an innocent girl, who is ostensibly the slave or associate of the *ἑταίρα*, but turns out at the end of the piece to be the lost child of some worthy citizen<sup>2</sup>. A good deal of ingenuity is shown in the contrivance of these unexpected recognitions (*ἀναγνώσεις*), and here also the drama of Euripides had furnished the comedian with his model. The "heavy father," as he is called on our stage, is generally an indispensable personage, and in the intrigues of the piece he is often the dupe of the manœuvring slave, or led by some incidental temptations into the very vices and follies which he had reproved in his son. The greatest care is taken in the delineation of these characters, and there can be little doubt that they represented accurately the most prominent features of the later Attic society. The drama under such circumstances did not attempt to make men better than they were, and it is to be feared that the comic stage did little more than present in the most attractive colours the lax morality of the age.

It is not our intention to speak of the dramas and quasi-dramas of a later age; it may however be of some assistance to the student, if we subjoin a general tabular view of the rise and progress of the proper Greek Drama.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* II. 369: *Fabula jucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri.*

<sup>2</sup> See *Hist. of Gr. Liter.* Vol. III. pp. 2 sqq.

# TABLE OF DRAMATIC CLASSIFICATION.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

A. W. SCHLEGEL'S GENERAL SURVEY OF THE DRAMA IN  
DIFFERENT AGES AND COUNTRIES.

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It is well known that about three and a half centuries ago the study of ancient literature was revived by the diffusion of the Greek language (the Latin never became extinct): the classical authors were brought to light and rendered universally accessible by the art of printing; the monuments of ancient genius were diligently disinterred. All this supplied manifold excitements to the human mind, and formed a marked epoch in the history of our mental culture; it was fertile in effects, which extend even to us, and will extend to an incalculable series of ages. But at the same time the study of the ancients was perverted to a deadly abuse. The learned, who were chiefly in possession of it, and were incompetent to distinguish themselves by works of their own, asserted for the ancients an unconditional authority; in fact with great show of reason, for in their kind they are models. They maintained, that only from imitation of the ancient writers is true salvation for human genius to be hoped for; in the works of the moderns they appreciated only what was, or seemed to be, similar to those of the ancients; all else they rejected as barbarous degeneracy. Quite otherwise was it with the great poets and artists. Lively as might be the enthusiasm with which the ancients inspired them, much as they might entertain the design of vying with them, still their independence and originality of mind constrained them to strike out into their own path, and to impress upon their productions the stamp of their own genius. Thus fared it, even before that revival, with Dante, the father of modern poetry: he avouched that he took Virgil as his teacher, but produced a work which, of all mentionable works, most differs in its make from the *Æneid*, and in our opinion very far surpassed his fancied master, in power, truth, compass, and profoundness. So was it likewise, at a later period, with Ariosto, who has perversely been compared with Homer: nothing can be more unlike. So, in art, with Michel-Angelo and Raphael, who nevertheless were unquestionably great connoisseurs in the antiques. As the poets for the most part had their share of scholarship, the consequence was a schism in their own minds, between the natural bent of their genius, and the obligation of an imaginary duty. Where they sacrificed to the latter, they were commended by the learned: so far as they followed the bent of the former, they were favourites with the people. That the heroic lays of a Tasso and a Camoens still survive on the lips of their fellow-countrymen is assuredly not owing to their imperfect affinity with Virgil, or even with Homer; in Tasso it is the tender feeling of chivalrous love and honour, in Camoens the glowing inspiration of patriotic enthusiasm.

Those ages, nations, and ranks, which found the imitation of the ancients most to their liking, were precisely such as least felt the want of a self-formed poetry. The result was dead school-exercises, which at best can excite but a frigid admiration. Bare imitation in the fine arts is always fruitless of good: even what we borrow from others must, as it were, be born again within us, if ever it is to issue forth in the

nature of poetry. What avails the dilettantism of composing with other people's ideas? Art cannot subsist without Nature, and man can give his fellow-men nothing but himself.

Genuine successors of the ancients and true co-rivals with them, walking in their path and working in their spirit by virtue of congenial talents and cultivation of mind, have ever been as rare as your handicraftsmanlike insipid copyists were and are numerous. The critics, bribed to their verdict by the mere extrinsicality of form, have for the most part very liberally sanctioned even these serviles. These were "correct modern classics," while the great and truly living popular poets, whom a nation, having once got them, would not consent to part with, and in whom moreover there were so many sublime traits that could not be overlooked, these they were fain at most to tolerate as rude wild geniuses. But the unconditional separation thus taken for granted between genius and taste is an idle evasion. Genius is neither more nor less than the faculty of electing, unconsciously in some measure, whatever is most excellent, and therefore is *taste* in its highest activity.

Pretty much in this way matters proceeded, until, no long time since, some thinking men, especially Germans, set themselves to adjust the misunderstanding; and at once to give the ancients their due, and yet fairly recognize the altogether different peculiarity of the moderns. They did not take fright at a seeming contradiction. Human nature is indeed in its basis one and indivisible, but all investigation declares that this cannot be predicated in such a sense concerning any one elementary power in all nature, as to exclude a possibility of divergence into two opposite directions. The whole play of vital motion rests upon attraction and repulsion. Why should not this phenomenon recur on the great scale in the history of mankind likewise? Perhaps in this thought we have discovered the true key to the ancient and modern history of poetry and the fine arts. They who assumed this, invented for the characteristic spirit of *modern* art, as contrasted to the *antique* or *classical*, the designation *romantic*. And not an inappropriate term either: the word is derived from *romance*, the name originally given to the popular languages which formed themselves by intermixture of the Latin with the dialects of the Old-German, in just the same way as modern culture was fused out of the foreign elements of the northern national character and the fragments of antiquity, whereas the culture of the ancients was much more of one piece.

This hypothesis, thus briefly indicated, would carry with it a high degree of self-evidence, could it be shown that the self-same contrast between the endeavour of the ancients and moderns does symmetrically, I might say systematically, pervade all the manifestations of the artistic and poetic faculty, so far as we are acquainted with the phases of ancient mind: that it reveals itself in music, sculpture, painting, architecture, &c. the same as in poetry: a problem which still remains to be worked out in its entire extent and compass, though much has been excellently well remarked and indicated in respect of the individual arts.

To mention authors who have written in other parts of Europe, and prior to the rise of this "School" in Germany,—in music, Rousseau recognized the contrast, and showed that rhythm and melody were the prevailing principle of the ancient, as harmony is of the modern music. But he is contracted enough to reject the latter; in which we cannot at all agree with him. With respect to the arts of design, Hemsterhuys makes a clever apophthegm: "The ancient painters seem to have been too much sculptors, the modern sculptors are too much painters." This goes to the very heart of the matter; for, as I shall more expressly prove in the sequel, the spirit of all ancient art and poetry is *plastic*, as that of the modern is *picturesque*.



I will endeavour, by means of an example borrowed from another art, that of architecture, to illustrate what I mean by this harmonious recognition of seeming opposites. In the middle ages there prevailed, and in the latter centuries of that æra developed itself to the most perfect maturity, a style of architecture which has been denominated *Gothic*, but ought to have been called *Old-German*. When, upon the revival of classic antiquity in general, imitation of the Grecian architecture came up, which often indeed was but too injudiciously applied, without regard had to difference of climate and to the destination of the edifices, the zealots for this new taste condemned the Gothic style altogether, reviled it as tasteless, gloomy, barbarous. In the Italians, if anywhere, this was excusable: considering their many hereditary remains of ancient structures, and also their climatical affinity with the Greeks and Romans, partiality for ancient architecture lay, as it were, in their very blood. But we northern people are not to be so easily talked out of those powerful, solemn impressions which fall upon us at the very entering into a Gothic cathedral. Rather we will endeavour to account for these impressions and to justify them. A very little attention will satisfy us that the Gothic architecture bespeaks not only extraordinary mechanical skill, but a marvellous outlay of inventive genius; upon still closer contemplation we shall recognize its profound significance, and perceive that it forms a complete finished system in itself quite as much as does that of the Greeks.

To apply this to the matter in hand. The Pantheon is not more different from Westminster Abbey or St. Stephen's in Vienna, than is the structure of a tragedy of Sophocles from that of a play of Shakespeare. The comparison between these miracles of poetry and architecture might be carried out still further. But really does admiration of the one necessitate us to have a mean esteem of the other? Cannot we admit that each in its own kind is great and admirable, though *this* is, and is meant to be, quite another thing from *that*? It were worth making the attempt. We do not wish to argue any man out of his preference for the one or the other. The world is wide, and has room enough in it for many things that differ, without their interfering with one another. But a preference originating in views directed to one side alone of the question, a preference conceived one knows not why nor wherefore, is not what makes a connoisseur. No: the true connoisseur is he who can suspend his mind, free and unconstrained, in liberal contemplation of discrepant principles and tendencies, renouncing the while his own individual partialities.

It might suffice for our present purpose, to have thus barely indicated the existence of this striking contrast between the antique or classical and the romantic. But as exclusive admirers of the ancients still persist in maintaining that every deviation from these models is a mere whim of the "new school" of critics, who speak in a mysterious way about it, but cannot manage to make it dependent upon any valid idea, I will endeavour to give an explanation of the origin and spirit of the *romantic*, and then let it be determined whether the use of the term and recognition of the thing be thereby justified.

The mental culture of the Greeks was a finished education in the school of nature. Of a beautiful and noble race, gifted with impressible senses and a cheerful spirit, under a mild sky, they lived and bloomed in perfect health of being, and, favoured by a rare combination of circumstances, achieved all that could be achieved by the liminary creature man. Their whole system of art and poetry is the manifestation of this harmony of all powers. They invented the poetry of joy.

Their religion consisted in deification of nature in its various powers, and of the earthly life: but this worship, which fancy, among other nations, darkened with hideous shapes hardening the heart to cruelty, assumed among this people a form of



grandeur, dignity, and mildness. Here superstition, elsewhere the tyrant of human endowments, seemed glad to lend a hand to their most free development; it cherished the art by which it was adorned, and out of idols grew *ideals*.

But greatly as the Greeks succeeded in the Beautiful and even the Moral, we can concede to their culture no higher character than that of a refined and dignified sensuality. Of course this must be understood in the general and in the gross. Occasional dim forebodings of philosophers, lightning-gleams of poetic inspiration, these form the exception. Man can never altogether turn his back upon the Infinite; some evanid recollections will testify of the home he has lost; but the point to be considered is, what is the predominant tendency of his endeavours?

Religion is the root of man's being. Were it possible for him to renounce all religion, even that which is unconscious and independent of the will, he would become all surface, no heart nor soul. Shift this centre in any degree, in the same degree will the system of the mind and affections be modified in its entire line of effect.

And this was brought about in Europe by the introduction of Christianity. This sublime and beneficent religion regenerated the decrepit worn-out old world, became the leading principle in the history of the modern nations, and at this day, when many conceit themselves to have out-grown its guidance, they are more influenced by it, in their views of all human affairs, than they are themselves aware.

Next to Christianity, the mental culture of Europe, since the commencement of the middle ages, was decidedly influenced by the German race of northern invaders, who infused new quickening into a degenerated age. The inclemency of northern nature drives the man more inward upon himself, and what is lost in sportive development of the sensitive being is amply compensated, wherever there are noble endowments, in earnestness of spirit. Hence the frank heartiness with which the old German tribes welcomed Christianity; so that among no other race of men has it penetrated so deeply into the inner man, approved itself so energetic in its effects, and so interwoven itself with all human sensibilities.

The rugged but honest heroism of the northern conquerors, by admixture of Christian sentiments, gave rise to *chivalry*, the object of which was to guard the practice of arms, by vows which were looked upon as sacred, from that rude and base abuse of force into which it is so apt to decline.

One ingredient in the chivalrous virtue was a new and more delicate spirit of love, considered as an enthusiastic homage to genuine female excellence, which was now for the first time revered as the acme of human nature, and, exalted as it was by religion under the form of virgin maternity, touched all hearts with an undefinable intimation of the mystery of pure love.

As Christianity did not, like the heathen worship, content itself with certain exterior performances, but laid claim to the whole inner man with all its remotest thoughts and imaginations, the feeling of moral independence took refuge in the domain of *honour*; a kind of secular morality which subsisted along with that of religion; and often came in collision therewith, but yet akin to it in so far as it never calculated consequences, but attached absolute sanctity to principles of action elevated as articles of faith above all inquisition of a misplaced ratiocination.

Chivalry, love, and honour are, together with religion itself, the subjects of that natural poetry which poured itself forth with incredible copiousness in the middle ages, and preceded a more conscious and thoughtful cultivation of the romantic spirit. This æra too had its mythology, consisting in chivalrous fables and religious legends, but its marvellous and its heroism formed a perfect contrast to those of the ancient mythology.

Some writers, in other respects agreeing with us in our conception and derivation of the peculiar character of the moderns, have placed the essence of the northern poetry in melancholy, and, rightly understood, we have no objection to this view of the matter.

Among the Greeks, human nature was self-satisfied; it had no misgiving of defect, and endeavoured after no other perfection than that which it actually could attain by the exercise of its own energies. A higher wisdom teaches *us* that human nature, through a grievous aberration, has lost the position originally assigned to it, and that the sole destination of its earthly existence is to struggle back thither, which, however, left to itself, it cannot. The old religion of the senses did but wish to earn outward perishable blessings; immortality, as far as it was believed, stood shadow-like in the obscure distance, a faded dream of this sunny waking life. Under the Christian view, it is just the reverse: the contemplation of the infinite has annihilated the finite; life has become the world of shadows, the night of being; the eternal day of essential existence dawns only beyond the grave. Under such a religion, that mysterious foreboding which slumbers in every feeling heart cannot but be wakened into distinct consciousness that we are in quest of a happiness which is unattainable here, that no external object will ever be altogether able to fill the capacity of the soul, that all enjoyment is a fleeting illusion. And when the soul sits down, as it were, beside these waters of Babylon, and breathes forth its longing aspirations towards the home from which it has become estranged, what else can be the key-note of its songs but heaviness of heart? And so it is. The poetry of the ancients was that of possession, ours is that of longing desire: the one stands firm on the soil of the present; the other wavers betwixt reminiscence of the past, and bodeful intimations of the future. Let not this be understood to imply that all must flow away in monotonous lamentation, the melancholy always uttering itself audibly, and drowning all besides. As under that cheerful view of things which the Greeks took, that austere Tragedy of theirs was still a possible phenomenon; so that romantic poetry, which originated in the different views I have been describing, could run along the whole scale of the feelings, even up to the highest note of joy; but still there will always be an indescribable something in which it shall carry the marks of its origin. The feeling of the moderns has, on the whole, become more deep and inward, the fancy more incorporeal, the thoughts more contemplative. To be sure, in nature the boundaries run into one another, and the things are not so sharply defined as one is under the necessity of doing in order to eliminate a theoretical idea.

The Grecian ideal of human nature was, perfect unison and proportion of all powers, *natural harmony*. The moderns, on the contrary, have arrived at the consciousness of the disunion there is within, which renders such an ideal no longer possible; hence the endeavour of their poetry is to make these two worlds, between which we feel ourselves to be divided, the world of sense and the world of spirit, at one with each other, and to blend them indissolubly together. The impressions of sense shall be hallowed, as it were, by their mysterious league with higher feelings, while the spirit will deposit its bodings or indescribable intuitions of the infinite, in types and emblems derived from the phenomena of the visible world.

In Grecian art and poetry there is an original unconscious unity of form and matter; the modern, so far as it has remained faithful to its own proper spirit, attempts to bring about a more thorough interpenetration of both, considered as two opposites. The former solved its problem to perfection, the latter can satisfy its *ad infinitum* endeavour only in a way of approximation, and by reason of a certain semblance of incompleteness, is the rather in danger of being misappreciated.

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What is *dramatic*? To many the answer may seem obvious: "Where different persons are introduced speaking, but the poet himself does not speak in his own proper person." But this is no more than the exterior pre-requisite of the form; the form is that of dialogue. But the persons of a dialogue may express thoughts and sentiments without operating a change on each other, and so may leave off at last each in the same mind as at the beginning; in such a case, however interesting the matter of the discussion may be, it cannot be said to excite any dramatic interest. I will exemplify this in the *philosophic dialogue*, a quiet species of discussion not intended for the stage. In Plato, Socrates asks the inflated sophist Hippias, "What is the beautiful?" He is forthwith prepared with his shallow answer, but presently finds himself compelled by Socrates' ironical objections to abandon his first definition, and stumble about clutching after other ideas, and finally to quit the field, shamed by the exposure of his ignorance, and out of temper at finding more than his match in the philosopher. Now, *this* dialogue is not merely instructive in a philosophical point of view, but entertaining as a drama in miniature. And justly has this lively progress in the thoughts, this stretch of expectation for the issue, in one word, this dramatic character, been extolled in the dialogues of Plato.

Hence already we are in a condition to apprehend wherein the great charm of dramatic poetry consists. Activity is the true enjoyment of life, nay more, is life itself. Mere passive enjoyments may lull into a listless complacency, which however, if there be any stirrings of interior sensibility, cannot long be free from the inroad of ennui. Now, most people by their position in life, or, it may be, from incapacity for extraordinary exertions, are tethered within a narrow round of insignificant engagements. Day follows day, one like another, under the sleepy rule of custom; life progresses without perceptible motion, the rushing stream of the youthful passions stagnating into a morass. From the self-dissatisfaction which this occasions, they seek to make their escape in all kinds of games, which always consist in some occupation, some self-imposed task, in which there are difficulties to be overcome, but withal not troublesome. Now, of all games, the *play* is unquestionably the most entertaining. We see others act, if we cannot act to any great purpose ourselves. The highest subject of human activity is man, and in the play we see men measuring their powers upon each other as friends or foes; influencing each other in their capacity of rational and moral beings, through the medium of opinion, sentiment, and passion; definitely ascertaining their mutual relations, and bringing them to a decisive position. By abstraction and pretermission of all that is not essential to the matter in hand, namely, of all those daily wants and consequent petty distractions which in real life break in upon the progress of essential actions, the poet contrives to condense within small compass much that excites attention and expectation. Thus he gives us a picture of life that resuscitates the days of youth, an extract of what is moving and progressive in human existence.

But this is not all. Even in lively oral narration it is common to introduce the persons speaking, and to vary tone and expression accordingly. But the gaps which these speeches would leave in the hearers' mental picture of the story, the narrator fills up by a description of the concomitant actions or other incidents, in his own name. The dramatic poet foregoes this assistance, but finds abundant compensation in the following invention. He requires that each of the characters of his story should be personated by a living individual; that this individual should, in sex, age, and form, come as near as may be to the fictitious individual of the story, nay, should assume his entire personality; that he should accompany every speech with

the appropriate expression of voice, mien, and gesture, and moreover annex thereto those visible actions, of which otherwise the audience would need to be apprised by narrative. Still farther: these vicegerents of the creatures of his imagination are required to appear in the costume belonging to their assumed rank, and to the times and country in which they lived: partly for the sake of closer resemblance; partly, because even in dress there is something characteristic. Lastly, he requires that they should be environed by a locality in some measure similar to that in which he makes the incidents to have taken place, because this also helps to realize the fiction; that is to say, he will have scenery. Now here is a *theatre* complete. It is plain that the very form of dramatic poetry, that is, the exhibition of an action by dialogue without the aid of narrative, implies the theatre as the necessary complement. We grant, there are dramatic works not originally designed for the stage, and indeed not likely to be particularly effective there, which nevertheless read excellently. But I very greatly question whether they would make the same vivid impression upon a reader who had never witnessed a play nor heard one described. *We* are habituated, in reading dramatic compositions, to fancy to ourselves the acting.

The invention of the theatre and theatrical art seems a very obvious and natural one. Man has a great turn for mimic imitation; in all lively transposing of himself into the situation, sentiments, and passions of others, he assimilates himself to them in his exterior, whether he will or no. Children are perpetually going out of themselves; it is one of their favourite sports to copy the grown people they have opportunity of observing, or indeed whatever else comes into their heads; and with their happy pliancy of imagination, they can make all alike serve their turn, to furnish them with the insignia of the assumed dignity, be it that of a father, a schoolmaster, or a king. There remains but one step more to the invention of the Drama; namely, to draw the mimic elements and fragments clear off from real life, and confront the latter with these collectively in one mass; yet in many nations this step never was taken. In the very copious description of ancient Egypt in Herodotus and others, I do not recollect any indication of this. The Etruscans on the contrary, so like the Egyptians in many other particulars, had their theatrical games, and, singular enough, the Etruscan term for "actor," *histrion*, has survived in living languages even to the most recent times. The whole of Western Asia, the Arabians and Persians, rich as their poetical literature is in other departments, know not the Drama. Neither did Europe in the middle ages: upon the introduction of Christianity the old dramas of the Greeks and Romans were set aside, partly because they had reference to heathen ideas, partly because they had degenerated into shameless immorality; nor did they revive until nearly a thousand years later. So late as the fourteenth century we find in that very complete picture which Boccaccio has given of the then existing frame of society, no trace whatever of plays. Instead of them they had simply their *Conteurs*, *Menestriers*, and *Jongleurs*. On the other hand, it must by no means be supposed that the invention of the Drama was made only once in the world, and was passed along from one nation to another. The English circumnavigators found among the islanders of the Southern Ocean (a people occupying so low a grade in point of intellectual capacity and civilisation) a rude kind of drama, in which a common incident of life was imitated well enough to be diverting. To pass to the other extremity of the world: that nation from which perhaps all the civilisation of the human race emanated, I mean the Indians, had their dramas for ages before that country was subjected to any foreign influence. They possess a copious dramatic literature, the age of which ascends backward nearly two thousand years. Of their plays (*Nataks*) we are at present acquainted with one specimen only, the charming *Sacontala*, which, with all

the foreign colouring of its native climate, in its general structure bears such striking resemblance to our romantic drama, that we might suspect the translator, Sir William Jones, of having laboured to produce the resemblance, out of his partiality for Shakspeare, were not the fidelity of his translation attested by other scholars. In the golden times of India the exhibition of these Natakas delighted the splendid imperial court at Delhi; but under the misery of their many oppressions, dramatic art in that country seems at present to lie extinct. The Chinese, on the contrary, have their standing national theatre: *standing* indeed, it may be conjectured, in every sense: I make no question but in the establishment of arbitrary rules and nice observance of unimportant conventionalities they leave the most correct of the Europeans far behind them.

With all this extensive diffusion of theatrical entertainments, it is surprising to find what a difference there exists in point of dramatic talent between nations equally favoured in other respects. The talent for the Drama would seem to be a peculiar quality, essentially distinct from the gift of poetry in general. The contrast between the Greeks and Romans in this respect is not to be wondered at; for the Greeks were quite a nation of artists, the Romans a practical people. Among the latter, the fine arts were introduced only as a corrupting article of luxury, both betokening and accelerating the degeneracy of the times. This luxury they carried out on so large a scale, in respect of the theatre, that perfection in essentials must have been neglected in the rage for meretricious accessories. Even among the Greeks dramatic talent was any thing but universal: in Athens the Theatre was invented, in Athens it was exclusively brought to perfection. The Doric dramas of Epicharmus form but an inconsiderable exception to this remark. All the great dramatic geniuses of Greece were born in Attica, and formed their style at Athens. Widely as the Grecian race diffused itself, felicitously as it cultivated the fine arts almost wherever it came, yet beyond the bounds of Attica it was fain to admire, without being able to compete with, the productions of the Attic stage.

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## BOOK II.

### LITERARY HISTORY OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

#### THE GREEK TRAGEDIANS.

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##### SECTION I.

##### CHÆRILUS, PHRYNICHUS, AND PRATINAS.

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*Use begets Use.*

GUESSES AT TRUTH.

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AS soon as Tragedy had once established itself in Greece, it made very rapid advances to perfection. According to the received dates, the first exhibition of Thespis preceded by ten years only the birth of Æschylus, who in his younger days contended with the three immediate successors of the Icarian. CHÆRILUS began to represent plays in the 64th Ol. 523 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, and in 499 B.C. contended for the prize with Pratinas and Æschylus. It is stated that he contended with Sophocles also, but the difference in their ages renders this exceedingly improbable, and the mistake may easily have arisen from the way in which Suidas mentions the book on the chorus which Sophocles wrote against him and Thespis<sup>2</sup>. It would seem that Tragedy had not altogether departed from its original form in his time, and that the chorus

<sup>1</sup> Χοιρίλος, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, ξδ' Ὀλυμπιάδι καθείς εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐδίδαξε μὲν δράματα πεντήκοντα καὶ ρ'. ἐνίκησε δὲ ιγ'. Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> See Näke's *Chærilus*, p. 7. Suidas: Σοφοκλῆς ἔγραψε λόγον καταλογάδην περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ πρὸς Θέσπιν καὶ Χοιρίλον ἀγωνιζόμενος.

was still satyric, or *tragic* in the proper sense of the word<sup>1</sup>. Chærilus is said to have written 150 pieces<sup>2</sup>, but no fragments have come down to us. The disparaging remarks of Hermeas and Proclus do not refer to him, but to his Samian namesake<sup>3</sup>, and he is mentioned by Alexis<sup>4</sup> in such goodly company, that we cannot believe that his poetry was altogether contemptible. One of his plays was called the *Alope*, and it appears to have been of a strictly mythical character<sup>5</sup>. Some improvements in theatrical costume are ascribed to him by Suidas and Eudocia<sup>6</sup>.

PHRYNICHUS was the son of Polyphradmon, and a scholar of Thespis<sup>7</sup>. The dates of his birth and death are alike unknown: it seems probable that he died in Sicily<sup>8</sup>. He gained a tragic victory in 511 B.C.<sup>9</sup>, and another in 476, when Themistocles was his choragus<sup>10</sup>: the play which he produced on this occasion was probably the *Phoenissæ*, and Æschylus is charged<sup>11</sup> with having made use of this tragedy in the composition of his *Persæ*, which appeared four years after, a charge which Æschylus seems to rebut in "the *Frogs*" of Aristophanes<sup>12</sup>. In 494 B.C. Miletus was taken by the Persians, and Phrynichus, unluckily for himself,

<sup>1</sup> ἤνικα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἦν Χοιρίλος ἐν Σατύροις. Anonym. ap. Plotium de Thetris, p. 2633.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers in Suidas are, however, in this instance, not to be depended on, as they are not the same in all the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> See Näke's *Chærilus*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. iv. p. 164 c:

Ὅρφεὺς ἐνεστίν, Ἡσίοδος, τραγωδία,  
Χοιρίλος, Ὅμηρος, Ἐπίχαρμος, συγγράμματα  
Παντοδαπά.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. i. 14, § 3: Χοιρίλῳ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ δρᾶμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπη ἐστ' εἰρημένα Κερκύονα εἶναι καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελφούς, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>6</sup> οὗτος κατὰ τινὰς τοῖς προσωπείοις καὶ τῇ σκευῇ τῶν στολῶν ἐπεχείρησεν.

<sup>7</sup> Φρύνιχος, Πολυφράδμονος, ἡ Μινύρου· οἱ δὲ Χοροκλέους· Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, μαθητὴς Θεσπιδος. Suidas in Φρύν.

The first of the names mentioned here for the father of Phrynichus is the correct one. See *Schol. Arist. Av.* 750; Pausan. x. 31, 2. The name also appears under the form Phradmon. *Prolog. Aristoph.* p. xxix.

<sup>8</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. II. p. xxxi, note (t).

<sup>9</sup> ἐνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς ξζ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Suidas.

<sup>10</sup> Ἐνίκησε δὲ [Θεμιστοκλῆς] καὶ χορηγῶν τραγωδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντας. Καὶ πῖνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε, τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα.—Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεαῤῥῖος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν. Plutarch, in *Themist.* c. v.

<sup>11</sup> By Glaucus, in his work on the subjects of the plays of Æschylus: see *Arg. ad Persas*.

<sup>12</sup> ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐς τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ  
ἤνεγκον αὖθ', ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν Φρυνίχῳ  
λειμῶνα Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ὀφθείην δρέπων. *Ran.* 1294—1296.



selected the capture of that city as the subject of a historical tragedy. The skill of the dramatist, and the recent occurrence of the event, affected the audience even to tears, and Phrynichus was fined 1000 drachmæ for having recalled so forcibly a painful recollection of the misfortunes of an ally<sup>1</sup>. We have already mentioned the introduction of female characters into Tragedy by Phrynichus: he seems, however, to have been chiefly remarkable for the sweetness of his melodies<sup>2</sup>, and the great variety and cleverness of his figure dances<sup>3</sup>. The Aristophanic Agathon speaks generally of the beauty of his dramas<sup>4</sup>, though of course they fell far short of the grandeur of Æschylus<sup>5</sup>, and the perfect art of Sophocles. The names of seventeen tragedies attributed

<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν, καὶ διδάξαντι, ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν, ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκήϊα κακά, χιλίησι δραχμῇσι· καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι. Herod. VI. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐνθεν, ὥσπερ εἰ μέλιττα,  
Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων  
μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπὸν, αἰὲ  
φέρων γλυκεῖαν ψῆδάν. Aristoph. Av. 748.

Philocleon, the old Dicast, as we are told by the chorus of his brethren,

ἡγείτ' ἂν ἄδων Φρυνίχου· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ  
φιλωδός. Vesp. 269.

And a little before, these fellow-dicasts are represented by Bdelycleon as summoning their aged colleague at midnight.

.....μυνυρίζοντες μέλη  
ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα. v. 219.

Παρὰ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὴν Σιδῶνα καὶ τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ τὰ ἔρατὰ ἔμιξεν, οἷον ἀρχαῖα μέλη Φρυνίχου ἔρατὰ καὶ ἡδεα...Φρύνιχος δὲ ἐγένετο τραγωδίας ποιητής, δς ἔγραψε δρᾶμα Φοινίσσας, ἐν ᾧ μέμνηται Σιδωνίων. τὰ δὲ μέλη [τὸ δὲ μέλι?] εἶπε διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Schol. in loc. "Scribendum—μέλι—cum Suida in ἀρχαῖος et μυνυρίζω. Quod Aristarchum in codice suo legisse ex annotatione Scholiastæ cognoscitur. Aves, 748: ἔνθεν ὥσπερ εἰ μέλιττα Φρύνιχος κ. τ. λ."—Dindorf. See above, p. 64, notè 6.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch (*Symp.* III. 9) has preserved part of an epigram, said to have been written by the dramatist himself, in which he thus commemorates the fruitfulness of his fancy in devising figure-dances:

Σχήματα δ' ὀρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ  
Κύματα ποιεῖται χεῖματι νύξ ὅλοή.

<sup>4</sup> *Thesmophor.* 164 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> The difference between Phrynichus and Æschylus is distinctly stated in several passages of the *Ranæ*:

..... τοὺς θεατὰς  
ἐξηπάτα, μωροὺς λαβὼν παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τραφέντας. 909.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks, ἀπατεῶν γάρ, ὡς ἀφελέστερος ὁ Φρύνιχος.

The same fact is also forcibly declared in the address of the Chorus to Æschylus in the same comedy:

ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνὰ  
καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον. 1004.

That the word λῆρος does not imply anything merely comical and ludicrous in the tragedies before Æschylus, is clear from the use of the word ληρεῖν, in v. 923.



to him have come down to us, but it is probable that some of these belonged to the other two writers who bore the same name.

We learn from Suidas the following particulars respecting PRATINAS. He was a Phliasian, the son of Pyrrhonides or Encomius, a tragedian, and the opponent of Chœrilus and Æschylus, when the latter first represented. As we have already stated<sup>1</sup>, he was the first writer of satyrical dramas as a distinct species of entertainment; and we may connect this circumstance with the place of his birth; for Phlius was near Corinth and Sicyon, the cradles of the old tragedies of Arion and Epigenes. On one occasion, while he was acting, his wooden stage gave way, and in consequence of that accident, the Athenians built a stone theatre. He exhibited fifty dramas, of which thirty-two were satyrical. The Phliasiens seem to have taken great delight in these performances of their countryman<sup>2</sup>, and according to Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, erected a monument in the market-place in honour of "Aristias, the son of Pratinas, who with his father excelled all except Æschylus in writing satyrical dramas." Pratinas also wrote Hyporchemes<sup>4</sup>. His son Aristias inherited his father's talents, and competed with Sophocles<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> See Schneider, *De Orig. Trag.* p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> II. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. XIV. p. 617 C: Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος, αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας, ἀγανακτεῖν τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ αὐλητῆος μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς χοροῖς, καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χοροὺς συνάδειν τοῖς αὐληταῖς· ὃν οὖν εἶχε θυμὸν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπορχήματος. Τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε, κ.τ.λ.

Müller suggests (*Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 295 [390]) that this Hyporcheme may have occurred in a satyrical drama. But we have seen above, pp. 35, 69, that the Satyric corresponded rather to the Pyrrhic than to the Hyporchematic dance.

<sup>5</sup> Auct. *Vit. Sophocl.*

## CHAPTER I.

### SECTION II.

#### ÆSCHYLUS.

*Et digitis tria tura tribus sub limine ponit.*

OVID.

ÆSCHYLUS, the son of Euphorion, was born at Eleusis<sup>1</sup>, in the fourth year of the 63rd Olympiad (B.C. 525). In his boyhood he was employed in a vineyard, and, while engaged in watching the grapes, with his mind full of his occupation, and inspired with reverence for the god of the vintage, felt himself suddenly called upon to follow the bent of his own genius, and contribute to the spectacles which had just been established at Athens in honour of Dionysus<sup>2</sup>. He made his first appearance as

<sup>1</sup> *Vit. Anonym.*, given in Stanley's edition of this poet, and the Arundel Marble. The invocation to the Eleusinian goddess, which he is made to utter by Aristophanes, may refer to the place of his birth:

Δήμητερ, ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,  
Εἶναί με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων. *Ranæ*, 884.

These lines would seem to show that he had been initiated into the mysteries, which is quite at variance with the defence which he set up when accused before the Areopagus. See Clem. Al. quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μεράκιον δὲν καθεύδων ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλὰς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα, κελεῦσαι τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν. ὥς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα (πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλει) ῥᾶστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν. *Pausan.* I. 21, 2.

To this employment of the poet were probably owing the habits of intemperance with which he has been charged, and also his introduction on the stage of characters in a state of drunkenness. Athenæus tells us (x. p. 428): Καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν τοῦτο διαμαρτάνειν· πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐχ, ὥς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, Εὐριπίδης παρήγαγε τὴν τῶν μεθύοντων ὅψιν εἰς τραγῳδίαν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Καβείροις εἰσάγει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα μεθύοντας. ἃ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τραγῳδιοποιὸς ἐποίει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἥρωσι περιέθηκε· μεθύων γοῦν ἔγραφε τὰς τραγῳδίας· διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς αὐτῷ μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι, ὦ Αἰσχύλε, εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γε ποιεῖς· ὥς ἱστορεῖ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰσχύλου. The same observation of Sophocles is given in the same words, I. p. 22, and is probably taken, as Welcker suggests (*Tril.* p. 254, note) from Sophocles' treatise on the chorus.

This failing is also mentioned by Plutarch: καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον φασὶ τραγῳδίας πίνοντα ποιεῖν καὶ διαθερμαινόμενον. *Symp.* I. 5; by Callisthenes: οἱ γὰρ, ὥς τὸν

a tragedian in B.C. 499<sup>1</sup>, when, as we have already stated, he contended with Chœrilus and Pratinas. Nine years after this he distinguished himself in the battle of Marathon<sup>2</sup>, along with his brothers Cynegeirus and Ameinias, and the poet, who prided himself upon his valour more than upon his genius, looked back to this as to the most glorious action of his life<sup>3</sup>. In 484 B.C. he gained his first tragic victory, and in 480 B.C. took part in the battle of Salamis, in which Ameinias gained the ἀριστεία: he also fought at Plataea. He celebrated the glorious contests which he had witnessed, in a tragic trilogy with which he gained the prize (472 B.C.)<sup>4</sup>. After all that has been written on the subject<sup>5</sup>, we are of opinion that Æschylus made only two journeys to Sicily. The first was in 468 B.C. according to the express testimony of Plutarch<sup>6</sup>; and took place immediately after his defeat by young Sophocles, though it is difficult to believe Plutarch's assertion, that he left Athens in disgust at this indignity. As, however, it is stated that he went to the court of Hiero<sup>7</sup>, and brought out a play at Syracuse to please that king, who died in 467 B.C., he must, if he was at Athens to contend with Sophocles, have started for Sicily immediately after the decision; and he was then at

Αἰσχύλον δὲ Καλλισθένης ἔφη πρὸς, λέγων τὰς τραγωδίας ἐν οἴνῳ γράφειν, ἐξορμῶντα καὶ ἀναθερμαίνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν. Lucian, *Encom. Demosth.*; and by Eustathius, *Odys. θ.* p. 1598.

That he subsequently departed from his original reverence for the religion of Bacchus, we shall show in the text, and this was probably occasioned by his military connexion with the Dorians, and the love which he then acquired for the Dorian character and institutions.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas in Αἰσχ.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν μάχῃ συνηγωνίσαστο Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐτ]ῶ[ν] ὧν ΔΔΔΠ. *Marm. Arund.* No. 49; *Vit. Anonym.*

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. *Attic.* i. 4; Athenæus, xiv. p. 627. In the epitaph which he is said to have composed for himself, he makes no mention of his tragedies, and speaks only of his warlike achievements:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει  
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.  
Ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι,  
Καὶ βαθυχαιτῆεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe thinks (*Ariadne*, p. 154) that the *Prometheus* was acted first at Syracuse, and afterwards at Athens, under the poet's own superintendence: the *Persæ*, which we are here alluding to, first at Athens, and afterwards in Sicily.

<sup>5</sup> By Böckh, *de Græcæ Tragædiæ Principibus*, c. iv. v.; Blomfield. *Præf. Pers.* pp. xvi sqq.; Hermann, *de Eumen. Choro*, ii. pp. 155 sqq.; Welcker, *Trilogie*, pp. 516 fol.; Lange, *de Æschyli Vita*, pp. 15 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Cimon*, viii.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀπῆρε δὲ εἰς Ἱέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον. *Vit. Anonym.* So Pausanias: Καὶ εἰς Συρακούσας πρὸς Ἱέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν. i. 2. Also Plutarch: Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος [Αἰσχύλος] εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ Σιμωνίδης πρότερον. *De Exilio.*

Athens, if Plutarch has given us correct information. He probably spent some time in Sicily on his first visit, as would appear from the numbers of Sicilian words which are found in his later plays<sup>1</sup>. The other journey to Sicily he is said to have made ten years after (458 B.C.), and for this a very sufficient reason has been assigned. In that year he brought out the Orestean trilogy; and in the Eumenides, the last play of the trilogy, showed so openly his opposition to the politics of Pericles and his abettor Ephialtes<sup>2</sup>, that his abode at Athens might easily have been made not only unpleasant, but even unsafe, especially as his fondness for the Dorian institutions, his aristocratical spirit, and his adoption of the politics of Aristides, had doubtless made him long before obnoxious to the demagogues.

He died at Gela two years after the representation of the *Orestea*, i. e. in B.C. 456<sup>3</sup>. It is said<sup>4</sup>, that an eagle having mistaken his bald head for a stone, dropped a tortoise upon it in order to break the shell, and that the poet was killed by the blow: but the story is evidently an invention, most unnecessarily devised to account for the natural death of a persecuted exile nearly seventy years old.

Another reason has been assigned for Æschylus' second journey to Sicily. It is founded on a statement, alluded to by Aristotle<sup>5</sup>, and given more distinctly by Clemens Alexandrinus and Ælian<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δέ, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατοικοῦντες ἀσχέδωρον καλοῦσι τὸν σύαγρον. Αἰσχύλος γοῦν ἐν Φορκίσι, παρεικάδων τὸν Περσέα τῷ ἀγρίῳ τούτῳ συτ', φησὶν  
'Εδν δ' ἐς ἄντρον ἀσχέδωρος ὤς.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος, διατριψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλὰ ἰς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελαῖς, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Athen. ix. p. 402 B.—To the same effect Eustathius: Χρησις δὲ φασιν ἀσχεδώρου παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ διατριψάντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ εἰδότε. *Ad Odys.* p. 1872.—And Macrobius: Ita et Dii Palici in Sicilia coluntur; quos primum omnium Æschylus tragicus, vir utique Siculus, in literas dedit, &c. &c. *Saturnal.* v. 19.

Some Sicilian forms are to be found in his extant plays: thus, πεδάρσιος, πεδαίχμιοι, πεδάδοροι, μάσων, μᾶ, &c. for μετάρσιος, μεταίχμιοι, μετέωροι, μείζων, μήτερ, &c. See Blomfield, *Prom. Vinc.* 277, *Gloss.*, and Böckh, *de Trag. Græc.* c. v.

<sup>3</sup> See Müller's *Eumeniden*, § 35 fol.

<sup>4</sup> 'Αφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητής, βιώσας ἔτη [Δ]ΔΠΙΙΙΙ, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν [Γέλ]ᾳ τῆς [Σι]κελίας ἔτη Η[Δ]ΔΔΔΠΙΙ, ἄρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ προτέρου. *Mar. Arund.* No. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Vit. Anonym.*; Suidas in *Χελώνη μυῶν*; Valer. Max. ix. 2; Ælian, *Hist. Animal.* vii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ethic.* iii. 1: ὁ δὲ πράττει, ἀγνοήσκειν ἂν τις· οἷον λέγοντές φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοῦς, ἢ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν, ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά.

<sup>6</sup> Αἰσχύλος (says Clemens) τὰ μυστήρια ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐξειπών, ἐν 'Αρείῳ πάγῳ κριθεὶς οὕτως ἀφείσθη, ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν μὴ μεμνημένον. *Strom.* ii.—Ælian tells the tale in a somewhat different way; a more romantic one of course: Αἰσχύλος ὁ τραγωδὸς ἐκρίνετο ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τινὶ δράματι. 'Ετοίμων οὖν ὄντων 'Αθηναίων, βάλλειν αὐτὸν λίθοις, 'Αμει-

that Æschylus was accused of impiety before the Areopagus, and acquitted, as Ælian says, in consequence of the services of his brother Ameinias, or, according to Aristotle and Clemens, because he pleaded ignorance. Eustratius tells us<sup>1</sup> from Heraclides Ponticus that he would have been slain on the stage by the infuriated populace, had he not taken refuge at the altar of Bacchus; and that he was acquitted by the Areopagus in consequence of his brother *Cynegeirus*' intercession. This reason for his second departure from Athens is quite in accordance with the former; for if he had incurred the ill will of the people and the demagogues, nothing was more natural than that he should have been made amenable to the same charges, which a similar faction afterwards brought against Alcibiades<sup>2</sup>. And there is something in the intervention of the Areopagus, between the people and their intended victim, which may at once account for the attempt to overthrow it, which, we conceive, shortly followed this trial, as also for the bold stand which Æschylus made on behalf of that tribunal.

There are great discrepancies respecting the number of plays written by Æschylus. The writer of the life prefixed to his remains assigns seventy plays to him, Suidas ninety, and Fabricius more than 100. Of these, only seven remain.

The most remarkable improvements which Æschylus introduced into Tragedy are the following: he added a second actor, limited the functions of the chorus, and gave them a more artificial character: he made the dialogue, which he created by the addition of a second actor, the principal part of the drama<sup>3</sup>: he provided

νίας ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφός, διακαλυψάμενος τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔδειξε τὴν πῆχυν ἔρημον τῆς χειρὸς. Ἐτυχε δὲ ἀριστεύων ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁ Ἀμεινίας ἀποβεβληκῶς τῇ χειρᾷ, καὶ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀριστείων ἔτυχεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ δικάσται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὑπεμνήσθησαν τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφῆκαν τὸν Αἰσχύλον. *Var. Hist.* v. 19.

<sup>1</sup> In his commentary on Aristotle, *loc. cit.* fol. 40. He mentions the names of five plays on which these charges were founded, the *Toxotides*, the *Tepelas*, the *Σταυροπετροκυλιστής*, the *Ἰφιγένεια*, and the *Οἰδίπους*. But we know nothing of the dates of these plays. *Comp. Welcker, Tril.* 106, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. vi. 53; Andocid. *de Myster.* *Comp. Droysen, in the Rhein. Museum* for 1835, pp. 161 fol.

<sup>3</sup> These first three improvements are stated by Aristotle, *Poet.* c. iv. 16 (below, Part II.): καὶ τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡλάττωσε καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστὴν παρεσκεύασε. The first is given also by Diogen. Laert. *Vit. Plat.*: Θέσπισ ἓνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεύρεν...καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος. The names of his two actors are given in an old life prefixed to one of the editions. Ἐχρήσατο δὲ ὑποκριτῇ πρῶτον μὲν Κελάνδρῳ.....δεύτερον αὐτῷ πρόσθε Μιόνισκον τὸν Χαλκιδέα. Hermann has made an extraordinary blunder with regard to the latter part of the quotation from Aristotle: he has actually supposed that *πρωταγωνιστὴν* is an epithet, though it is obvious from the position of the article, that

his Tragedy with all sorts of imposing spectacles<sup>1</sup>, and introduced the custom of contending with Trilogies, or with three plays at a time. He seems also to have improved the theatrical costumes, and to have made the mask more expressive and convenient, while he increased the stature of the performers by giving them thick soled boots (ἀρβύλαι, κόθορνοι<sup>2</sup>). In short, he did so much for the drama, that he was considered as the father of Tragedy<sup>3</sup>, and his plays were allowed to be acted after his death<sup>4</sup>.

We shall find, in the remaining Tragedies of Æschylus, most ample confirmation of what we have said respecting his political opinions, and also of Cicero's statement, that he was a Pythagorean<sup>5</sup>. Even the improvements which are due to him are so

it is a tertiary predicate (Donalds. *Gr. Gr.* 489 sqq.), and is used tropically, just as Aristotle elsewhere uses χορηγεῖν, &c. metaphorically. Compare Plut. *Mus.* p. 667, Wyttēb.: πρωταγωνιστοῦσης τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δ' αὐλητῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοῖς διδασκάλοις.

<sup>1</sup> Primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylo docente tragoediam, scenam fecit, et de eâ commentarium reliquit. Vitruv. Præf. Lib. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Post hunc [Thespin] personæ pallæque repertor honestæ Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis, Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. Horat. *Epist. ad Pis.* 279.

So Suidas: Αἰσχύλος εὗρε προσωπεῖα δεινὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα ἔχειν τοὺς τραγικούς, καὶ ταῖς ἀρβύλαις, ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐμβάταις, κεχρησθαι. The Aristophanic Æschylus alludes to these improvements in the costumes. *Ran.* 1060. Compare Athen. I. p. 21, and Philost. *Vit. Apoll.* VI. 11: ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν ἃ πρόσφορον ἥρωσί τε καὶ ἡρώϊσιν ἡσθήσθαι. *Vit. Gorg.* I. 9: ἐσθῆτί τε τὴν τραγωδίαν κατασκευάσας καὶ ὀκρίβαντι ὑψηλῶ, καὶ ἡρώων εἶδεσιν. There are many allusions to the ἀρβύλαι of the actors in the Greek Tragedians themselves.

<sup>3</sup> —Ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἡγοῦντο. Philost. *Vit. Apoll.* VI. 11. And thus the Chorus in the *Ranæ* address him:

Ἄλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά,  
Καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον. V. 1004.

So Quintilian: Tragoedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit. X. 1.

<sup>4</sup> “Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα εἰς Διονύσια. Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο, καὶ ἐνῖκα ἐκ καινῆς. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* VI. 11.—Also, *Vit. Anonym.*—Aristophanes alludes to this custom of re-exhibiting the dramas of Æschylus in the opening of the *Acharnians*, where Dicæopolis complains:

ἀλλ' ὠδυνήθην ἕτερον αὖ τραγωδικόν,  
ὅτε δὴ κεχῆνη προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον,  
ὃ δ' ἀνείπεν· ‘εἰσαγ', ὦ Θεογενι, τὸν χορόν.’ V. 9 &c.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks: τιμῆς δὲ μεγίστης ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Αἰσχύλος, καὶ μόνου αὐτοῦ τὰ δράματα ψηφίσματι κοινῶ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐδιδάσκετο. The allegation of the poet (*Ranæ*, 868):

Ὅτι ἡ πόλις οὐχὶ συντέθνηκέ μοι,

is also supposed by the Scholiast to refer to this decree. Quintilian assigns a very different reason for this practice, when, speaking of Æschylus as ‘rudis in plerisque et incompositus,’ he goes on, ‘propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre posterioribus poetis Athenienses permisere, suntque eo modo multi coronati.’ X. 1. What authority he had for such an assertion does not now appear.” Former Editor.

<sup>5</sup> Veniat Æschylus, non poeta solum, sed etiam Pythagoreus; sic enim accepimus. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* II. 9.

many proofs of his anti-democratical spirit. For though he seems to have first turned his attention to the drama, in consequence of his accidental connexion with the country worship of Bacchus, yet in all his innovations we shall detect a wish to diminish the choral or Bacchic element of the Tragedy, and to aggrandize the other part, by connecting it with the old Homeric Epos, the darling of the aristocracy: indeed he used to say himself, that his dramas were but dry scraps from the great banquets of Homer<sup>1</sup>, and it was owing to this that he borrowed so little from the Attic traditions, or from the Heracleia and Theseis, of which Sophocles and Euripides afterwards so freely availed themselves<sup>2</sup>. We have another proof of his willingness to abandon all reference to the worship of Bacchus in his way of treating the dithyrambic chorus, which the state gave him as the basis of his Tragedy. He did not keep all this chorus of fifty men on the stage at once, but broke it up into subordinate choruses, one or more of which he employed in each play of his Trilogy<sup>3</sup>. Even his improvement of the costume was a part of the same plan; for the more appropriate he made the costumes of his actors, the farther he departed from the dresses worn in the Bacchic processions; which, however, to the last kept their place on the tragic stage<sup>4</sup>. And may not the invention of the Trilogy have been also a part of his attempt to make the λόγος, or theatrical declamation<sup>5</sup>, the principal part in his tragedy (πρωταγωνιστής)? We think we could establish this, if our limits admitted a detailed examination of the principles which governed

“In philosophical sentiments, Æschylus is said to have been a Pythagorean. In his extant dramas the tenets of this sect may occasionally be traced; as, deep veneration in what concerns the gods, *Agam.* 360; high regard for the sanctity of an oath and the nuptial bond, *Eumen.* 208; the immortality of the soul, *Choëph.* 320; the origin of names from imposition and not from nature, *Agam.* 683; *Prom. V.* 85, 852; the importance of numbers, *Prom. Vincit.* 457; the science of physiognomy, *Agam.* 769; and the sacred character of suppliants, *Suppl.* 342; *Eum.* 226.” Former Editor.

Comp. a paper in the *Class. Journal*, No. XXII. pp. 207 fol. “On the Philosophical sentiments of Æschylus.”

<sup>1</sup> Athen. VIII. p. 347 E: τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ λαμπροῦ Αἰσχύλου δὲ τὰς αὐτοῦ τραγωδίας τεμάχη εἶναι ἔλεγε τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δέλτων.

<sup>2</sup> See Welcker, *Trilogie*, p. 484. In style and representation, however, Sophocles was much more Homeric than Æschylus, who probably paid attention only to the mythical materials in general, and according to their Epic connexion. *Trilogie*, p. 485.

<sup>3</sup> See Müller's *Eumeniden*, near the beginning of the first essay.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* § 32.

<sup>5</sup> That this is the meaning of λόγος, in the passage of Aristotle, is sufficiently clear; for λογεῖον was the stage on which the actor, as distinguished from the chorus, performed.



the composition of an Æschylean Trilogy<sup>1</sup>: at present we shall merely suggest, that the invention of a *πρόλογος* and a *ῥῆσις*, attributed to Thespis, points to two entrances only of the Thespian actor; and that the *τριλογία*, in its old sense, may have been originally a *πρόλογος*, and two *λόγοι* or *ῥήσεις*, instead of one; consequently, an increase of business for the *ὑποκριτής*. Now, when Æschylus had added a second actor, each of these *λόγοι* became a *διάλογος*, or *δρᾶμα*: and it would be natural enough that Æschylus, if he had the intentions which we have attributed to him, should expand each of these *διάλογοι* into a complete play, and break up the chorus into three parts, assigning one to each dialogue, and subordinating the whole chorus to the action of the piece. There is something in favour of this view in the probable analogy between the first piece of a Trilogy and the prologue of Thespis, which we consider to have been certainly of less importance than the *ῥῆσις*. "It is credible," says an ingenious writer<sup>2</sup>, "that when the new Trilogy first came out, only the middle piece received an accurate dialogical and dramatic completion; whereas, on the contrary, the introductory and concluding pieces were less removed from the old form, and besides remained confined to a more moderate compass." This is borne out by all that we know of the earlier Trilogies of Æschylus, in which the first play has generally a prophetic reference to the second; and the third, though important in a moral and religious point of view, is little more than a finale<sup>3</sup>, whereas all the stirring interest is concentrated in the Middle Tragedy: *παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος Θεὸς ὤπασεν*, say the chorus in the Eumenides, and this principle is the key as well to the trilogy of Æschylus as to the morals of Aristotle. Besides, the leading distinction between the Æschylean Tragedy and the Homeric Epos is, that the latter contains an uninterrupted series of events, whereas the former exhibits the events in detached groups<sup>4</sup>. In this also we are to seek for the relation subsisting between the drama of Æschylus and the plastic arts, of which he

<sup>1</sup> Welcker has done a great deal towards settling this question æsthetically (*Trilogie*, pp. 482—540).

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Ariadne*, p. 147; compare Welcker, *Trilogie*, p. 490. Hermann (*Opusc.* II. p. 313) admits this of the musical importance.

<sup>3</sup> See Welcker, *Tril.* pp. 491, 492.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 486 foll.





we easily detect in the writer of the *Divina Commedia* the stern Florentine, who charged in the foremost ranks of the Guelfian chivalry at the battle of Campaldino<sup>1</sup>, so may we at once recognize, in the tone of Æschylus' Tragedies, the high-minded Athenian, the brother of Ameinias and Cynegeirus, whose sword drank the blood of the dark-haired Medes at Marathon and Salamis. His poems are full of military and political terms<sup>2</sup>; he breathes an unbounded contempt for the barbarian prowess<sup>3</sup>, and he introduces on the stage the grotesque monsters whose images he had often seen among the spoils of the Persians<sup>4</sup>. Even his high-flown diction is a type of his military character, for many of his words strike on the ear like trumpet-sounds. The description given of his language by Aristophanes is so vivid, and at the same time so true, that we must endeavour to lay it before our readers in an English dress. The chorus of initiated persons is speaking of the prospect of a contest between Æschylus and Euripides; they express their expectations thus<sup>5</sup>:

*Surely unbearable wrath will rise in the thunderer's bosom,  
When he perceives his rival in art, that treble-toned babbler,  
Whetting his teeth: he will then, driven frantic with anger,  
Roll his eye-balls fearfully.*

*Then shall we have plume-fluttering strifes of helmeted speeches,  
Break-neck grazings of galloping words and shavings of actions,  
While the poor wight averts the great geniusmonger's  
Diction high and chivalrous.*

*Bristling the stiffened mane of his neck-enveloping tresses,  
Dreadfully wrinkling his brows, he will bellow aloud as he utters  
Firmly rivetted words, and will tear them up plankwise,  
Breathing with a Titan's breath.*

<sup>1</sup> In quella battaglia memorabile e grandissima, che fu a Campaldino, lui giovane e bene stimato si trovò nell' armi combattendo vigorosamente a cavallo nella prima schiera. Aretin. *Vita di Dante*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> We allude to such phrases as μακάρων πρύτανις, βασιλῆς δίοποι, στρατιᾶς ἐφοροί, φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, in the *Supplices*, 727, 8, 930 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 937:

οὐχ ἱππαλεκτρύνας, μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ τραγελάφους ἄπερ σύ,  
ἀν τοῖσι περιπετάσματος τοῖς Μηδικοῖς γράφουσιν.

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 814. It may be as well to remind the student, that Æschylus is here compared to a lion, Euripides to a wild boar. Great contempt for Euripides is expressed in l. 820, in the opposition of φωτός applied to him, to ἀνδρός applied to Æschylus; l. 824 intimates the difficulty of pronouncing the long words of Æschylus, which are afterwards compared to trees torn up by the root, as opposed to the twigs and branches with which the rolling-places were generally strewed. (904.)

τὸν δ' ἀνασπῶντ' αὐτοπρέμνοις  
τοῖς λόγοισιν  
ἐμπέσοντα συσκεδᾶν πολ-  
λὰς ἀλυνθήθρας ἐπῶν.

*Then will that smooth and diligent tongue, the touchstone of verses,  
Twisting and twirling about, and moving the snaffle of envy,  
Scatter his words, and demolish, with subtle refinement,  
Doughty labours of the lungs.*

In addition to the many other allusions to nautical matters in Æschylus, the importance which he attaches to Zeus Soter, the god of mariners, is of itself a sufficient indication of his seafaring life<sup>1</sup>.

Though Æschylus does not seem to have had much relish for the Dionysian rites or for an elementary worship of Bacchus, he was a highly religious man, and strongly attached to the Dorian idolatry, on which Pythagoras founded his more spiritual and philosophical system of religion<sup>2</sup>.

It is an established fact, that Æschylus borrowed, in his later days, the third actor, and the other improvements of Sophocles. The time at which he adopted the modifications introduced by his younger contemporary is of importance with reference to the chronological arrangement of his extant plays, which it is our next business to consider.

Although it is certain that Æschylus exhibited his Tragedies in tetralogies or connected sets of three with a satyrical after-piece, we have only one of his trilogies, the latest of them, and the satyrical dramas are altogether lost. The other four plays which have come down to us seem to have been the center-pieces of the Trilogies to which they belonged. No one of them can be referred to the first twelve years of his dramatic career. But three of the four exhibit his Tragedy in its original form, with only two speaking persons on the stage; one of them, in the opinion of some critics, leaves it doubtful whether he had as yet adopted the Sophoclean extension of the stage-business; and the three constituting his Trilogy of the *Orestea* give us the Greek Tragedy in the fullest development to which it ever attained.

<sup>1</sup> See Müller, *Eumeniden*, § 94 foll. It appears to us, from the fact mentioned by Strabo (IX. p. 396), that there was a temple of Zeus Soter on the shore of the Peiræus, and from the words of Diphilus (Athen. p. 229 B):

ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑπέμυξ' (we would read ὑπένυξ') εὐθὺς ἐκβεβήκοτα,  
τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλον ἐμνήσθην Διὸς  
Σωτῆρος.

that this Zeus Soter was the god of mariners, to whom they offered up their vows immediately on landing. Comp. *Agamemn.* v. 650: τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέ-  
τερο, and see our note on Pindar, *Olymp.* VIII. 20 sqq. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See Müller, *Eumeniden*, u. s. and elsewhere; and Klausen's *Theologumena Æschyli*.—And in connexion with the remarks on Æschylus' love of sculpture, see above, p. 24, note 1.

The earliest extant play of Æschylus seems to have been the *Persæ*. It is expressly stated that the tetralogy, to which it belonged, and which consisted of the *Phineus*, the *Persæ*, the *Glaucus Potnieus*, and *Prometheus Pyrcæus*, was performed in the archonship of Menon, B.C. 472<sup>1</sup>. The direct reference to the great events, which had taken place some seven years earlier, places the *Persæ* in the same category with the *Μιλήτου Ἀλωσις* of Phrynichus; but while the latter commemorated a grievous disaster, Æschylus celebrated glorious victories, and he was enabled, as we may infer from the names of the other plays in the Trilogy, to connect these topics of contemporary interest with a wide field of mythology and vaticination. The *Phineus*, who gave his name to the introductory drama, was the blind soothsayer, who predicted to the Argonauts the adventures which would befall them in that first attack upon Asia by the Greeks, and it would be easy for the poet to interweave with this a series of prophecies referring to the glorious overthrow of the counter-expedition of Xerxes. The scene of the extant play, which forms the center-piece of the Trilogy, is laid at Susa, where the Queen-dowager Atossa, prepared for coming disaster by an ominous dream, receives from a Persian messenger the details of the battle of Salamis, and of the retreat of the defeated army across the Strymon. After this the shade of Darius appears, and predicts the battle of Plataea. The piece concludes with the appearance of Xerxes himself in a most unkingly plight, and he and the chorus pour forth a *κόμμος* or dirge, deploring the sad consequences of his attempt to subjugate Greece. The third play was called *Glaucus*, and the didascalía states that it was the *Glaucus Potnieus*. There was also another play of Æschylus called the *Glaucus Pontius*, and some scholars have contended that this was the third Tragedy in the Trilogy under consideration<sup>2</sup>. We cannot recognize the necessity for such an alteration of the document as it has come down to us: for there is no more difficulty in connecting the *Glaucus Potnieus* with the *Persæ*, than there is in establishing a correspondence of plot between the latter and the *Glaucus Pontius*. It is sufficient to remark that the apparition of Darius was evoked for the purpose, as it seems, of predicting the battle of Plataea

<sup>1</sup> *Argument. Pers.*: ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγῳδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνίκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ Ποτνιεῖ, Προμηθεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker, *Tril.* pp. 311 sqq. 471; *Nachtrag*, p. 176; Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* i. p. 425.

(vv. 800 sq.). Now Potniæ was on the road from Thebes to Plataea<sup>1</sup>, and the few fragments of the play called *Glaucus Potnieus* certainly do not authorize us in denying that some of the many legends, of which Potniæ was the traditional home, might have been brought into connexion with the battle of Plataea. The incident in the fate of Glaucus himself, namely, that he was torn to pieces by his own steeds, is undoubtedly referred to in one of the fragments<sup>2</sup>; and when we remember the dream of Atossa, and how Xerxes is overthrown by the visionary horses which he yokes to his chariot<sup>3</sup>, it is quite conceivable that some prophetic inferences may have been drawn from the downfall of Glaucus in the chariot-race at the funeral games of Pelias<sup>4</sup>. In any case, it is clear that the *Persæ* with its contemporary references stood between two plays which derived their names and probably their action and circumstances from the mythical traditions of ancient Hellas. With regard to the *Persæ* itself, it has been well remarked<sup>5</sup> that "in this instance the scene is not properly Grecian; it is referred by the mind to Susa, the capital of Persia, far eastward even of Babylon, and four months' march from Hellas. Remoteness of space in that case countervailed the proximity in point of time; though it may be doubted, whether, without the benefit of the supernatural, it would, even in that case, have satisfied the Grecian taste. And it certainly would not, had the reference of the whole piece not been so intensely Athenian."

The next in point of date of the extant plays of Æschylus was the *Seven against Thebes*, which is stated to have been acted after the *Persæ*<sup>6</sup>, but must have appeared in the lifetime of Aristides, who died not later than B.C. 468. For the beautiful verses respecting Amphiaraus were considered at Athens to refer to that upright statesman<sup>7</sup>. This play, as Aristophanes makes its author call

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 8; Strabo, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> e. g. *Fragm.* 30; see Hermann, *de Æschyli Glauco*, Opusc. ii. p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Pers.* 181.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. vi. 20, § 19. As *ταράξιππος*, Glaucus may have been serviceable according to Greek superstition in the defeat of the cavalry of Mardonius.

<sup>5</sup> De Quincey, *Leaders in literature and traditional errors affecting them*, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Aristophanes says (*Ran.* 1058): *εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτο*, speaking of the *Seven against Thebes*, but the Schol. informs us: *τὸ δὲ εἶτα καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὃ θέλουσιν ἀκούειν πρὸς τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ καὶ τοῦτο ἐδίδαξα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον*. And again (*ad v.* 1053): *οἱ Πέρσαι πρότερον δεδιδαγμένοι εἰσὶν· εἶτα οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας*.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. *Apophthegm. Reg.* p. 186 B (739 Wytténb.): *Αἰσχύλου ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάρου*.

it, was truly full of warlike spirit<sup>1</sup>, but its construction is eminently simple. The dialogue is mainly sustained by Eteocles, the young king of Thebes, who receives intelligence of the seven champions about to attack the seven gates of his city, and appoints a warrior to meet each of them, reserving his brother Polyneices for himself. The play ends with an announcement of the victory of Thebes; and Antigone and Ismene, in conjunction with the chorus, pour forth a lament over their two brothers who have fallen in the fratricidal strife. Antigone, in particular, declares her resolve to bury Polyneices in spite of the prohibition of the Theban senate (1017). And while the first play of the Trilogy, probably the *Ædipus*, must have developed the circumstances leading to the paternal curses, to which Eteocles makes such emphatic reference at the beginning of the *Seven against Thebes* (v. 70), the fate of Antigone must have been introduced into the last play, no doubt the *Eleusinians*, the main topic of which was the interference of Theseus to procure the burial at Eleutheræ and Eleusis of the Argives who fell before Thebes<sup>2</sup>.

The most contradictory opinions have been maintained respecting the chronology of the *Prometheus*. For while one critic contends that it is the oldest of the extant plays of Æschylus, and was exhibited soon after Ol. 75, 2, B.C. 478<sup>3</sup>, another eminent scholar says that it "was in all probability one of the last efforts of the genius of Æschylus, for the third actor is to a certain extent employed in it<sup>4</sup>." The reason alleged for this late date of the play—namely, the assumed employment of a third actor—falls to the ground when we adopt the probable supposition<sup>5</sup> that

οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἄλλ' εἶναι θέλει,  
βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,  
ἀφ' ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα.

καὶ λεγομένων τούτων πάντες εἰς Ἀριστείδην ἀπέβλεψαν.

<sup>1</sup> *Ran.* 1054: δρᾶμα ποιήσας Ἀρεως μεστόν.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Thes.* c. 29: συνέπραξε δὲ (Θησεὺς) καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων, οὐχ, ὥς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, μάχῃ τῶν Θηβαίων κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ σπείσάμενος...ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς δεικνύνται, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων περὶ Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ τοῦτο Θησεὺς Ἀδράστῳ χαρισαμένου. καταμαρτυροῦσι δὲ τῶν Εὐριπίδου Ἰκετίδων οἱ Αἰσχύλου Ἐλευσῖνιοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Θησεὺς πεποίηται.

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Schömann, *des Æschylos gefesselter Prometheus*, pp. 79 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* i. p. 432.

<sup>5</sup> Welcker, *Tril.* p. 30; Hermann, *Opusc.* ii. p. 146; *ad Æsch.* p. 55. It is curious that Schömann, who argues for the oldest date of the *Prometheus*, disallows this supposition, and imagines that one of the choreutæ took the part of the third actor (u. s.

Prometheus, who does not speak during the dialogue between Vulcan and his coadjutor, Strength, was represented by a lay figure attached to the rock scenery, behind whose mask the protagonist spoke during the rest of the play. The reasons, which induce us to take a middle course between these conflicting opinions and to place the *Prometheus* third among the extant plays of Æschylus, are briefly as follows. The references to Sicily, the Sicelisms of the language, and the covert allusions to Sicilian affairs, especially the description of the great eruption of Ætna<sup>1</sup>, seem to point to an epoch subsequent to the poet's first visit to Sicily in B.C. 468. On the other hand, the sarcastic allusions to tyrants and courtiers<sup>2</sup> are not likely to have appeared in a play acted in Sicily, or indeed during the life-time of Hiero, and this consideration will induce us to place the Tragedy after B.C. 467. But it seems reasonable to conclude that the elaborate description of the subject of another Trilogy<sup>3</sup> would hardly have been put into the mouth of Prometheus, if that series of plays had been already acted. And as we shall see that the *Supplikes*, the center play of the Trilogy about the daughters of Danaus, must have been performed about B.C. 461, we must place the *Prometheus* at some time between that date and the poet's return from Sicily. If we must fix a particular date, we can suggest none better than the year B.C. 464, when the news would reach Athens that Themistocles had entered the service of the Persian king<sup>4</sup>. The warrior of Marathon and Salamis, and the friend of Aristides, would at such a time with peculiar force utter that abomination of treason, which the poet puts into the mouth of his chorus<sup>5</sup>. This noble Tragedy, the *Prometheus bound*, which ex-

pp. 85 sqq.). Such a *parachoregema* cannot be imagined in the very earliest days of the Greek Drama.

<sup>1</sup> vv. 367 sqq.:

ἐνθεν ἐκραγήσονται ποτε  
ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρῶν γνάθους  
τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευροῦς γύας.

It is true that this eruption took place B. C. 478, but the description points to a recent view of the effects, rather than to a recent hearsay of the fact. For the Sicelisms in the *Prometheus* see Blomfield's *Gloss.* 277. And for allusions to Hiero's affairs see Droysen's *Translation*, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. 917: σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vv. 830 sqq., with the *Supplikes* as it stands.

<sup>4</sup> Themistocles arrived in Persia soon after the death of Xerxes in B.C. 465, during the influence of Artabanus. See Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> 1048 sqq.:

τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον,  
κούκ ἔστι νόσος  
τῆσδ' ἦντιν' ἀπέπτυσσεν μάλλον.



hibits Prometheus fettered to the mountain side, but still defying the power of Jove and refusing to divulge the oracle of Themis, on which the continuance of that power depended, was preceded by *Prometheus the fire-bringer*, in which the labours of Prometheus on behalf of mankind were fully exhibited, and was followed by *Prometheus unbound*, in which Prometheus is released by Hercules and reconciled to Jove, to whom he now discloses the prophecy that Thetis would give birth to a son more powerful than his father, and so releases him from the consequences of his intended marriage with that sea-goddess.

The remaining single play, the *Suppliants*, belonged to a trilogy, which some have called the *Danaïs*, and which undoubtedly related to the wholesale murder of 49 of the 50 sons of Ægyptus on their marriage-night. The first play, which is supposed to have been the *Ægyptians*, represented of course the circumstances which led to the flight of Danaus and his 50 daughters from Egypt. The *Suppliants* exhibits the exiles seated before a group of altars at Argos, and shows how they were received by King Pelasgus and his people, and how the attempt of the Egyptian herald, to carry them back to Egypt by force, was resisted by the hospitable Greeks. In the last play, called the *Danaïdes*, Æschylus must have detailed the feigned reconciliation of the two brothers, the marriage of their two progenies, and its fatal consequences<sup>1</sup>. There is reason to believe that the piece ended, like the *Eumenides*, with a formal trial, or rather with two trials. On the one hand, it seems clear that the 49 homicidal daughters, together with their father who instigated the deed, were publicly tried at the suit of Ægyptus<sup>2</sup>; and the feeling, with which the poet regards their case in the *Suppliants*<sup>3</sup>, leaves it hardly doubtful that they were acquitted on the ground that they had no other means of escaping the incestuous marriage forced upon them by Ægyptus<sup>4</sup>. But if they were justified, Hypermnestra must have been culpable, and there seem to be good grounds for the inference that she was rescued from the dilemma by the intervention of Venus, who is known to have

<sup>1</sup> See Hermann's paper, *de Æschyli Danaïdibus*, Opusc. II. pp. 319 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. *Orest.* 862: οὐ φασι πρῶτον Δαναὸν Αἰγύπτῳ δίκας  
διδόντ' ἀθροῖσαι λαὸν ἐς κοινὰς ἑδρας.

<sup>3</sup> *Suppl.* 38: . πρὶν ποτε λέκτρων ὦν Θέμις εἴργει  
σφετεριζόμενον πατραδελφείαν  
τήνδ' ἀεκόντων ἐπιβῆναι.

<sup>4</sup> Hermann, Opusc. II. p. 330.



appeared in the play<sup>1</sup> and to have claimed a part of the blame for the universal ἥμερος, to which Hypermnestra yielded when the love for Lynceus made her disobey her father<sup>2</sup>. Whether the play introduced any reference to the device of a foot-race to determine the re-marriage of the homicidal widows<sup>3</sup>, there is no means of deciding. It is remarkable that the same verb is used in the *Supplices* to denote the assignment of a handmaiden to each of the chorus<sup>4</sup>, and in the story of the mythographer, to denote the assignment of a husband to each of the 50 cousins<sup>5</sup>. With regard to the former circumstance, we are not to suppose that a crowd of 100 dancers appeared in the orchestra or on the stage. But as the chorus was probably the same in all three plays, and as reference is made to the number of 50<sup>6</sup>, it is not improbable that the whole number of choreutæ may have been employed in each play, some of them sustaining the action on the stage, and others executing dances in the orchestra. The date of this Trilogy is approximately determined by distinct references in the *Suppliants* to amicable relations between the popular party at Argos and the Athenians<sup>7</sup>, and to the anticipated results of a conflict between Greeks and Egyptians<sup>8</sup>. And as the war with Egypt began in B.C. 462, and the alliance between Athens and Argos came into operation in B.C. 461, we may fix the latter year for the performance of this Trilogy<sup>9</sup>.

In these separate plays we see no traces of the employment of a third actor. It has been shown already that a simple expedient

<sup>1</sup> Athen. p. 600 A: καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς Δαναΐσιν αὐτὴν παράγει τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ λέγουσαν·

ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρώσαι χθόνα κ.τ.λ.  
τῶνδ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

<sup>2</sup> *Prom.* 864: μίαν δὲ παίδων ἥμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ  
κτεῖναι σύνευνον.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. ix. *Pyth.* 116; Apollodor. i. 1, 5, § 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Suppl.* 984: τάσσεσθε, φίλαι δμῶίδες, οὕτως  
ὥς ἐφ' ἐκάστη διεκλήρωσεν  
Δαναὸς θεραποντίδα φέρνῃ.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. ii. 1, 5, § 1: ὠμολόγει τοὺς γάμους καὶ διεκλήρου τὰς κόρας.

<sup>6</sup> *Prometh.* 855; *Suppl.* 316.

<sup>7</sup> *Suppl.* 699: φυλάσσοι τιμίῳσι τιμὰς  
τὸ δῆμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει,  
προμαθεὺς τ' εὐκοινομήτης ἀρχά·  
ξένοισί τ' εὐξυμβόλους πρὶν ἐξοπλίζεω Ἄρη,  
δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων διδοῖεν.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 761: βύβλου δὲ κάρπος οὐ νικᾷ στάχυν.  
953: ἀλλ' ἄρσενός τοι τῆσδε γῆς οἰκήτορας  
εὐρήσεται, οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ.

<sup>9</sup> Müller, *Eumeniden*, p. 125.

would enable two actors to perform the introductory scene of the *Prometheus*. Even in the *Supplices* the Protagonist had only to play Danaus and the Egyptian herald, and the Deuteragonist had no character to sustain except Pelasgus. And yet in the complete Trilogy, the *Orestea*, which is known to have been acted in B.C. 458<sup>1</sup>, and which has many dramatic features in common with the Trilogy to which the *Supplices* belonged, we have the three actors in every play. We do not of course know whether this extended machinery was employed in any earlier play, which is now lost. But it seems reasonable to conclude, from the specimens which we have, that Æschylus did not borrow this most characteristic improvement of his rival Sophocles till quite the close of his own dramatic career. And it is just possible that the *Orestea* may have been the first and last example of this condescension to the established fashion at Athens. In a subsequent chapter we will fully analyze the structure of this great effort of the genius of Æschylus, and will endeavour to indicate all the details of the stage business<sup>2</sup>. Here it will be sufficient to call attention to the connexion of the Trilogy with the political principles of Æschylus. The four separate plays are, as we have seen, the middle pieces in the Trilogies to which they belonged. But the extant Trilogy makes every thing work up to the final Tragedy. Clytæmnestra kills her husband on the plea that he had slain Iphigenia, but really because she had conspired with Ægisthus to usurp his throne. She is Lady Macbeth and Queen Gertrude of Denmark both in one. Having been guilty of this homicide, she ought, according to Greek usage, to have gone into exile, and this is the doom pronounced upon her by the senators of Argos<sup>3</sup>. This sentence she sets at nought, and reigns at Argos in spite of the laws of God and man. Outraged religion, then, speaking by the voice of Apollo, orders the son of Agamemnon, as the proper avenger of blood, to put her and Ægisthus to death. It is clear that this command, rather than any vindictive feeling, is the influencing motive with Orestes; and therefore when the Erinyes, as the avenging goddesses, who alone could prosecute Orestes, he being legally justified, demand his punishment, Apollo, with the sanction of Zeus, pleads his cause before the Areopagus at Athens; and while his human judges, by an

<sup>1</sup> *Argum.*: ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δρᾶμα ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι π' ἔτει β'· πρῶτος Αἰσχ. Ἀγαμ. Χοηφ. Εὐμεν. Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῶ· ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς.

<sup>2</sup> Book III. chapter II.

<sup>3</sup> *Choëph.* 900 sqq.

equality of votes, neither acquit nor condemn him, Athena, or divine wisdom, who was also the divine patroness of Athens, gives a casting vote in his favour, and at the same time appeases the Eumenides by promising them a perpetual seat in the Areopagus, where every one who owned himself guilty of homicide would be *ipso facto* condemned, without any liberty of pleading, as Orestes had done, excuse or justification. This seems to have been in accordance with the practice of that venerable tribunal; whereas the Ephetae, when they sat at the Delphinium, or temple of Apollo, the justifying advocate of Orestes, took cognizance of those cases of admitted homicide, which were defended on some valid plea of justification; and when they sat at the Palladium, or temple of Athena,—the presiding judge who acquitted Orestes,—they took cognizance of those cases of homicide, in which an accident or absence of malicious intention was pleaded by the culprit<sup>1</sup>. Now at the time when the *Orestea* was acted, the Areopagus, which, besides its judicial functions, was an oligarchical tribunal exercising an authority not unlike that of the censors at Rome, and which especially claimed the right of passing sentence on charges of impiety (*ἀσέβεια*), had just been reduced to its jurisdiction in homicide by Pericles and his partizan Ephialtes<sup>2</sup>, who not only objected generally to its senatorial power, but had reason to fear its becoming an instrument of the Lacedæmonian party in mooting that charge of inherited sacrilege which was always hanging over the head of the great democratic leader<sup>3</sup>. Whether Æschylus, both by his favourable reference to the Argive alliance, which was formed at this time<sup>4</sup>, and by his prediction of the perpetuity of the remaining privileges of the Areopagus, endeavoured to conciliate the hatred of the contending factions<sup>5</sup>, or whether he was engaged with Cimon in an attempt to rescind the measures of Pericles and Ephialtes, which led to the ostracism of Cimon<sup>6</sup> and to the retirement of Æschylus from Athens, can perhaps hardly be determined with any certainty<sup>7</sup>. There can be no doubt, however, of the reference of the *Eumenides* to these contemporary incidents in the history of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Grote, *Hist. Gr.* III. pp. 103 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Thirlwall, Vol. IV. pp. 22 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Id. p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.* in the year before the *Orestes* was acted.

<sup>5</sup> Grote, *Hist. Gr.* V. p. 199, note.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Cimon*, c. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Müller's opinion, *Eumenid.* § 35 sqq., that the criminal jurisdiction of the Areopagus was taken away by Ephialtes, is controverted by Thirlwall and Grote.

## CHAPTER I.

### SECTION III.

#### SOPHOCLES.

Τὸν σε χοροῖς μέλψαντα Σοφοκλέα, παῖδα Σοφίλλου,  
Τῆς τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεκρόπιον,  
Πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν σκηνῇσι τεθελῶς  
Βλαιοδὸς Ἀχαρνίτης κισσοῖς ἔρεψε κόμην,  
Τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος· ἀλλ' ὁ περισσοῖς  
Αἰῶν ἀθανάτοις δέρεται ἐν σελίσῳ.

SIMMIAS.

SOPHOCLES, the son of Sophilus or Sophillus, was born at Colonus, an Attic deme about a mile from the city, in (B.C.) 495. His father, who was a man of good family, and possessed of considerable wealth<sup>1</sup>, gave him an excellent education. His teacher in music was the celebrated Lamprus, and he profited so much by his opportunities, that he gained the prize both in music and in the Palæstra<sup>2</sup>. He was hardly sixteen years old when he played an accompaniment on the lyre to the Pæan, which the Athenians sang around the trophy erected after the battle of Salamis; in other words, he was the exarchus, and possibly, therefore, composed the words of the ode<sup>3</sup>. His first appearance, as a tragedian, was attended by a very remarkable circumstance. Cimon removed the bones of Theseus from Scyrus to Athens

<sup>1</sup> Lessing (*Leben des Sophocles, sämmlichte Schriften*, Vol. vi. pp. 282 sqq.), to whom we are indebted for nearly all the particulars which we have given in the text, quotes (note C) Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 11: *principe loco genitum Athenis*.

<sup>2</sup> καλῶς τε ἐπαιδεύθη καὶ ἐτράφη ἐν εὐπορίᾳ....διεπονθήθη δὲ ἐν παισὶ καὶ περὶ παλαίστραν καὶ μουσικὴν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἐστεφανώθη, ὡς φησὶν Ἰστρος. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. *Vit. Anonym.*

<sup>3</sup> Σοφοκλῆς δὲ πρὸς τῷ καλὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἣν καὶ ὀρχηστικὴν δεδιδαγμένος καὶ μουσικὴν ἔτι παῖς ὢν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν περὶ τρόπαιον γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος ἐχόρευσε μετὰ λύρας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἱματίῳ φασί. Καὶ τὸν Θάμυριν διδάσκων αὐτὸς ἐκιθάρισεν· ἀκρως δὲ ἐσφαίρισεν, ὅτε τὴν Ναυσικάαν καθῆκε. *Athen. i. p. 20.*

Μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Ἀθηναίων περὶ τρόπαιον ὄντων, μετὰ λύρας γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος τοῖς παιανίζουσι τῶν ἐπινικίων ἐξῆρχε. *Vit. Anon.*

(468 B. C.<sup>1</sup>). He arrived at Athens about the time of the tragic contests, and Æschylus and Sophocles were among the competitors. The celebrity of the former, and the personal beauty, rank, popularity, and known accomplishments of the latter, excited a great sensation. When therefore Cimon and his nine colleagues entered the theatre of Bacchus, to perform the usual libations, the Archon, Apsephion, instead of choosing judges by lot, detained the ten generals in the theatre, and having administered an oath to them, made them decide between the rival tragedians. The first prize was awarded to Sophocles, and, as we have seen, Æschylus departed immediately for Sicily<sup>2</sup>. This decision does not imply any disregard of the Æschylean Tragedy on the part of the Athenians. The contest was, as has been justly observed, not between two individual works of art, but between two species or ages of art<sup>3</sup>; and if, as we think has been fully demonstrated<sup>4</sup>, the *Triptolemus* was one of the plays which Sophocles exhibited on that occasion, we can readily conceive that, when the minds of the people were full of their old national legends, the subject which the young poet had chosen, and the desire to encourage his first attempt, would be sufficient to overweigh the reputation of his antagonist, coupled as it was with anti-popular politics, especially as the Æschylean Tragedy lacked that freshness of

<sup>1</sup> *Marm. Par.* No. LVII. : ἀφ' οὗ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ Σοφίλλου ὁ ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐνίκησε τραγῳδία, ἐτῶν ὧν ΔΔΠΙΠΙ, ἐτη ΗΗΠΙ, ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀψήφιονος. "These were the greater Dionysia, or the Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει, in the month Elaphebolion; because the Archon Eponymus, Apsephion, presided; and, ὁ μὲν ἀρχὼν διατίθησι Διονύσια, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (conf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1224, et Schol. *ad loc.*) προέστηκε Δηναίων. Pollux, VIII. 89, 50." Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Ἔθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγωδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην πρώτην γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἐτι νέου καθέντος, Ἀφεψίων (sic), ὁ ἀρχὼν, φιλονεικίας οὕσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατηγῶν προελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποίησατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νεομαμένας σπονδὰς, οὐκ ἀφήκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρκώσας, ἡνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρῖναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς, μιᾶς ἑκαστον· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ὑπερέβαλε. νικήσαντος δὲ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθεῖν γὰρ μενον, καὶ βαρέως ἐνέγκοντα, χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀθήνησι διαγαγεῖν, εἰτ' οἴχεσθαι δι' ὄργην εἰς Σικελίαν. Plutarch, *Cimon*, c. VIII.

There is probably an allusion to this in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1109 sqq., where the chorus says, that the military character of the spectators fits them to be judges of the contest between Æschylus and Euripides, ἐστρατευμένοι γὰρ εἰσι.

<sup>3</sup> Welcker, *Trilogie*, p. 513.

<sup>4</sup> By Lessing, *Leben des Sophocles* (note I), from a passage in Plin. *H. N.* XVIII. 7: *Sophoclis Triptolemus ante mortem Alexandri annis fere 145*. But Alexander died 323 B.C., and 323 + 145 = 468. On the *Triptolemus* in general, see Welcker, *Tril.* 514 (who thinks it was certainly not a satirical drama), and Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* Vol. I. pp. 17, 18. The arguments adduced by Gruppe (*Ariadne*, pp. 358 foll.) to prove that the *Rhesus* was the play which Sophocles exhibited on this occasion, are all in favour of Lessing's opinion.

novelty and loveliness of youth which hung around the form and the poetry of the beautiful son of Sophillus. Sophocles rarely appeared on the stage, in consequence of the weakness of his voice<sup>1</sup>: we are told, however, that he performed on the lyre, in the character of Thamyras, and distinguished himself by the grace with which he played at ball in his own play called *Nausicaa*<sup>2</sup>. In 440 B.C. he brought out the *Antigone*, and we are informed that it was to the political wisdom exhibited in that play, that he owed his appointment as colleague of Pericles and Thucydides in the Samian war<sup>3</sup>. On this occasion he met with Herodotus, and composed a lyrical poem for that historian<sup>4</sup>. It does not appear that he distinguished himself in his military capacity<sup>5</sup>. He received many invitations from foreign courts, but loved Athens too well to accept them. He held several offices in his old age. He was priest of the hero Alon<sup>6</sup>, and in the year 413 B.C. was elected one of the *πρόβουλοι*. This was a board of commissioners, all old men, which was established immediately after the disastrous termination of the Syracusan expedition, to devise expedients for meeting the existing emergencies<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Πρώτον καταλύσας τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τοῦ ποιητοῦ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχυροφωνίαν. *Vit. Anonym.*

<sup>2</sup> See the passage of Athen. (I. p. 20) quoted above. "The Nausicaa was, according to all appearances, a satyric drama. The Odyssey was in general a rich storehouse for the satirical plays. The character of Ulysses himself makes him a very convenient satirical impersonation." Lessing, *Leben des Sophocles*, note K (Vol. VI. p. 342).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 446; Suidas, v. Μέλιτος; Athen. XIII. p. 603 F; Scholiast, Aristoph. *Pax*, v. 696; Cic. *de Off.* I. 40; Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. VIII.; Plin. *H. N.* XXXVII. 2; Val. Max. IV. 3: all testify that the true cause is assigned by Aristophanes of Byzantium in the argument to the *Antigone*: Φασὶ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἡξιώσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας εὐδοκιμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης. A similar distinction was conferred upon Phrynichus, *Ælian*, V. H. III. 8. It is probable that Sophocles conciliated the favour of the more popular party, by the way in which he speaks of Pericles, v. 662, and they were perhaps willing to take the hint in v. 175, where, we may observe in passing, *φρόνημα* signifies "political opinions," as in the phrases, *ἐμπέδοις φρονήμασιν*, *τοιούτ' ἐμὸν φρόνημα*, *ἴσον φρονῶν*, which occur in the same play. On the meanings of *φρονεῖν* and *φρόνημα* in Sophocles, see the notes on the translation of the *Antigone*, pp. 155, 168.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *An seni*, &c. c. 3. IV. 153, Wyttenb. On this subject the student may consult the Introduction to the *Antigone*, p. xvii, and *Transactions of the Philol. Soc.* I. No. 15, where it will be seen that Herodotus was an imitator of Sophocles.

<sup>5</sup> At least if we may credit the tale told of him by Ion, a contemporary poet (*Athenæus*, XIII. 604), where he is made to say of himself: Μελετῶ στρατηγεῖν, ὧς ἄνδρες ἐπειδὴ περ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν μὲν ἔφη με, στρατηγεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι.

<sup>6</sup> Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀλωνος ἱερωσύνην, ὃς ἦρως ἦν μετὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι. *Vit. Anonym.*

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. VIII. 1: καὶ ἀρχὴν τινα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ἢ προβουλεύσουσι. We consider these *πρόβουλοι* to have been most probably elected to serve as *ξυγγραφῆς* (Thucyd. VIII. 67), for it was the *ξυγγραφῆς* who brought about the revolution, and we learn from Aristotle (see below) that Sophocles contributed to it in his character of *πρόβουλος*.



The constitution of such a committee was necessarily aristocratic<sup>1</sup>, and two years after, B. C. 411, Sophocles, once the favourite of the people and the colleague of Pericles, fell into the plans of Peisander and the other conspirators, and consented in the temple of Neptune, at his own Colonus, to the establishment of a council of four hundred; in other words, to the subversion of the old Athenian constitution<sup>2</sup>. He afterwards defended his policy on the grounds of expediency<sup>3</sup>. Nicostrata had borne him a son, whom he named Iophon: he had another son Ariston, by Theoris of Sicyon, whose son, Sophocles, was a great favourite with his grandfather and namesake. From this reason, or because, according to Cicero, his love for the stage made him neglect his affairs, his son Iophon charged him with dotage and lunacy, and brought him before the proper court, with a view to remove him from the management of his property. The poet read to his judges a part of the *Ædipus at Colonus*, which he had just finished, and triumphantly asked "if that was the work of an idiot?" Of course the charge was dismissed<sup>4</sup>. We are sorry to say that this very pretty story is a mere fabrication, for the *Ædipus at Colonus* must have been acted, at least for the first time, before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war<sup>5</sup>. Sophocles died in the very beginning of the year 405 B. C.; according to Ister and Neanthes he was choked by a grape, which the actor Callippides brought him from Opus, at the time of the Anthesteria. Satyrus tells us that he died in consequence of exerting his voice too much while reading the *Antigone* aloud<sup>6</sup>: others say that his

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* VI. 5, 10: δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δ' ἐνθα μὲν πρόβουλοι διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν· ὅπου δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐστὶ βουλή μᾶλλον.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. VIII. 67: ξυνέκλησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸν Κολωνόν (ἐστὶ δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔξω πόλεως ἀπέχον σταδίους μάλιστα δέκα) κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ συμπεραινόμενον, ἐὰν ἐρώτημα ποιῇ τὸ συμπέρασμα, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ Πεισάνδρου, "εἰ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρεσβυτοῖς, καταστήσαι τοὺς τετρακοσίους;" ἔφη.—"Τί δὲ οὐ πονηρά σοι ταῦτα ἔδοκε εἶναι;" ἔφη. "Οὐκ οὖν σὺ ταῦτα ἐπραξας τὰ πονηρά;" "Ναί," ἔφη, "οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα βελτίον." Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Vit. Anonym.*; Cicero, *de Senectute*, § 7; Val. Max. VIII.

<sup>5</sup> See Reisig, *Enarrat. Æd. Col.* pp. v sqq.; J. W. Süvern, *On some historical and political allusions in Ancient Tragedy*, pp. 6, 8; Lachmann, in the *Rhein. Mus.* for 1827, pp. 313 fol.; Hermann in Zimmermann's *Zeitschrift*, 1837, No. 98, pp. 803 sqq., inclines to the opinion that the *Ædip. Col.* was written before, but not published till after, the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>6</sup> We have seen that *ισχυροφωνία* was attributed to Sophocles: if it arose from delicate lungs, this account of his death is probable enough. There are chronological objections to the other two statements. See Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 85.

joy at being proclaimed tragic victor was too much for his decayed strength. His family burial-place was Declea, and as that town was in the possession of the Lacedæmonians, it was not possible to bring him there until Lysander, having heard from the deserters that the great poet was dead, permitted his ashes to rest with those of his ancestors. There is a legend, that Bacchus appeared twice to Lysander in a dream, and enjoined him to allow the interment to take place<sup>1</sup>. According to one account, they placed the image of a Siren over his tomb, according to another, a bronze swallow. Ister informs us that the Athenians decreed him an annual sacrifice. He wrote, besides Tragedies, an elegy, pæans, and a prose-work on the chorus, against Thespis and Chœrilus. Only seven of his Tragedies have come down to us; but an ingenious attempt has been made to show that the *Rhesus*, which is generally attributed to Euripides, was the first of the plays of Sophocles<sup>2</sup>.

With regard to the whole number of plays composed by Sophocles, we have the authority of Aristophanes, of Byzantium, that 130 were ascribed to him, of which seventeen were spurious. It has been objected<sup>3</sup> to this large number, that the *Antigone*, which was acted in 440, was the thirty-second play; and as Sophocles began to exhibit in 468, and died in 405, he would have written eighty-one pieces in the last thirty-six years of his literary life, and only thirty-two in the first twenty-seven years; whereas it is not likely that he would have written more in his declining years than in the vigour of his life: and it has been conjectured that he wrote only about seventy plays. Reasons have, however, been given<sup>4</sup>, which incline us to believe that Aristophanes is correct in assigning to him 113 genuine dramas. For, in the first place, the meaning of the words, on which this objection is founded, is not sufficiently clear: it is not certain that the grammarian is not referring to Tragedies only, and in that case, even supposing that Sophocles wrote five separate plays in that time, we should have to add nine satyrical dramas to make up the Tetralogies, and thus we should

<sup>1</sup> See *Vita Anonym.* Pausanias, I. 21, § 1, gives a somewhat different story. Λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάνα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεώσι, τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν Νέαν τιμᾶν. καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποίησιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe, *Ariadne*, pp. 285—305.

<sup>3</sup> By Böckh, *de Gr. Trag. Princip.* pp. 107—109.

<sup>4</sup> By Clinton, *Phil. Museum*, I. pp. 74 fol.



not have a very disproportionate number of trilogies for the remaining thirty-six years. Besides, we have a list of 114 names of dramas attributed to Sophocles, of which ninety-eight are quoted more than once as his, and it is exceedingly unlikely that many of these should have been written by his son Iophon, or his grandson, the younger Sophocles. It will be recollected too, that, in the earlier part of his life, Sophocles was much engaged in public affairs; he was a general, at least once<sup>1</sup>, and went on several embassies<sup>2</sup>; this, in addition to the greater facility in writing, which he might have acquired by long practice, would account for his pen being more prolific in the latter part of his life. He obtained the first prize eighteen<sup>3</sup>, twenty<sup>4</sup>, or twenty-four times<sup>5</sup>, and it is not probable that his first and second prizes taken together were much fewer than thirty. Now it seems that about twenty-four of the dramas, the names of which have come down to us, were satirical: we may suppose that he wrote about twenty-seven satirical dramas on the whole: this would give us twenty-seven Tetralogies, or 108 plays, and there remain five single plays to satisfy the statement of Suidas, that he contended with drama against drama. This statement we shall now proceed to examine. It certainly does not imply that he never contended with Trilogies, for it is known that he wrote satirical dramas, which in his time were never acted by themselves. One of the conjectures, which have been proposed with respect to the meaning of the words of Suidas, is, that Sophocles opposed to the Trilogies of Æschylus three Tragedies, not intimately connected with one another, like the Æschylean plays, but each complete in itself<sup>6</sup>. This presumes, however, that Suidas understood the word *τετραλογία* in a technical sense, as expressing the distinguishing peculiarity of the Æschylean Trilogy with its accompanying satyric drama. We cannot believe that the grammarian had any such accurate perception of the real nature of the trilogy. Nevertheless, the fact may have been such, although Suidas did not know it: for nothing is more likely than that the custom of contending with single plays, which Sophocles, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Justin says (lib. III. 6) that he served against the Lacedæmonians.

<sup>2</sup> *καὶ ἐν πρεσβείαις ἐξητάζετο.* *Vit. Anonym.*

<sup>3</sup> Diodor. XIII. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Νίκας ἔλαβεν εἴκοσιν ὥς φησι Καρύστιος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖα ἔλαβε.* *Vit. Anonym.*

<sup>5</sup> Suidas.

<sup>6</sup> Welcker, *Trilogie*, p. 51.

sparingly, adopted, arose from his having given to each of the plays in his Trilogies an individual completeness which the constituent parts of an Æschylean Trilogy did not possess. We shall derive some further reasons for believing this from a consideration of the general principles which guided the art of Sophocles.

That he did act upon general principles is sufficiently proved, by the fact that he wrote a book on the dramatic chorus. The objection, which (according to Chamæleon) he made to Æschylus, that even when his poetry was what it ought to be, it was so only by accident<sup>1</sup>, is just such a remark as a finished artist would make to a self-taught genius. But we might conclude, without any extrinsic authority, from a moderate acquaintance with his remaining Tragedies, that he is never beautiful or sublime, without intending to be so: we see that he has a complete apprehension of the proper means of arriving at the objects of tragical imitation: he feels that his success depends not upon his subject, but upon himself; he has the faculty of "making with right reason;" in short, he is an artist in the strictest sense of the word<sup>2</sup>. "Sophocles," says one who has often more than guessed at truth, "is the summit of Greek art; but one must have scaled many a steep before one can estimate his height: it is because of his classical perfection that he has generally been the least admired of the great ancient poets; for little of his beauty is perceptible to a mind that is not thoroughly principled and imbued with the spirit of antiquity<sup>3</sup>." The ancients themselves fully appreciated Sophocles: his great contemporary Aristophanes will not expose Æschylus to the risk of a contest with a man to whom he has voluntarily given up a part of the tragic throne, and to whom he delegates his authority when he returns to the upper world<sup>4</sup>: his numerous victories and the improvements which Æschylus found it necessary to borrow from him, are all so many proofs of the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen: but it is to be feared that few, if any, of his modern readers, will ever be able to divest themselves completely of all their modern associations, and thus set a just value upon

<sup>1</sup> See Athen. i. 22, x. 428, quoted in the sect. on Æschylus.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* vi. p. 1140, l. 10, Bekker: ἐστι δὲ τέχνη πᾶσα περὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ τεχνάζειν, καὶ θεωρεῖν, ὅπως ἂν γένηται τι τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ ποιοῦντι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ποιουμένῳ. — ἡ μὲν οὖν τέχνη ὥσπερ εἴρηται ἔξισ τις μετὰ λόγου ποιητικὴ ἐστὶ.

<sup>3</sup> *Guesses at Truth*, Vol. i. p. 267. Comp. Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* c. xxiv. § 13.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 790, 1515.

productions so entirely and absolutely Greek as the Tragedies of Sophocles. If we would understand them at all, we must always bear in mind that he was the successor of Æschylus; that he intended rather to follow up and improve upon his predecessor and contemporary, than to create an entirely new species for himself. Art always follows at the heels of genius. Genius creates forms of beauty; art marshals them, and sets them in order, forming them into groups and regulating the order of their successive appearances. Genius hews rude masses from the mines of thought, but art gives form and usefulness to the shapeless ore. Æschylus felt what a Greek Tragedy ought to be, as a religious union of the two elements of the national poetry; and he modelled bold, colossal groups, such as a Phidias might have conceived, but not such as a Phidias would have executed. Sophocles, with a highly cultivated mind, and a deep and just perception of what is beautiful in art, was enabled to effect an outward realization of his great contemporary's conceptions; and what was already perfected in the mind of Æschylus, this he exhibited, in its most perfect form, before the eyes of all Athens. The Tragedy of Sophocles was not generically different from that of Æschylus; it bore the same relation to its forerunner that a finished statue bears to an unfinished group. For when Sophocles added a third actor to the two of Æschylus<sup>1</sup>, he gave so great a preponderance to the dialogue, that the chorus, or the base on which the three plays stood, was unable any longer to support them; in assigning to each of them a separate pedestal, he rendered them independent, and destroyed the necessary connexion which had previously bound them together; so that it became from thenceforth a matter of choice with the poet, whether he represented with Trilogies or with separate plays. As we have before said, we think Sophocles did both: the number of his satirical dramas shows that his exhibitions were principally Tetralogies, and we are willing to accept the statement in Suidas, that he sometimes brought out his Tragedies one by one. What Æschylus, following his natural taste, practised in the internal economy of his pieces, for instance, in the exclusion of every thing beneath the dignity of Tragedy, this Sophocles adopted as a rule of art, to be applied or departed from as the occasion might suggest. The words which

<sup>1</sup> Τρεῖς δὲ [ὑποκριτὰς] καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς. Arist. Poet. iv. 16. Τὸ δὲ τρίτον [ὑποκριτὴν] Σοφοκλῆς, καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγωδίαν. Diog. Laert. in Plat.

Landor puts into his mouth express what appear to us to have been his general feelings<sup>1</sup>. "I am," says he, in reference to the master-works at Athens, "only the interpreter of the heroes and divinities who are looking down upon me." He felt himself called upon to make an advance in the tragic art, corresponding to those improvements which Phidias had made upon the works of his immediate forerunners: he did so, and with reference to the same objects. The persons who figured in the old legends, and in the poems of the epic Cycle, were alone worthy in his opinion of the cothurnus; and if ever an inferior or ludicrous character appears in his Tragedies, he is but a slavish instrument in the poet's hands to work out the irony of the piece; a streak of bright colour thrown into the picture, in order to render more conspicuous its tragic gloom.

Besides the addition of a *τριταγωνιστής*<sup>2</sup>, some other improvements are ascribed to this poet; he seems to have made the costumes more appropriate, to have introduced scene-painting, and to have altered the distribution of the chorus.

The public character of Sophocles was, as we have seen, rather inconsistent. In the earlier years of his political life he was a partizan of Pericles, and his plays contain many passages evidently written with a view to recommend himself to that statesman. In the *Antigone* he advises the Athenians to yield a ready and implicit obedience to the man whom, for the time being, they had placed over themselves<sup>3</sup>; and if, as we believe, the *Ædipus at Colonus* was written just before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, it is more than probable that the refusal of Theseus to deliver up Ædipus, though a polluted person, has reference to the demand made by the confederates with regard to the expulsion of Pericles<sup>4</sup>.

The private character of Sophocles was unfortunately very far from faultless. He was a notorious sensualist<sup>5</sup>, and, in his later

<sup>1</sup> Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, II. p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Which is also attributed to Æschylus (Themistius, p. 316).

<sup>3</sup> 670. Ἄλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν  
καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάναντία.

See *Introduction to the Antigone*, p. xv.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Æd. Col.* 943 sqq. with Thucyd. I. 126, 127. Lachmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* for 1827, pp. 327 fol.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Offic.* I. 40; *de Senect.* 47; Athen. XII. p. 510; XIII. p. 592; XIII. p. 603; Plato, I. *Resp.* p. 329 B.

days, rather avaricious<sup>1</sup>. He possessed, however, those agreeable qualities which are very often found along with habits of vicious indulgence; he was exceedingly good natured, always contented<sup>2</sup>, and an excellent boon companion<sup>3</sup>. His faults were due rather to his age and country than to any innate depravity. His Tragedies are full of the strongest recommendations of religion and morality; and we know no ancient poet who has so justly and forcibly described the infallibility and immortality of God, as opposed to man's weakness, ignorance, and liability to error<sup>4</sup>: or who has set the beauty of piety and righteousness, and the danger and folly of impiety and pride, in a stronger and clearer light than he has<sup>5</sup>.

To characterize the man and his works in one word, calmness is the prominent feature in the life and writings of Sophocles. In his politics, an easy indifference to men and measures; in his private life, contentment and good nature; in his Tragedies, a total absence of that wild enthusiasm which breaks down the barriers of common sense, are the manifestations of this rest of mind: his spirit was

Like a breath of air,  
Such as is sometimes seen, and hardly seen,  
To brush the still breast of a crystal lake<sup>6</sup>.

He lived, as it were, in the strong hold of his own unruffled mind, and unmoved, heard the pattering storm without<sup>7</sup>. His very

- <sup>1</sup> Ἑρμῆς. πρῶτον δ' ὃ τι πράττει Σοφοκλῆς ἀνῆρετο.  
Τρυγαῖος. εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν.  
Ἑρμῆς. Τὸ τί;  
Τρυγαῖος. ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.  
Ἑρμῆς. Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;  
Τρυγαῖος. Ὅτι, γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς,  
κέρδους ἑκατὶ κἄν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέει. *Pax*, 695 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 82.

<sup>3</sup> See the amusing anecdote from *Ion*, Athen. XIII. p. 603 E.

<sup>4</sup> We allude to *Antig.* 604, which is generally misunderstood. The connexion of ideas in the passage is as follows: "What mortal transgression or sin is Jupiter liable to, Jupiter the sleepless and everlasting god? But mortal men know nothing of the future till it comes upon them." We should certainly read ὑπερβασία in the nominative case. Τίς ὑπερβασία κατέχει τεὰν δύνασιν; is equivalent to τεὰ δύναις κατέχει οὕτω ὑπερβασίαν. Compare Theognis, 743—6, which Sophocles had in his head:

Καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον  
ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,  
Μὴ τιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων, μὴδ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν,  
Ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;

<sup>5</sup> See the beautiful chorus in *Œd. Tyr.* 863 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Wordsworth (*Excursion*, p. 90).

<sup>7</sup> He says himself, in a fragment of the *Tyrannistæ* (No. 563):

Φεῦ, φεῦ, τί τοῦτου χάρμα μείζον ἂν λάβοις,

burial created peace out of war, and hostile armies held a truce, as the tomb closed upon one loved by all Athens, admired by all Greece, and destined to teach and delight the civilized world in ages yet to come.

Of the seven plays of Sophocles, which have come down to us, only two are referred by express testimony to fixed dates—the *Antigone*, which, as we have seen, was acted in B.C. 440, and the *Philoctetes*, which appeared in B.C. 409<sup>1</sup>. Although it is stated that the *Œdipus Coloneus* was first acted, after the death of the poet, in B.C. 401, and though, as we have seen, a pretty story refers its composition to the end of the poet's life, it is almost generally agreed among scholars that it belongs to the most vigorous period of his life, though it may have received additions and modifications at a later period<sup>2</sup>. With the exception then of the *Antigone* and *Philoctetes*, we have only internal evidence to fix the succession of the extant Tragedies. And here we cannot, as in the case of Æschylus, divide the plays into distinct groups indicating an earlier and a later period of dramatic art. They all exhibit the tragic power of Sophocles in its full maturity, and they all exemplify that wonderful power of drawing upon the most recondite treasures of the Greek language which made Sophocles a favourite with Virgil, the only Latin poet who exhibits the same combination of profound thought and elaborately chastened style<sup>3</sup>. It is true that Sophocles, in an important citation of his words preserved by Plutarch, recognized three epochs in his own style—first, the tumid grandeur, which he had borrowed from Æschylus; secondly, a harsh and artificial employment of terms, which he had introduced himself;

τοῦ γῆς ἐπιψάυσαντα κᾶθ' ὑπὸ στέγγι  
πυκνῆς ἀκούσαι ψεκᾶδος εὐδούση φρενί.

It is clear that this, like many other passages referring to escape from the sea, expresses the feelings, and in part the language of those, who were initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 900; Demosth. *Coron.* p. 516 A; Lucret. II. init.; Cic. *Att.* II. 7.

<sup>1</sup> *Arg. Philoct.*: ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου, πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς.

<sup>2</sup> See Bernhardt, *Grundriss*, II. p. 788.

<sup>3</sup> Virgil says (*Eclog.* VIII. 10):

Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.

And there are examples in his poetry of a very close imitation of the peculiarities of the Sophoclean style. There are at least four imitations of the line in the *Ajax*, 674:

δεωὼν ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε  
στένοντα πόνον—

namely, *Eclog.* II. 26; *Georg.* IV. 484; *Æn.* I. 66, V. 763; and the figure in *Georg.* III. 243, *nigramque alte subjectat arenam*, is clearly borrowed from Soph. *Antig.* 590: κελαινὰν θίνα καὶ δυσάνεμον.

and thirdly, the style which he considered best and most suited to the representation of human character<sup>1</sup>. If we are right in supposing that this citation really gives us the words of Sophocles, and that we must therefore take the participle *διαπεπαιχώς* in its old Attic rather than in its subsequent Hellenistic sense<sup>2</sup>, it will imply either that both the first two styles belonged to the very earliest period of his literary career<sup>3</sup>, or that he had merely amused himself with sporting in those styles<sup>4</sup>; and in either case we can hardly suppose that they are to be found in Tragedies subsequent to the *Antigone*. On the other hand, all the extant Tragedies, even the *Philoctetes*, which is known to have been produced by Sophocles in his old age, exhibit traces of that intentional obscurity with regard to which it has been well observed<sup>5</sup>, that "Sophocles often plays at hide-and-seek with the significations of words, in order that the mind, having exerted itself to find out his meaning, may comprehend it more vividly and distinctly when it is once arrived at." The claim, which Sophocles makes for the style of his mature age, namely, that it is the best adapted for the delineation of human character, is combined, by the echo of an old and able criticism, with a recognition of his elaborate art and ingenuity<sup>6</sup>. And we are inclined to the belief that he never shook off entirely the peculiarities of his second style; but that, as he advanced in life, he combined with it more and more a readier flow of dramatic oratory, such as we find in his contemporary Euripides<sup>7</sup>. As far as this comparative facility admits of recognition, it may help us to class with the *Antigone*, as his earliest extant play, the *Electra*, which is

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *de Profect. Virt. Sent.* p. 79 B: ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἔλεγε, τὸν Αἰσχύλου διαπεπαιχώς ὄγκον, εἶτα τὸ πικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τεχνὸν τῆς αὐτοῦ κατασκευῆς, εἰς τρίτον ἤδη τὸ τῆς λέξεως μεταβάλλειν εἶδος ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἠθικώτατον καὶ βέλτιστον. The substitution of αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ, and the introduction of εἰς before τρίτον, are due to Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* I. p. [340] 449. In a note to Müller we have explained κατασκευῇ in its opposition to λέξις, as above.

<sup>2</sup> Moeris, p. 158: ἐρεσχελεῖν Ἀττικῶς διαπαίξω, Ἑλληνικῶς. Cf. *Etym. M.* p. 621, 54: Πλάτων διαπαίξει τὴν λέξιν ὡς βάρβαρον.

<sup>3</sup> This is Müller's translation: "Having put away along with his boyish days."

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be in accordance with the only use of the word by an author of the classical age: Plato, *Leges*, VI. 769 A: καλῶς τοίνυν ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ πρεσβυτῶν ἐμφρῶν παιδιὰ μέχρι δεῦρ' ἂν εἴη τὰ νῦν διαπεπαισμένη.

<sup>5</sup> Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* I. p. [356] 469.

<sup>6</sup> *Vit. Sophocl. ad fin.*: ἠθοποιεῖ δὲ καὶ ποικίλλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπινοήμασι τεχνικῶς χρῆται, Ὀμηρικὴν ἐκματτόμενος χάριν. οἶδε δὲ καιρὸν συμμετρήσαι καὶ πράγματα ὧς' ἐκ μικροῦ ἡμιστιχίου ἢ λέξεως μιᾶς ὅλον ἠθοποιεῖν πρόσωπον.

<sup>7</sup> Müller, I. p. [356] 470, refers especially to the speeches of Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Teucer in the *Ajax*, and to Œdipus' defence in the *Œdipus Coloneus*.



its counterpart in representing the contrast of two sisters, and so making the third actor play an important and essential character in the development of the drama. The *Trachiniæ* seems to claim the third place on account of the difficulty of the language, and other features of strong resemblance to the *Antigone*. Then we should class together the *Œdipus Tyrannus* and the *Œdipus Coloneus* with their connected subjects and not dissimilar mode of treatment. And we should associate the *Philoctetes* with the *Ajax*, in which also Ulysses appears as the leading instrument in the development of the plot. We will briefly characterize the separate plays considered in this order of succession.

In the *Antigone* the main object is to show the contrast between the heroine, who insists on burying her brother against the will of the state represented by Creon, and the latter, who violates the laws of heaven by denying the rites of sepulture to Polyneices and burying Antigone alive. Both, in a certain sense, have justice on their side, and therefore both excite the sympathy of the audience; both, in another sense, are guilty of violating the law—the princess the law of man and the king the law of God—and therefore the tragical results in both cases assume the form of a righteous doom. The plot is rendered more interesting by the contrast of the characters of the two sisters, Antigone and Ismene, and by the introduction of the love of Hæmon, Creon's son, for his cousin Antigone. In this latter incident the play approaches nearly to some of the characteristics of the romantic drama. And on the whole there is perhaps no Greek Tragedy which makes a stronger appeal to the feelings, and which is more exquisitely finished in all its parts, than the *Antigone* of Sophocles. If the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus approximates in some points to the grandeur of *Macbeth*, there is much in the *Antigone* to remind us of *Romeo and Juliet*<sup>1</sup>.

The *Electra*, which Dioscorides classes with the *Antigone* as exemplifying the highest perfection of the art of Sophocles<sup>2</sup>, is in

<sup>1</sup> The present writer has endeavoured to exhibit all the characteristics of this master-piece of Greek Tragedy in an edition and translation of the *Antigone*, published in 1848.

<sup>2</sup> *Anth. Pal.* VII. 37:

α. τύμβος δδ' ἐστ', ὦνθρωπε, Σοφοκλέος, δν παρὰ Μουσῶν  
 ἱρὴν παρθεσίην, ἱερὸς ὦν, ἔλαχον·  
 δε με τὸν ἐκ Φλίουντος, ἐτι τρίβολον πατέοντα,  
 πρίνῳν, ἐς χρυσέον σχῆμα μεθηρμόσατο,  
 καὶ λεπτὴν ἐνέδυσεν ἀλουργίδα· τοῦ δὲ θανόντος  
 εὐθετον ὀρχηστὴν τῇδ' ἀνέπαυσα πόδα.



many respects the counterpart of that play. The strongest emotion displayed is the sisterly love of the heroine for her brother Orestes, whom she supposes to have perished; and the contrast between Electra and Chrysothemis corresponds exactly to that between Antigone and Ismene. There is another strong sentiment in Electra's sorrow for her murdered father, and in the heroic resolve of the lonely and persecuted maiden to slay Ægisthus with her own hand. The highest point of tragic interest is reached when Electra, having uttered her beautiful address to the urn, which, as she supposes, contains the ashes of her brother, is raised from despair to overpowering joy by recognizing him in the stranger who had himself given her the simulated remains of Orestes. The matricidal catastrophe at the end is terrible without being extravagant, and the manner in which Ægisthus, who had come home confidently hoping to hear that Orestes was dead, is obliged to lift the covering from the corpse of Clytæmnestra, produces a striking effect, without falling into melo-dramatic vulgarity.

If the *Electra* resembles the *Antigone* in the prominence which it gives to sisterly affection, and in the contrast between the pairs of sisters in each play, the *Trachiniæ* is not without very striking indications of a similarity of manner and conception which refers it to the same period in the poet's literary activity. Characters and descriptions in both plays seem to have a certain resemblance<sup>1</sup>. Both plays have an ὀρχηστικόν or dancing song instead of a stasimon<sup>2</sup>. The exaltation of the power of love is similarly expressed in both<sup>3</sup>. And figures of speech<sup>4</sup>, and even phraseology<sup>5</sup> in the one play, sound like echoes of something similar in the other. But while the *Antigone* is perhaps the most vigorous and perfect of the plays of Sophocles, the *Trachiniæ* is undoubtedly his feeblest effort.

β. δλβιος ὡς ἀγαθὴν ἔλαχες στᾶσιν· ἡ δ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν  
κούριμος, ἐκ πόλης ἥδε διδασκαλίας;

α. εἴτε σοι Ἀντιγόνην εἰπεῖν φίλον, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις,  
εἴτε καὶ Ἡλέκτραν· ἀμφοτέραι γὰρ ἄκρον.

<sup>1</sup> Lichas reminds us of the Sentinel in the *Antigone*, and Hyllus pleading with his father for Deianeira is the counterpart of Hæmon, as the advocate of his bride. The silence of Deianeira on hearing of her husband's fate is paralleled by that of Eurydice, and the descriptive speeches are framed on the same model.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Antig.* 1115 sqq.; *Trach.* 205 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Antig.* 781 sqq.; *Trach.* 497 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Antig.* 586 sqq.; *Trach.* 112 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> As in the almost unique examples of the tertiary predicate ἀδάκρυτος (*Antig.* 881; *Trach.* 106) for ὥστε οὐ δακρύουσιν (*Greek Grammar*, art. 498).

It turns entirely on the justifiable jealousy of Deianeira, who really loves her husband Hercules, and, fearing that he had given his affections to Iole, sends him the poisoned shirt of Nessus, in the sincere belief that it will operate as a love-charm. It produces, as the treacherous Centaur intended, the most exquisite sufferings, and Hercules is laid on the funeral pile to consume his mortal frame, and so to escape his misery, and to receive immortal life. But Deianeira slays herself on learning the consequences of an error, which, as her son declares, she had committed with the best intentions<sup>1</sup>. And Hercules, who had at first broken forth into the most violent imprecations against his wife, recognizes the decree of fate in the calamity in which she had been the unwilling agent.

There are none of the plays of Sophocles which exhibit more strikingly than the two which bear the name of *Œdipus*, that solemn irony which the genius of a modern scholar has detected in the frame-work of this poet's Tragedies<sup>2</sup>. This irony consists in the contrast, which the spectator, well acquainted with the legendary basis of the tragedy, is enabled to draw between the real state of the case and the conceptions supposed to be entertained by the person represented on the stage. It is this contrast, regarded from different points of view, which makes the two plays about *Œdipus* the counterparts of one another, and induces us to think that, whether they were or were not written nearly at the same time<sup>3</sup>, they were intended by the poet to form constituent parts of one picture.

The *Œdipus Tyrannus* represents the king of Thebes, in the full confidence of his own glory<sup>4</sup> at the beginning of the play, but brought step by step to the consciousness of the horrible guilt in which he had unawares involved himself. "The wrath of heaven," says the expositor to whom we have referred<sup>5</sup>, "has been pointed against the afflicted city, only that it might fall with concentrated force on the head of a single man; and he who is its object stands alone calm and secure: unconscious of his own misery he can afford pity for the unfortunate: to him all look up for succour: and,

<sup>1</sup> *Trach.* 1136: *ἀπαν τὸ χρῆμ' ἡμαρτε, χρηστὰ μωμένη.*

<sup>2</sup> Thirlwall, *On the Irony of Sophocles*, *Philol. Mus.* II. pp. 483 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The silence of *Jocasta* (1075) brings this play into a connexion of manner with the *Antigone* and *Trachiniæ*.

<sup>4</sup> 8: *ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.*

<sup>5</sup> Thirlwall, p. 496.

as in the plenitude of wisdom and power, he undertakes to trace the evil, of which he is himself the sole author, to its secret source." The greatest dramatic ingenuity is shown in the manner in which Œdipus investigates the dreadful reality, and the hearer, though acquainted with the plot, shudders when Œdipus becomes at last conscious that he is about to hear the whole extent of his calamity<sup>1</sup>. The powerful and self-confident king of the early part of the play becomes the blind and helpless outcast of the concluding scene; but his sins were involuntary<sup>2</sup>, and his punishment and humiliation are his own act; so that the sufferer leaves the stage an object of the spectator's compassion, and a fit hero for the drama which renders poetic justice to this poor child of fate.

In the *Œdipus Coloneus* the exiled king appears supported by his affectionate daughter Antigone, and dependent on the charity of strangers. His outward condition could not be more helpless and pitiable. But he is on the verge of his predicted resting-place. The sanctuary of the awful goddesses, who persecuted the voluntary matricide Orestes, is opened to him, the unwilling murderer of his father, as a place of repose in which he would exercise a protecting power over the land which received him. The Thebans, who had expelled him as a polluted person, strive in vain to get him back; his son Polyneices, whom he regarded as a parricide<sup>3</sup>, seeks his protection, but is rejected with imprecations; and Œdipus descends to his sacred tomb, summoned by thunder from on high<sup>4</sup>, and led by Hermes and the goddess of the shades<sup>5</sup>, to the spot where he would be for ever the protecting genius of the land of Attica<sup>6</sup>.

The *Ajax* represents the consequences of the frenzy into which that hero was driven by the disappointment of his claims to the armour of Achilles. Under the influence of a strong delusion, which Athena, in the prologue, states that she had brought upon him, he attacks the flocks and herds of the Greek army while he imagines that he is slaying or leading away captive his successful rival Ulysses and the chieftains who had slighted him. On coming to his senses he calmly resolves on self-destruction as the only means of withdrawing himself from the disgrace and punishment

<sup>1</sup> *Œd. Tyr.* 1169: πρὸς αὐτῷ γ' εἰμι τῷ δεινῷ λέγειν—κάγωγ' ἀκούειν.

<sup>2</sup> *Œd. Col.* 266: τὰ γ' ἔργα μου πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα.

<sup>3</sup> 1361: σοῦ φονέως μεμνημένος.

<sup>4</sup> 1456 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> 1547, 8.

<sup>6</sup> 1523 sqq.

which he has incurred. After a fine scene, in which he takes leave of his son Eurysaces, he withdraws to a distant part of the camp, professedly for the purpose of purifying himself from the stains of his senseless bloodshed, and of burying the sword of Hector. The chorus rejoices in the hope that his temper is soothed and softened, and that all will be well. In the meantime, his brother Teucer, who has passed through the camp on his return from an expedition, and has there seen the prophet Calchas, sends a messenger to insure the hero's detention at home, because the soothsayer has declared that Athena is persecuting Ajax for that day only, and that he will be saved if he survives it. The chorus proceed to search for him. The scene having changed, we see Ajax, who, after an energetic speech, falls upon his sword. And his body is found by his friends, whose lamentations are interrupted by the successive arrival of Menelaus and Agamemnon, who come to forbid his burial. The contest between Teucer and these chieftains is terminated unexpectedly by the intervention of Ulysses, the bitterest foe of the deceased warrior, who comes forward to proclaim his excellences, and to plead for the respect due to his remains. And in this way a Tragedy, on which the poet has expended all the resources of his art, is brought to a conclusion, which satisfies the prepossessions of the Athenian audience, by a proper apotheosis of their national hero.

In the *Philoctetes*, Ulysses appears as the hated adversary of another great warrior; but though the issue of the play is in accordance with the object of his designs, the crafty and politic chieftain does not gain the character for generosity, which is accorded to him at the end of the *Ajax*. It was by his advice that Philoctetes had been left on the island of Lemnos, because his wound had made him a noisome pest in the camp. But as it is declared that Troy will not fall without the arrows of Hercules, which Philoctetes possesses, Ulysses volunteers, in company with the young Neoptolemus, to bring him back to the army. Neoptolemus is at first persuaded to become the instrument in the deceit which Ulysses has determined to practise. But his young and generous nature recoils. He discloses the meditated treachery to Philoctetes, and the cunningly laid plan for getting the wounded archer to Troy is utterly frustrated. Here is the *dignus vindice nodus*<sup>1</sup>; and Her-

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Ars Poet.* 191.

cules descends from Olympus to command Philoctetes to go to Troy and share with Neoptolemus in the glory of its capture. The opposition between the three characters is thus reconciled, and they are all justified: Ulysses in his public-spirited policy, Neoptolemus in his straightforward veracity, and Philoctetes in his natural resentment. It is to be observed, however, that this use of the *Deus ex machina*, which is found only in the latest play of Sophocles, and which is considered to have been mainly due to Euripides, is in itself an indication of declining dramatic power<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. 20, § 52: "Ut tragici poetæ, quum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum."

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## CHAPTER I.

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### SECTION IV.

#### EURIPIDES.

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*Æschylus ruft Titaner herauf und Götter herunter;  
Sophocles führt anmuthig der Heldinnen Reih'n und Heroen;  
Endlich Euripides schwatzt ein sophistischer Rhetor am Markte.*

A. W. SCHLEGEL.

*οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολιτικῶς ἐποιοῦν λέγοντας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ῥητορικῶς.*

ARISTOTELES.

*Like as many substances in nature, which are solid, do putrify and corrupt into worms;  
so it is the property of a good and sound knowledge, to putrify and dissolve into a  
number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and, as I may term them, vermiculate questions,  
which have indeed a kind of quickness, and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter  
or goodness of quality.*

BACON.

**E**URIPIDES, the son of Mnesarchus, was born in the island of Salamis, on the day of the glorious sea-fight (B.C. 480)<sup>1</sup>. His mother, Clito, had been sent over to Salamis with the other Athenian women when Attica was given up to the invading army of Xerxes<sup>2</sup>; and the name of the poet, which is formed like a patronymic from the Euripus, the scene of the first successful resistance to the Persian navy, shows that the minds of his parents were full

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. II. 45: ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐναυμάχουν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. Plutarch. *Sympos.* VIII. 1: ἐτέχθη καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς Πέρσας. Suid. The Parian marble places his birth five years earlier, and we shall see in the passage of Aulus Gellius, quoted below, that his age was not known with certainty while he was yet alive.

<sup>2</sup> He belonged properly to the deme Phlyæ of the Cecropid tribe, but he, perhaps, had some land in Salamis, and sometimes resided there. "Philochorus refert," says Aulus Gellius, "in insulâ Salamine speluncam esse tetram et horriam, quam nos vidimus, in quâ Euripides tragœdias scriptitarit." *Noct. Att.* XV. 20. (Whenever we have quoted no other authority, it will be presumed that we refer either to the life of Euripides by Thomas Magister, or to the anonymous life published by Elmsley, from the Ambrosian MS., and printed at the end of his edition of the *Bacchæ*.)

of the stirring events of that momentous crisis. His father was certainly a man of property, else how could his son have been a pupil of the extravagant<sup>1</sup> Prodicus? It would appear that he was also born of a good family<sup>2</sup>. But this is no argument, as Philochorus supposes<sup>3</sup>, against the implications of Aristophanes<sup>4</sup>, and the direct statement of Theopompus<sup>5</sup>, that his mother was a seller of herbs; for it is quite possible that his father may have made a marriage of disparagement. Like Sophocles, he was well educated. He attended the lectures of Anaxagoras, Prodicus, and Protagoras; and was so well versed in the gymnastic exercises of the day, that he gained two victories in the Eleusinian and Thesean athletic games when only seventeen years old. Mnesarchus had intended that he should enter the lists of Olympia among the younger combatants, but some objection was raised against him on the score of age, and he was excluded from the contest<sup>6</sup>. To his other accomplishments he added a taste for painting, which he cultivated with some success; a few specimens of his talents in this respect were preserved for many years at Megara. He brought out his first Tragedy, the *Peliades*, in (B.C.) 455<sup>7</sup>, consequently at an earlier age than either of his predecessors. He was third on this occasion, but gained the first prize fourteen years after<sup>8</sup>, and also in

<sup>1</sup> See *Rhein. Mus.* for 1832, p. 22 fol.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, x. p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Apud Suid. Εὐριπ.

<sup>4</sup> Προπηλακίζομένας ὁρῶσ' ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ  
Εὐριπίδου, τοῦ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας. *Thesmoph.* 386.

Again, speaking of Euripides, the female orator says—

Ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ γυναῖκες, δρᾷ κακά,  
Ἄτ' ἐν ἀγροῖσι τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς. 455.

Dicæopolis, in the *Acharnians*, among his other requests, says to Euripides—

Σκάνδικά μοι δός, μητρόθεν δεδεγμένος. 454.

The same insinuation is more obscurely conveyed in the *Equites*—

Νικ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτὲ  
Εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευρικῶς;  
Δημ. Μή μοι γε, μή μοι, μή διασκανδικίσῃς. 17.

And in the *Ranæ*:

Αἰσχ. Ἀληθες, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ; 839.

<sup>5</sup> Euripidis poetæ matrem Theopompus agrestia olera vendentem victum quærens dicit. *Noct. Att.* xv. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Mnesarchus, roborato exercitatuque filii sui corpore, Olympiam certaturum inter athletas pueros deduxit. Ac primo quidem in certamen per ambiguum ætatem receptus non est. Post Eleusinio et Theseo certamine pugnavit et coronatus est. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Att.* xv. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Arund. Marble*, No. 61. It appears, however, that he had applied himself to dramatic composition before this. *Aul. Gell.* xv. 20. See Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus*, i. pp. 6 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *Arund. Marble*, 61.



428 B.C., when the *Hippolytus* was represented<sup>1</sup>, though he does not appear to have been often so successful<sup>2</sup>. His reputation, however, spread far and wide, and if we may believe Plutarch, some of the Athenians, who had survived the disastrous termination of the Syracusan expedition, obtained their liberty or a livelihood by reciting and teaching such passages from the poems of Euripides as they happened to recollect<sup>3</sup>. We shall show by and by that Euripides was one of the advocates for that expedition; and we are told that he wrote a funeral poem on the Athenian soldiers who fell in Sicily. Late in life he retired to Magnesia, and from thence proceeded to Macedonia, where his popularity procured him the protection and friendship of King Archelaus. It is not known what induced him to quit Athens, though many causes might be assigned. The infidelity of his two wives, Melito and Choerila, which is supposed to have occasioned the misogynism for which he was notorious, may perhaps have made him desirous of escaping from the scenes of his domestic discomforts, especially as his misfortunes were continually recalled to his remembrance by the taunts and jeers of his merciless political enemy, Aristophanes<sup>4</sup>. Besides,

<sup>1</sup> Argument to the *Hippol.*: ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Ἀμείνωνος ἀρχοντος Ὀλυμπιάδι πζ' ἔτει τέταρτῳ. πρῶτος Εὐριπίδης· δεύτερος Ἰοφῶν· τρίτος Ἴων.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas says he gained only five victories, one of which was with a posthumous play.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ δι' Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. Μάλιστα γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἐντὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μούσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἐκάστοτε δειγμάτων καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμανθάνοντες, ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδωσαν ἀλλήλοις. Τότε γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συνηροῦς ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγείσθαι τοὺς μὲν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν, ἐκδιδάξαντες, ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηντο, τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τροφῆς καὶ ὕδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ᾤσαντες. Οὐ δεῖ δὴ θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς Καυνοὺς φασί, πλοίου προσφερομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν, ὑπὸ ληστρίδων διωκομένου, μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν· εἶτα μέντοι διαπυνθανομένους, εἰ γνώσκουσιν ᾄσματα τῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω παρῆναι καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον. Plutarch, *Nicias*, cxxix. We have perhaps an additional proof of the lasting popularity of Euripides in Syracuse, in the fact that Archomelus, who composed an epigram in B.C. 220, on the great ship of Hiero (*Anth. Pal.* Appendix 15), and who was therefore more or less connected with Sicily, writes thus on the poet's inimitable excellence (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 50, p. 321):

τὴν Εὐριπιδέω μήτ' ἔρχεο μήτ' ἐπιβάλλου,  
 δύσβατον ἀνθρώποις οἶμον, ἀοιδοθέτα.  
 λείη μὲν γὰρ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ κροτος· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὴν  
 εἰσβαλεῖν, χαλεποῦ τρηχυτέρῃ σκόλοπος·  
 ἦν δὲ τὰ Μηδείης Αἰητίδος ἄκρα χαράξης,  
 ἀμνήμων κείσῃ νέρθεν· ἔα στεφάνους.

<sup>4</sup> *Ran.* 1045:

Eurip.

Æschyl.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι·  
 μηδὲ γ' ἐπείη·  
 Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ σοί τοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖσιν πολλὴ πολλοῦ πικαθῆτο.

Ὡστε γε καὐτόν σε κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν.

Bacchus.

Νῆ τὸν Δία τοῦτό γέ τοι δῆ·  
 Ἄ γὰρ ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐποίεις, αὐτὸς τούτοις ἐπλήγης.

he appears to have been very intimate with Socrates and Alcibiades, the former of whom is said to have assisted him in the composition of his Tragedies<sup>1</sup>; and when Alcibiades won the chariot race at Olympia, Euripides wrote a song in honour of his victory<sup>2</sup>. That Socrates was, even at this time, very unpopular, is exceedingly likely<sup>3</sup>; and Alcibiades was a condemned exile. Perhaps, then, Euripides only followed the dictates of prudence in withdrawing from a country where his philosophical<sup>4</sup>, as well as his political sentiments, exposed him to continual danger. At the court of Archelaus, on the contrary, he was treated with the greatest distinction, and was even admitted to the private counsels of the king. He wrote some plays in Macedonia, in one of which (the *Bacchæ*) he seems to have been inspired by the wild scenery of the country<sup>5</sup> where he was residing; and the story, according to which he is torn to pieces by dogs<sup>6</sup>, just as his hero Pentheus is rent asunder by the infuriated Bacchanals, arose perhaps from a confusion between the poet and the last subject on which he wrote. It is clearly a fabrication, for Aristophanes in *the Frogs* would certainly have alluded to the manner of his death, had there been any

<sup>1</sup> "Laertius (in Socrat.) has preserved a couplet which cunningly brings this charge:

Φρύγες, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου,  
ὅτι καὶ τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθησι Σωκράτης.

Allusion is made to the same imputation in a line of Antiphanes (Athen. iv. 134):

Ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ,

where *κεφάλαια* are the sententious sayings which Socrates was reputed to have furnished. Ælian (*Var. Hist.* ii. 13) states that Socrates seldom went to the theatre, except to see some new Tragedy of Euripides performed.

This philosophising in his dramas gave Euripides the name of the *stage philosopher*; Euripides, auditor Anaxagoræ, quem philosophum Athenienses scenicum appellaverunt. Vitruv. viii. in præf.—Former Editor. See Dindorf, in *Poet. Scen.* p. 574.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Alcibiad.* c. xi.: Λέγει δ' ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι ταῦτα·

Σὲ δ' αἰέσομαι, ὦ Κλειῶν παῖ.  
Καλὸν ἂν νίκα· κάλλιστον δ' ὁ  
Μηδεὶς ἄλλος Ἑλλάνων  
Ἄρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα  
Καὶ τρίτα βῆναι δ' ἀπορηγί,  
Τρίς στεφθέντ' ἐλαίῳ  
Κάρυκι βοᾶν παραδοῦναι.

<sup>3</sup> Archelaus invited Socrates also to his court. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See Elmsley on the argument, p. 4. In v. 400, we should read Πέλλαν for Πάφον.

<sup>6</sup> Hermesianax Colophonius (Athen. xiii. 598); Ovid, *Ibis*, 595; Aul. Gell. *Noct. Attic.* xv. 20; Val. Max. ix. 12.—Pausanias (i. p. 3) seems to doubt the truth of the common account. Dionysius Byzantius expressly denies it (*Anticrit.* iii. 36).

thing remarkable in it. He died B.C. 406, on the same day on which Dionysius assumed the tyranny<sup>1</sup>. He was buried at Pella, contrary to the wishes of his countrymen, who requested Archelaus to send his remains to Athens, where however a cenotaph was erected to his memory with this inscription:

Μνᾶμα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου· ὅστέα δ' ἴσχει  
Γῇ Μακεδών· ἧ γὰρ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.  
Πατρίς δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλὰς, Ἀθῆναι· πλείστα δὲ Μούσας  
Τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

Euripides was the last of the Greek Tragedians properly so called. "The sure sign of the general decline of an art," says an able writer, "is the frequent occurrence, not of deformity, but of misplaced beauty. In general, Tragedy is corrupted by eloquence, and Comedy by wit<sup>2</sup>." This symptom of the decline of Tragedy is particularly conspicuous in Euripides, and so much of tragical propriety is given up for the sake of rhetorical display, that we sometimes feel inclined to doubt whether we are reading the works of a poet or a teacher of elocution<sup>3</sup>. It is this quality of Euripides which has in all ages rendered him a much greater favourite than either Æschylus or Sophocles; it is this also which made the invention of Tragi-comedy by him so natural and so easy; it is this which recommended him to Menander as the model for the dialogue of his New Comedy; and it is for this that Quintilian so strongly recommends him to the notice of the young aspirant after oratorical fame<sup>4</sup>. In the middle ages too, Euripides was infi-

<sup>1</sup> See Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. XC. p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Euripides seems to have been quite prepared to defend the long speeches which he introduces into his plays. In the *Orestes*, where there is a complete rhetorical *ἀντιλογία*, he makes his hero say (640):

λέγοιμ' ἂν ἤδη· τὰ μακρὰ τῶν μικρῶν λόγων  
ἐπίπροσθέν ἐστι καὶ σαφὴ μᾶλλον κλύειν.

<sup>4</sup> Sed longe clarius illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides; quorum in dispari dicendi viâ uter sit poeta melior, inter plurimos quæritur. Idque ego sane, quoniam ad præsentem materiam nihil pertinet, injudicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis, qui se ad agendum comparant, utiliore longe Euripidem fore. Namque is et in sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi: et sententiis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pæne ipsis par, et in dicendo ac respondendo cuilibet eorum, qui fuerunt in foro disertissimi, comparandus. In affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis, qui miseratione constant, facile præcipuus. Hunc et admiratus maxime est (ut sæpe testatur) et secutus, quamquam in opere diverso, Menander. *Inst. Orat.* x. i. 67. C. J. Fox remarks (*Correspondence*, edited by Lord John Russell, III. 178) that of all poets Euripides appeared to him the most useful for a public speaker.

nitely better known than the two other great Tragedians; for the more un-Greek and common-place and rhetorical and hair-splitting the former was, the more attractive was he likely to prove in an age when scholastic subtleties were mistaken for eloquence, minute distinctions for science, and verbal quibbles for sure evidences of proficiency in the *ars artium*<sup>1</sup>. We cannot wonder then that Dante, who calls his Latin Aristotle "the master of those that know", and an Italian version of *Moralia* "his own ethics", should make no mention of Æschylus and Sophocles in his survey of the shades of departed poets, but should class the rhetorical Euripides, and the no less quibbling Agathon, among the greatest of the poets of Greece<sup>4</sup>. But if it be easy to explain how the quasi-philosophical character of Euripides gained him so much popularity among his less civilized contemporaries, the Sicilians and Macedonians, and among the semi-barbarous Europeans of the middle ages, we shall have still less difficulty in explaining how he came to be so unlike the two great writers who preceded him; one of whom was in his later days the competitor of Euripides. We have already insisted at some length upon the connexion between the actors of Sophocles, Æschylus, and their predecessors, and the Homeric rhapsode. Now the rhapsodes were succeeded by a class of men whom, for want of a more definitive name, it has been customary to

<sup>1</sup> In one form of verbal quibbling, the habit of punning on similar sounds, Euripides is not more responsible than Æschylus and Sophocles, and Shakspeare has followed them in this respect. Valckenaer says (*ad Phœn.* p. 187): "*Amat Tragicus noster ἐτυμολογεῖν, atque ob eam insaniam merito quoque fuit a comicis irrisus.*" This exclusive censure of Euripides is answered by Lobeck (*ad Soph. Aj.* 430); see also Elmsley on Eurip. *Bacch.* 508. And the practice is so common in all the tragedians that it furnishes a constant problem for the ingenuity of translators, who are not always very happy in their substitutions of English for Greek in reproducing this play upon words. For instance, it is absurd in Æsch. *Agam.* 671, to translate the play upon the name of Helen in the epithets ἐλέναυς, ἑλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις, by "a Hell to ships, a Hell to men, and a Hell to cities;" for this does not really recall the proper name: if we said "a knell to ships," &c. we should at any rate have a reference to a common abbreviation of the name *Helen* (*Nell*). Similarly in Euripides, *Bacchæ*, 367: Πενθεὺς δ' ὅπως μὴ πένθος εἰσείσῃ δόμοις τοῖς σοῖσι, might be rendered: "Take heed, lest Pentheus makes your mansion a pent-house of grief," instead of seeking a longer paraphrase. And a similar rendering might apply to v. 508.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.* IV. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.* XI. 80, referring to Aristot. *Eth.* VII. 1. That Dante read Aristotle's *Ethics* in the Italian translation of Taddeo d'Alderotto, surnamed *l'Ippocratista*, may be inferred from the *Convito*, I. 10, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Purgat.* XXII. 106:

*Euripide* v' è nosco e Anacreonte,  
Simonide, *Agatone*, e altri più  
Greci che già di lauro ornar la fronte.

call sophists<sup>1</sup>, and sometime the sophist and the rhapsode were united in the same person: indeed so completely were they identified in most cases, that Plato makes Socrates treat Hippias the sophist, who was also a rhapsode, and Ion the rhapsode, who seems to have been a sophist too, with banter and irony of precisely the same kind. Since then Euripides was nursed in the lap of sophistry, was the pupil and friend of the most eminent of the sophists, and perhaps to all intents a sophist himself, we cannot wonder that he should turn the rhapsodical element of the Greek Drama into a sophistical one: in fact, the transition was not only natural, but perhaps even necessary. It may, however, be asked, how is this reconcileable with the statement that Socrates assisted Euripides in the composition of his Tragedies? for Socrates was, if we can believe Plato's representation of him, the sworn foe of the sophists. We answer that Socrates was, in the more general sense of the word, himself a sophist; his opposition to the other sophists, which has probably been exaggerated by his pupils and apologists, to whom we owe nearly all we know about him, is no proof of a radical difference between him and them: on the contrary, it is proverbial that there are no disagreements so rancorous and implacable as those between persons who follow the same trade with different objects in view. That Socrates was the least pernicious of the sophists, that, if he was not a good citizen, he was at least an honest man, we are very much disposed to believe; but in the eyes of his contemporaries he differed but little from the rest of the tribe: Aristophanes attacks him as the head of the school, and perhaps some of the comedian's animosity to Euripides may have arisen from his belief that the tragedian was only a Socrates and a sophist making an *epideixis* in iambics<sup>2</sup>.

Euripides was not only a rhetorical sophist. He also treated his audience to some of the physical doctrines of his master Anaxagoras<sup>3</sup>. For instance, he goes out of his way to communicate to them the Anaxagorean discovery, that the sun is nothing but an

<sup>1</sup> The young student will find some interesting remarks on these personages in Coleridge's *Friend*, Vol. III. p. 112 fol. See also the articles on Prodicus in Nos. I. and IV. of the *Rhein. Mus.* 1832.

<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes speaks of him thus:

ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθ' Εὐριπίδης ἐπεδείκνυτο  
τοῖς λωποδύταις, κ.τ.λ. *Ranæ*, 771.

<sup>3</sup> On the allusions which Euripides makes to the philosophy of Anaxagoras, the reader of this poet should consult Valckenauer's *Diatribæ*, pp. 25—58.

ignited stone<sup>1</sup>: he tells them that the overflowing of the Nile is merely the consequence of the melting of the snow in Æthiopia<sup>2</sup>, and that the æther is an embodiment of the Deity<sup>3</sup>.

In his political opinions Euripides was attached to Alcibiades and to the war party; and in this again he was opposed to Aristophanes, and, we may add, to the best interests of his country. He endeavours to inspire his countrymen with a contempt for their formidable enemies the Spartans<sup>4</sup>, and with a distrust of their good faith<sup>5</sup>; in order that the Athenians might not, through fear for their prowess, scruple to continue at war with them, and might, through suspicion, be as unwilling as possible to make peace. We find him also united with the sophist Gorgias and the profligate Alcibiades in urging the disastrous expedition to Sicily; for he wrote the *Trilogy* to which the *Troades* belonged, in the beginning of the year 415<sup>6</sup>, in which that expedition started, manifestly with a view to encourage the gaping *quidnuncs* of the Agora to fall into the ambitious schemes of Alcibiades, by recalling the recollection of the success of a similar expedition, undertaken in the mythical ages; and it has been conjectured that his wiser opponent wrote the *Birds* in the following year to ridicule the whole plan and its originators<sup>7</sup>.

Besides obliterating the genuine character of the Greek Tragedy, by introducing sophistry and philosophy into the dialogue, Euripides degraded it still farther by laying aside all the dignity and *καλοκαγαθία* which distinguished the costumes and the characters of Æschylus and Sophocles, by vulgarizing the tragic style<sup>8</sup>, by introducing rags and tatters on the stage<sup>9</sup>, by continually making mention of the most trivial and ordinary subjects<sup>10</sup>, and by destroying the connexion which always subsisted, in the perfect form of the

<sup>1</sup> *Orest.* VI. 984, and the fr. of the *Phaëthon*.

<sup>2</sup> *Helen.* 1—3, fr. of the *Archelaus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Troad.* 878 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, in his ridiculous exhibition of Menelaus in the *Troades*, and in the *Orestes*. See particularly *Orest.* 717 sqq.; *Androm.* 590.

<sup>5</sup> *Andromache*, 445 seqq.

<sup>6</sup> See Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> See J. W. Süvern's interesting Essay on the *Birds* of Aristophanes.

<sup>8</sup> See Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 336 [483]. In *Hercul. Fur.* 859, it is clear that *στάδια δραμοῦμαι*, the reading of Flor. 2, is a gloss on the genuine *σταδιοδρομεῖν*, which ought to be restored. And in *Electr.* 841, we ought certainly to read *ἡλίου δ' ὡς θνήσκων φόβῳ*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ran.* 841 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* 980 sqq.



drama, between the chorus and the actors<sup>1</sup>. With regard to his system of prologues, which Lessing most paradoxically considers as showing the perfection of the drama, we need only mention that Menander adopted it from him, and point to the difference between this practice and that of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Shakspeare, in order to justify the ridicule which Aristophanes unsparingly heaps upon them as factitious and unnecessary parts of a Tragedy.

Like the other sophists, Euripides was altogether devoid of religious feelings; his moral character will not bear a searching scrutiny; and, unlike the good-tempered, cheerful Sophocles, he displayed the same severity of manner which distinguished his never-smiling preceptor, Anaxagoras. On the whole, were it not for the exceeding beauty of many of his choruses, and for the proof which he occasionally exhibits of really tragic power, we should be unable to understand the admiration with which he has inspired the most cultivated men in different ages; and looking at him from the point of view occupied by his contemporaries, we must join with Aristophanes, not only in calling him, what he undeniably was, a bad citizen<sup>2</sup>, and an unprincipled man, but also in regarding him as a dramatist, who degraded the moral and religious dignity of his own sacred profession. At the best, he is one of those poets, who appear to the greatest advantage in selections of elegant extracts. "His works," says an eminent critic<sup>3</sup>, "must be regarded less in their entirety than in detail. In single passages there is much that in itself is excellent, deeply moving, and masterly, which, if part of a whole, is liable to censure. We might almost maintain, that, with Euripides, those very parts are most beautiful, which he introduced as superfluous additions, merely because he could not resist the temptations offered by certain situations; though, indeed, it sometimes happens that the overabundant heaping-together of materials impedes the development of the individual parts, and that the episodes fail in making their due impression, from a want of proper extension. Tragic effect to be perfect requires completeness in preparation, development, and

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἓνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μῦριον εἶναι τοῦ δλου, καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλῆς. Aristot. *Poet.* XVIII. 21.

<sup>2</sup> On the connexion of Euripides and Socrates with the mischievous Girondism of the middle-class party at Athens, we have written elsewhere (*Quarterly Review*, No. CLXI. Vol. 71, p. 116; continuation of Müller's *Hist. Lit. Gr.* Vol. II. p. 165, new ed.).

<sup>3</sup> F. Jacobs, *Hellas; or the home, history, literature and art of the Greeks*. Translated by J. Oxenford, p. 235.



solution; but for this there is frequently a want of room with Euripides. In the *Troades*, for instance, there is such a quantity of matter that the death of Polyxena can only be narrated in a few words. Thus, in this Tragedy, the effect of the tragic incidents is destroyed by the overabundance which makes them neutralize each other." In accordance with these remarks the same author has very ably contrasted the feebler art of Euripides with the rude vigour of Æschylus, and the graceful dignity of Sophocles. "If," he says<sup>1</sup>, "we take a comparative view of the heroes of Greek Tragedy, we find that in Æschylus the mighty subject matter is not always satisfactorily developed—that in Euripides the luxuriance of the matter often predominates over the form—that in Sophocles, on the contrary, the matter is so completely proportionate to the form, that, with all its abundance, it adapts itself without constraint, and, as it were of its own accord, to the law of order. With the first, nature is grand and powerful, but art is somewhat unwieldy; with the second art is somewhat too lax and pliant; with Sophocles, art rules over a free and beautiful nature. Æschylus pays homage to grandeur without grace, Euripides only seeks the fascinating, Sophocles combines dignity and beauty in intimate union. The first fills us with words, the second with compassion, Sophocles with noble admiration. The whole plan of their works corresponds to their different aims. Æschylus, at the very commencement, often raises himself to a height which only his own gigantic mind can hope to surmount; Sophocles leads us on gradually; Euripides, through successive sections, repeats the same tones of touching sorrow. Æschylus proceeds rapidly from his preparation to the catastrophe; Sophocles, as he approaches the catastrophe retards his steps; Euripides, with uncertain tread, pursues an uncertain goal, rather heaping up misfortune than rendering it more intense. Æschylus is simple without art; with Sophocles simplicity is a result of art; with Euripides variety often predominates to the injury of art. The mighty and extraordinary events, which are the focus of the action with his predecessors, are often with Euripides no more than strengthening rays, and the incidents are, not unfrequently, more tragical than the catastrophe. The immolation of a daughter torn from her mother's arms, the murder of an innocent boy, the voluntary death of a wife on her hus-

<sup>1</sup> *Hellas*, p. 236.

band's funeral pile, the sacrifice of a youth for his country, of a maiden for her family,—all these with Euripides are mere incidents of the action<sup>1</sup>."

Thanks to accident, or the corrupted taste of those to whom we owe all of ancient literature that we possess, the remaining plays of Euripides are more than all the extant dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles taken together. Of his many compositions, fifteen Tragedies<sup>2</sup>, two Tragi-comedies<sup>3</sup>, and a satyrical drama<sup>4</sup>, have come down to us; and the fragments of the lost plays are very numerous.

It appears that Euripides, like the other two great tragedians, exhibited his dramas in Tetralogies, and in more than one instance we have among his extant plays those which formed a portion of the same theatrical representation. We do not, however, derive much advantage from this. His Tetralogies were not, like those of Æschylus, bound together by a community of subject and treatment, and except as a chronological fact, the juxta-position of particular dramas is quite unimportant to the reader of his works.

The order, in which the extant plays of Euripides were produced, may be ascertained to a certain extent either from direct statements resting on the didascalizæ or from internal evidence. In making a few remarks on the particular plays, we shall be content in the main with the results of the most recent and elaborate investigation of the subject<sup>5</sup>.

The earliest extant play of Euripides is the *Rhesus*, which, as we have already mentioned, has been attributed to Sophocles, and regarded as one of his earliest dramas<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, it has been supposed that four actors are required in the scene in which Paris appears immediately after Diomedes and Ulysses have left the stage and while Athena is still there, and it has been suggested accordingly that it belongs to the later Athenian stage, perhaps to the school of Philocles<sup>7</sup>. It must be confessed that there are

<sup>1</sup> There is a severe criticism on Euripides in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. XLVIII. Professor Blackie refers to this article as his own (*Æschylus*, i. p. xxxvii). Schlegel's comparison of the related plays of the three Tragedians is given in an Appendix to this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Or 16, if the *Rhesus* is reckoned one of his.

<sup>3</sup> The *Orestes* and the *Alcestis*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Cyclops*.

<sup>5</sup> J. A. Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus*, Vol. I. 1843; Vol. II. 1844.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe, *Ariadne*, pp. 285 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* i. p. 501, note.

serious objections to its genuineness<sup>1</sup>; but Euripides certainly wrote a play called the *Rhesus*, which Attius imitated in his *Nyctegesis*<sup>2</sup>, and it is expressly stated that this was one of his earliest efforts<sup>3</sup>. That the present play was this juvenile production has been warmly maintained by two of the admirers of Euripides<sup>4</sup>, and it has been referred to the year B.C. 466<sup>5</sup>.

The undoubtedly genuine Drama, which bears the name of *Alcestis*, was acted as the after-piece to the Trilogy of the *Cressæ*, the *Alcmæon in Psophide* and the *Telephus*, in B.C. 438<sup>6</sup>. Though the main incident, the voluntary death of Alcestis as a vicarious substitute for her husband Admetus, is eminently pathetic and tragical, the character of Hercules is conceived in the spirit of comedy, and the rescue of Alcestis from the grave nullifies all the emotions excited by the first part of the play.

The *Heracleidæ* is referred to the period immediately before the Peloponnesian war B.C. 434, and is supposed to allude in many passages to the divine assistance on which the Athenians could rely, and to the probable discomfiture of any presumptuous invaders<sup>7</sup>. It is conjecturally placed in the same Tetralogy with the *Peleus* and *Ægeus*, and the satirical drama *Eurystheus*<sup>8</sup>. The subject of the play is the generous protection which the Athenians accorded to the Heracleidæ, and the incident of the sacrifice of Macaria is introduced to give some special pathos to a piece which is otherwise somewhat tame and common-place.

It is known that the *Medea* was acted in the archonship of Pythodorus B.C. 431, and that it was the first play of a Tetralogy which included the *Philoctetes*, *Dictys*, and the satirical drama of "the Reapers" (*Θερισταί*)<sup>9</sup>. The *Medea* is the most faultless of the dramas of Euripides, and has really many excellences. Its object is to depict the jealousy of a divorced and outraged wife, and the dreadful vengeance which she exacts on the rival who has

<sup>1</sup> Valckenaer, *Diatrise*, 9, 10; Hermann, *Opusc.* III. pp. 262 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung, I. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Crates, *ap. Schol. Rhes.* 575: Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι εἶναι, ὅτε τὸν Ῥῆσον ἐδίδασκε.

<sup>4</sup> Vater, *Vindiciæ Rhesi*, and Hartung.

<sup>5</sup> Hartung, I. p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> See the didascalia in *Cod. Vatic.* quoted above, p. 75, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Hartung, I. pp. 288 sqq. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* I. p. 488 (new ed.), refers it to the time of the battle of Delium, B.C. 421.

<sup>8</sup> Hartung, p. 289.

<sup>9</sup> *Argum. Med.*

superseded her. It has been well remarked<sup>1</sup> that "the scene which paints the struggle in Medea's breast between her plans of revenge and her love for her children, will always be one of the most touching and impressive ever represented on the stage." Its dramatic value is proved by the success of the modern plays and operas in which the injured wife murders, or intends to murder her children, as an appropriate punishment of a faithless husband<sup>2</sup>.

Euripides obtained the first prize with his *Hippolytus Crowned* in the archonship of *Ameinon* or *Epameinon* B.C. 428<sup>3</sup>. This play, like the *Medea*, has been revived with great success on the modern stage<sup>4</sup>, and, in spite of great faults, it produces a considerable effect on the reader. The plot turns on the criminal love of Phædra for her step-son Hippolytus, the Joseph of classical mythology. As in the similar cases of Bellerophon and Peleus, the scorned and passionate woman seeks the ruin of the chaste young man, but in this instance she also commits suicide. The father, Theseus, is induced to believe in his son's guilt. And the innocent hero is torn to death by his own steeds, who are frightened by sea-monsters sent against them by Neptune, and his death having been thus effected by the malice of Aphrodite and the blind compliance of the sea-god, the chaste goddess Artemis appears *ex machina* to do poetic justice to the innocent victim.

It has been conjectured that the *Cyclops*, our only remaining satirical drama, belonged to the same Tetralogy as the *Hippolytus*, which also, it is supposed, contained the *Bellerophontes* and the *Antigone*<sup>5</sup>. The *Bellerophontes* is recommended for this juxtaposition by its similarity of subject, with of course a difference of treatment. The *Antigone* of Euripides had a fortunate termination, as far as Hæmon and the heroine were concerned<sup>6</sup>, and the fragments seem to point to a tyranny of love, which is quite at

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* i. p. 485 (*new ed.*).

<sup>2</sup> It is only necessary to mention the Tragedy *Medée* and the operas *Medea* and *Norma*.

<sup>3</sup> *Argum. Hippol.*

<sup>4</sup> In Racine's *Phédre*. The great French dramatist says, in the preface to his play: "Je ne suis point étonné que ce caractère (de Phédre) ait eu un succès si heureux du temps d'Euripide, et qu'il ait encore si bien réussi dans notre siècle, puisqu'il a toutes les qualités qu'Aristote demande dans le héros de la tragédie, et qui sont propres à exciter la compassion et la terreur."

<sup>5</sup> Hartung, i. pp. 385 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph. Byz. in *Argum. Antig. Soph.*; κείται δὲ ἡ μυθοποιία καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν 'Αντιγόῳ' πλὴν ἐκεῖ φωραθεῖσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἰμονος δίδοται πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ τίκτει τὸν Μαίμονα.

variance with the moral of the *Hippolytus*<sup>1</sup>. In general there is very little reason for connecting the two plays. The *Cyclops* is placed at the same epoch with the *Hippolytus*, because it seems to have been acted before the expedition to Syracuse<sup>2</sup>; but this is a very slender argument. The plot of the *Cyclops*, of which we have given an analysis in a subsequent chapter, is merely a dramatic version of the adventure with Polyphemus in the ninth book of the *Odyssey*.

The *Ion* is referred<sup>3</sup> to about B.C. 427, because it alludes unmistakably to the porch at Delphi, which the Athenians decorated as a memorial of Phormio's victories<sup>4</sup>, and actually mentions Rhium where the trophy stood<sup>5</sup>; it probably alludes also to the relations between Athens and their colonists on the coast of Asia Minor<sup>6</sup>, which had become very critical in the 88th Ol. The plot of the *Ion* is interesting and ingeniously developed. It turns on the recognition by Creusa of her own son by Apollo in the young priest Ion, whom she had endeavoured to poison by the instrumentality of a faithful domestic, under the belief that he was the child of her husband Xuthus, and a bastard intruder on the ancient honours of her family. That the *Ion* was exhibited in the same Tetralogy with the *Ino* and *Erechtheus*, and the satirical drama *Sciron*, is inferred from considerations more or less precarious<sup>7</sup>.

The date of the *Hecuba* is fixed to B.C. 424 by two parodies of its language in the *Nubes* of Aristophanes<sup>8</sup>, which show that it must have appeared before B.C. 423, and by a reference in the play itself<sup>9</sup> to the sacred rites of Delos, which the Athenians took into their own hands in B.C. 425. So that the play must have fallen between these two years<sup>10</sup>. And it is conjectured<sup>11</sup> that the other plays of the Tetralogy were the *Alcmena* or *Licymnius*, *Pleisthenes* or the *Pelo-*

<sup>1</sup> See *Fragments*, VI. and VII.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung, I. p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> By Böckh, *de Gr. Trag. Princ.* p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Ion*, 184 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> V. 1592.

<sup>6</sup> V. 1581:

οἱ τῶνδε δ' αὖ

παῖδες γενόμενοι ξὺν χρόνῳ πεπρωμένῳ  
κυκλάδας ἐποικήσουσι νησαίας πόλεις  
χερσοὺς τε παράλους δ' σθένος τήμῃ χθονὶ  
δίδωσιν.

<sup>7</sup> Hartung, I. pp. 451 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> 718, 1165.

<sup>9</sup> 466 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> It is also supposed that there is an allusion to the Spartan disaster at Pylos in V. 649:

στένει δὲ καὶ τις ἀμφὶ τὸν εὐροῶν Εὐρώταν  
Λάκαινα πολυδάκρυτος ἐν δόμοις κόρα.

<sup>11</sup> Hartung, I. pp. 542, 546.

*pidæ*, and the satyrical drama called *Theseus*, the latter of which must have been of similar import to the *Sciron* of the immediately previous Tetralogy.

The *Hecuba*, which has always been one of the most popular plays of Euripides, introduces the aged queen of Troy as a marked and vigorous character. After her daughter Polyxena has been torn from her to be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles, the corpse of her only remaining son Polydorus is cast up by the waves, and she learns that he has been murdered by the treacherous king of Thrace, Polymestor, to whom he had been intrusted along with some treasure. She entices the perfidious wretch and his children into her tent, and there slays them and puts out his eyes; and she then successfully defends her act when called to an account before Agamemnon. Besides the character of Hecuba, who appears as a sort of philosopher of the Euripidean school, the noble resignation of Polyxena is made to interest the spectators by a display similar to that which we find in the *Heracleidæ* and the *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

Some allusions to the inconveniences of old age<sup>1</sup> place the *Hercules Furens* among the later compositions of Euripides, and certain references to his wish for peace with Thebes and Sparta<sup>2</sup> strengthen the hypothesis that the play was acted about B.C. 422. It is conjectured<sup>3</sup> that the other plays of the Tetralogy were the *Temenides*, the *Cresphontes*<sup>4</sup>, and a satyrical drama called *Cercyon*. In many parts the *Hercules* is singularly vigorous and effective, but its dramatic merits are seriously compromised by its want of unity in the subject and action. The first part of the play is occupied with the liberation of the family of Hercules from the persecutions of Lycus; and then *Lyssa* or madness appears as the only explanation of the frenzy, in which Hercules slays his wife and children.

The reference, which the chorus of the *Iphigenia at Tauri*, supposed to consist of Delian women, makes to the island of Delos and

<sup>1</sup> See v. 639 sqq., especially v. 678: *ἐτι τοι γέρων ἀοιδὸς κελαδεῖ μναμοσύναν*, which may be compared with Æschylus, *Agam.* v. 104.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 471, 1135, 1303.

<sup>3</sup> Hartung, II. p. 21 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The *Cresphontes* refers in one of the choral fragments both to the advancing age of the poet and his longing for peace (*Fragm.* xv):

*εἰράνα βαθύπλουτε.....*  
*ζῆλός μοι σέθεν, ὥς χρονίζεις,*  
*δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πένοις*  
*ὑπερβάλλῃ με γῆρας*  
*πρὶν σὰν προσιδεῖν χαρίεσσαν ὥραν κ.τ.λ.*

to the worship of Apollo there<sup>1</sup>, may have been prompted by the restoration of the Delians to their island, which the Athenians carried out in B.C. 421 in obedience to an oracle<sup>2</sup>; and, if so, the play may have been performed about this time. It is conjectured<sup>3</sup> that the *Phrixus*, *Epopeus*, and *Alope* were the other plays of the Tetralogy. The *Iphigenia at Tauri* exhibits happier situations and greater taste in the execution than perhaps any play of Euripides. The poet avoids the awkwardness of making the pure and elevated priestess a sacrificer of her unfortunate countrymen. The duty of Iphigenia is only to consecrate the victims<sup>4</sup>, and it has so happened that no Greek has been driven to the inhospitable coast, before the arrival of Orestes<sup>5</sup>. The mutual recognition of the brother and sister, the plan of flight, and the deep devotion of Orestes to his friend Pylades, sustain the interest of the piece, which has furnished materials for the greatest Tragedy of Pacuvius<sup>6</sup>, and for a singularly beautiful reproduction by Goethe<sup>7</sup>.

The *Supplices* makes the Argive ruler contract an alliance with Athens, by which all his descendants are to be bound<sup>8</sup>. This must surely refer to the treaty between Athens and Argos, brought about by Alcibiades in B.C. 420. For Euripides and Alcibiades were in some sort of connexion with one another. A few years previously (B.C. 424), Alcibiades had won the prize at Olympia, and Euripides had written the ode for him<sup>9</sup>. It is probable therefore that Euripides might use his stage-opportunities for recommending the political action of Alcibiades; and the general subject of the play, the services rendered by Theseus in procuring from the Thebans the interment of the Argive warriors, may have been intended to promote the newly established relations between Argos and Athens. The reference to the three classes in the state is quite in the spirit of Alcibiades himself<sup>10</sup>.

The *Andromache* describes the persecution of the widow of Hector, now married to Neoptolemus, by Menelaus and his daughter Hermione, the intervention of Peleus to protect her, the abduction of Hermione by Orestes, and the assassination of Neoptolemus by the latter. At the end Thetis appears *ex machina* to promise the

<sup>1</sup> 1096 sqq.<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. v. 32, cf. c. 1.<sup>3</sup> Hartung, II. p. 142.<sup>4</sup> v. 617 sqq.<sup>5</sup> v. 244 sqq.<sup>6</sup> The *Dulorestes*.<sup>7</sup> The *Iphigenie auf Tauris*.<sup>8</sup> v. 1192 sqq.<sup>9</sup> Plut. *Vit. Alcibiad.* c. 11.<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Suppl.* 247 with Thucyd. vi. 18, § 7.



deification of Peleus, and the future sovereignty of Andromache's descendants among the Molossi. There is a distinct reference in this play to the deceit into which the Spartan ambassadors were led by Alcibiades during the negotiations of B.C. 420<sup>1</sup>, and there seems little doubt that, as the *Supplices* recommends the alliance with Argos, the *Andromache* favours the rupture with Sparta, both brought about by Alcibiades in the same year; and both plays have been accordingly referred, with the *Œnomaus* and the former *Autolycus*, to a Tetralogy produced in B.C. 419<sup>2</sup>.

It is known that the *Troades* was brought out in B.C. 415 with the *Alexander*, the *Palamedes*, and the satyrical drama *Sisyphus*<sup>3</sup>. The play refers distinctly to the expedition to Sicily, which sailed in this year<sup>4</sup>; and it is not improbable that the whole Tetralogy was filled with allusions which would be transferred from the successful attack on Troy to the expected capture of Syracuse. There is no play even of Euripides which exhibits such a want of dramatic concentration. It is rather a series of incidents than the proper development of one leading idea. The allotment of Cassandra to Agamemnon, and her prophecies; the sacrifice of Polyxena, dismissed with a few words, because it had previously appeared in the *Hecuba*; the flinging of Astyanax from the walls of the city, and the sorrow of Andromache; the singular argumentation of Hecuba and Helen before Menelaus; and the final picture of the conflagration of Troy, form an unconnected succession of scenes, any one of which might have been worked up by dramatic genius into a complete play.

The six remaining Tragedies may be grouped in pairs.

That the *Electra* and the *Helena* were acted together with the *Andromeda* in B.C. 412, seems to be established by an adequate induction. For the *Andromeda* was acted eight years before the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes<sup>5</sup>, i.e. in B.C. 412. Then again, the *Helena* was acted with the *Andromeda*<sup>6</sup>. Finally, the conclusion of the *Electra* prepares the hearer for the new version of the history of Helen,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Thucyd. v. 45 with *Androm.* 445: λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν γλώσση, φρονούντες δ' ἄλλα.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung, II. p. 76 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Ælian, V. H. II. 8.

<sup>4</sup> v. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 53: ἡ γὰρ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόῳ ἔτει προῆκται.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. *Thesmoph.* 1012: συνδεδίδακται γὰρ (ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα) τῇ Ἑλένῃ.

which is given in the play of that name<sup>1</sup>, and the *Thesmophoriazusæ* of Aristophanes, which was brought out in B.C. 411, speaks of "the new Helen" with distinct reference to this play<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore tolerably certain that the *Electra* and *Helena* were connected plays, and were acted in B.C. 411. There is less reason for the supposition<sup>3</sup> that the *Busiris* was the satirical drama of this Tetralogy. In the *Electra*, as in the *Helena*, Euripides departs from the established traditions. The former heroine is married to a common countryman, and is exhibited as a good economical housewife. The motives for the murder of *Ægisthus* by *Clytæmnestra* are purely vindictive, and instead of being justified on religious grounds, the Dioscuri, who appear *ex machina* at the end, insinuate that Apollo, in recommending the deed, uttered an unwise oracle<sup>4</sup>. The *Helena* of Euripides gives us a modification of the view of Stesichorus<sup>5</sup>, which is quite at variance with that of Euripides himself in the *Troades*. The plot is occupied with the elopement of the innocent and injured heroine from Egypt, where she had resided, while the Greeks were fighting for her at Troy, and Menelaus, with the help of Theonoe, the prophetic sister of the Egyptian king, effects the escape of his wife from the Pharaoh who wished to marry her.

The *Orestes*, which was a tragi-comedy of the same class as the *Alcestis*<sup>6</sup>, was acted in the archonship of Diocles, B.C. 408<sup>7</sup>, and must have been the fourth play of the Tetralogy to which it belonged. The third play was the *Phænissæ*<sup>8</sup>. The other two

<sup>1</sup> 1280:

Πρωτέως γὰρ ἐκ δόμων  
ἦκει λιποῦσ' Αἴγυπτον, οὐδ' ἦλθεν Φρύγας·  
Ζεὺς δ', ὡς ἔρις γένοιτο καὶ φόνος βροτοῖς,  
εἰδῶλον Ἑλένης ἐξέπεμψ' ἐς Ἴλιον.

In v. 1347 there is probably an allusion to the fresh expedition to Syracuse under Demosthenes.

<sup>2</sup> 850: τὴν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην μιμήσομαι.

<sup>3</sup> Hartung, II. p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> *Electra*, 1244:

δίκαια μὲν νυν ἦδ' ἔχει· σὺ δ' οὐχὶ δρᾷς,  
Φοῖβός τε Φοῖβος, ἀλλ' ἀναξ γὰρ ἐστ' ἐμός,  
σιγῶ· σοφὸς δ' ὢν οὐκ ἐχρησέ σοι σοφά.

<sup>5</sup> According to Stesichorus Helen never left Greece, but it was her εἰδῶλον, φάσμα, which went to Troy. According to Euripides the gods formed a false Helen who went to Troy, while the true one was carried to the Egyptian king Proteus by Hermes.

<sup>6</sup> *Argum. alt.*: τὸ παρὸν δρᾶμα ἐκ τραγικοῦ κωμικόν. *Cod. Havn. ap. Matth.* vii. p. 114: παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐκβάλλεται ὃ τε Ὀρέστης καὶ ἡ Ἀλκηνστις... ἐστὶ μᾶλλον κωμωδίας ἐχόμενα.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. *Orest.* 371; cf. *ad.* 772.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 1481: ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ δράματι οὗτος φησιν ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῷ "Κάδμος ἔμολε" (i. e. *Phæniss.* 638).

were the *Antiope* and the *Hypsipyle*<sup>1</sup>. In the *Phænissæ* we have the same subject as that of the *Seven against Thebes* exhibited in the Euripidean style. At the same time, there are unmistakable indications of the writer's acquaintance with the *Œdipus Coloneus*. The introduction of Polyneices, the expulsion of Œdipus, and Antigone's resolve to accompany her father, were perhaps suggested by Sophocles; the determination to bury Polyneices comes from Æschylus. But Euripides has involved himself in a contradiction by making the expulsion of Œdipus subsequent to the mutual fratricide, so that one hardly sees how Antigone can perform the double part, which Sophocles has arranged for her without any such inconsistency. There are some fine scenes in the play. The altercation between the two brothers is spirited. The view of the besieging host from the roof of the palace is well conceived. And the death of Menœceus would be affecting, if it were not a mere repetition of the self-sacrifice of Macaria in the *Heracleidæ*. There is hardly any real Tragedy in the *Orestes*. The crazy matricide, about to be freed by the Argives and deserted by Menelaus on whom he had placed his reliance, seeks to avenge himself on Helen; and when she vanishes to heaven, he takes her daughter Hermione as a substitute, and is about to slay her, when the Dioscuri appear and command him to marry the damsel. The cowardice of the Phrygian slave is positively ludicrous, and was perhaps intended to excite the mirth of the audience.

After the death of Euripides in B.C. 406, the plays, which he wrote for representation in Macedonia—the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the *Alcmæon at Corinth*, the *Bacchæ*, and the *Archelaus*—were produced as new Tragedies at Athens by the younger Euripides, who was probably the nephew of the great Tragedian<sup>2</sup>. It is not improbable that they had been already performed at Pella, for the *Bacchæ* is full of allusions to Macedonian scenery<sup>3</sup>, and the *Iphigenia* may have been suggested to him during his stay in Magnesia on his route to the north<sup>4</sup>. These two plays, which have come

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 53: διὰ τί μὴ ἄλλο τι τῶν δι' ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλης, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης; ἐπεὶ δὴ οὐ συκοφαντητὰ ἦν τὰ τοιαῦτα.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 67, where the younger Euripides is called the son of his namesake. The Ἀλκμαίων διὰ Κορίνθου is so called to distinguish it from the Ἀλκμαίων διὰ Ψωφίδος acted together with the *Alcestis*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vv. 400 where read Πέλλαν. 565 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Vit. cod. Mediol. coll. Ambros.* Hartung, II. p. 510.

down to us, not without considerable mutilations, may be reckoned among the happiest dramatic efforts of Euripides. In the *Iphigenia*, Euripides excites our interest and touches our feelings by a very lively picture of the circumstances attending the sacrifice of the princess. Agamemnon's vain attempts to save his daughter, the knightly courage of Achilles, who is willing to fight the whole army on her behalf, the indignation of Clytæmnestra, and the self-devotion of Iphigenia, who, after pleading in the prettiest and most pathetic speech for her life, at last solves all the difficulties by offering herself as a voluntary sacrifice, form a dramatic development, which is found in few of the poet's earlier plays, and which has made this Tragedy a model both for Ennius, and for Racine and Schiller. The text unfortunately is not only mutilated but deformed by tasteless interpolations. The prologue, as it stands, is in a great state of confusion. It begins with a dialogue in anapæsts (vv. 1—48), then follows a monologue of the usual Euripidean style (vv. 49—114), after which the dialogue in anapæsts is resumed until the entrance of the chorus (v. 164)<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, it appears, from a quotation by Ælian<sup>2</sup>, that we have lost the epilogue, in which Artemis appeared and promised to make the sacrifice of Iphigenia illusory, and it has long been held that the concluding scene, as we have it, is an interpolation<sup>3</sup>. There are besides many corruptions in detail<sup>4</sup>. With the exception of some lacunæ in the last scene, the *Bacchæ* is in a much better state of preservation than the sister Tragedy. It details the miserable end of Pentheus, who stands alone in obstinate resistance to the worship of Bacchus, when all

<sup>1</sup> Hartung, in his edition of this play, Erlang. 1837, begins the first scene with Agamemnon's speech (v. 47), omitting the five concluding lines.

<sup>2</sup> *De Animal.* VII. 29 : ὁ δὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῇ 'Ιφιγενείᾳ

ἐλαφον δ' Ἀχαιῶν χερσὶν ἐνθήσω φίλαις [l. λάθρα]  
κεροῦσσαν, ἣν σφάζοντες αὐχέσουσι σὴν  
σφάζειν θυγάτερα.

From the use of the futures ἐνθήσω and αὐχέσουσι it has been supposed by some critics that these words must have been part of the prologue; but σὴν must refer to Clytæmnestra, who could not have been so addressed till the conclusion of the play.

<sup>3</sup> Porson, *Præf. Hec.* p. xxi. [18], speaking of the two readings of *Iph. Aul.* 1579, says: "si me rogas, utra harum vera sit lectio, respondeo, neutra. Nec quicquam mea refert; quippe qui persuasus sim, totam eam scenam abusque versu 1541 spuriam esse, et a recentiore quodam, nescio quando, certe post Æliani tempora, suppositam."

<sup>4</sup> See Böckh, *Gr. Tr. Princ.* c. xvii.; the editions of Hermann, Lips. 1831; Hartung, Erlang. 1837; Monk, Cantabr. 1840; also W. Dindorf, *Zeitsch. f. d. Alterthumswiss.* Nov. 1839; Seyffert, *de dupl. rec. Iph. A.*, Hal. 1831; Bartsch, *de Eur. Iph. A.* Vrat. 1837; Zirndorfer, *Diss. de Iph. A.* Marburg, 1838.

his family have yielded a willing assent to the new religion. This solemn warning against the dangers of a self-willed *θεομαχία* seems to have made this drama highly suggestive to those intelligent and educated Jews, who first had a misgiving with regard to the wisdom of their opposition to Christianity<sup>1</sup>. And the devout and religious tone of the play would almost make us suppose that Euripides himself, at the close of his life, had become converted from the sophistic scepticism of his earlier years<sup>2</sup>. It is probable that the *Bacchæ* was always a favourite play in Macedonia, where it was first produced. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, openly played the part of the mother of Pentheus<sup>3</sup>, and Alexander himself was able to make an apposite quotation from the text of this Tragedy<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This important reference was first made by the writer of these pages in a work entitled, *Christian Orthodoxy reconciled with the conclusions of modern Biblical Learning*, Lond. 1857, pp. 291—294.

<sup>2</sup> cf. vv. 200: οὐδὲν σοφίζομεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσι, κ.τ.λ.

v. 393: τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία,  
τό τε μὴ θνητὰ φρονεῖν  
βραχὺς αἰών.

v. 880: ὁρμᾶται μάλιστα ἀλλ' ὁμῶς  
πιστὸν τό γε θεῖον σθένος κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Id. *Ibid.* c. 53: εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι κατ' Εὐριπίδην· τὸν λαβόντα τῶν λόγων

καλὰς ἀφορμὰς οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν.

See *Bacch.* vv. 266, 267.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I. §§ 2, 3, 4.

## A. W. SCHLEGEL'S COMPARISON OF THE CHOËPHORÆ OF ÆSCHYLUS WITH THE ELECTRAS OF SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES.

THE relation which Euripides bears to his two great predecessors will be set in the clearest light by a comparison between their three plays, which happily are still extant, upon the same subject, namely, Clytæmnestra's death by the avenging hand of Orestes.

The scene of Æschylus' Choëphoræ is laid in front of the royal palace; the tomb of Agamemnon appears on the stage. Orestes enters with his trusty Pylades, and opens the play (which unhappily is somewhat mutilated at the beginning) with a prayer to Mercury and a promise of revenge to his father, to whom he consecrates a lock of his hair. He sees a procession of females clad in mourning attire issuing from the palace; and thinking he recognizes his sister among them, he steps aside with Pylades, to reconnoitre them before he shows himself. The Chorus, consisting of captive Trojan maidens, in a speech accompanied by gestures of woe, reveal the occasion of their mission to Agamemnon's tomb, namely, a frightful dream of Clytæmnestra's: they add their own dark presentiments of vengeance impending over the blood-guilty pair, and bewail their lot in being obliged to serve unrighteous lords. Electra consults the Chorus whether she shall do the bidding of her hostile mother, or pour out the offering in silence, and then by their advice she too addresses a prayer to infernal Mercury and the soul of her father, for herself and the absent Orestes, that he may appear as the avenger. During the pouring out of the libation, she and the Chorus make a lament for the departed hero. Presently, discovering the lock of hair, of a colour resembling her own, and foot-prints round about the tomb, she lights upon the conjecture that her brother has been there; and while she is beside herself with joy at the thought, he steps forward, and makes himself known. Her doubts he completely overcomes by producing a garment woven by her own hand; they abandon themselves to their joy; he addresses a prayer to Jupiter, and makes known how Apollo, under most terrible menaces of persecution by his father's furies, has called upon him to destroy the authors of Agamemnon's death, in the same manner as they had destroyed him, namely, by subtilty. Now follow odes of the Chorus and Electra, consisting partly of prayers to the deceased king and to the infernal deities, partly calling to mind all the motives to the act enjoined upon Orestes, and, above all, the murder of Agamemnon. Orestes inquires about the vision which induced Clytæmnestra to send the offerings, and is informed that she dreamed she had a child in the cradle, which child was a dragon which she laid to her breast, and suckled with her own blood. He, then, will be this dragon; and he explains more particularly how he will steal into the house as a disguised stranger, and take both Ægisthus and herself at unawares. With this intention he departs, accompanied by Pylades. The subject of the ensuing ode is, the boundless audacity of mankind, and especially of women in their unlawful passions; which it confirms with dreadful examples from mythic story, and shows how avenging Justice is sure to overtake them at last. Orestes, returning

as a stranger with Pylades, craves admission into the palace; Clytæmnestra comes out, and being informed by him that Orestes is dead, at which tidings Electra makes a show of lamentation, she invites him to enter and be her guest. After a short prayer of the Chorus, enters Orestes' nurse, and makes a lament for her nursling; the Chorus inspires her with a hope that he yet lives, and advises her to send Ægisthus, for whom Clytæmnestra has dispatched her, not with, but without, his body-guard. As the moment of danger draws near, the Chorus offers a petition to Jupiter and Mercury that the deed may prosper. Ægisthus enters, holding conversation with the messenger, cannot yet quite persuade himself of an event so joyful to him as Orestes' death, and therefore hastens into the house, where, after a short prayer of the Chorus, we hear his dying cry. A servant rushes out, and gives the alarm before the door of the women's abode, to warn Clytæmnestra. She hears it, comes out, calls for a hatchet to defend herself; but as Orestes without a moment's delay advances upon her with the bloody sword, her courage fails, and most affectingly she holds before him the breast at which she, his mother, suckled him. Hesitatingly he asks counsel of Pylades, who in a few lines urges him on by the most powerful considerations: after a brief dialogue of accusation and self-vindication, he drives her before him into the palace to slay her beside the corpse of Ægisthus. The Chorus, in a solemn ode, exults in the consummated retribution. The great doors of the palace are thrown open, and disclose, in the chamber, the slain pair laid together on a bed. Orestes orders the servants to unfold, that all may see it, the long trailing garment in which his father, as he drew it on and was muffled in its folds, received the murderous stroke of the axe: the Chorus beholds on it the stains of blood, and breaks out into a lamentation for Agamemnon's murder. Orestes, feeling that his soul is already becoming confused, avails himself of the time that is still left to vindicate his act: he declares that he will repair to Delphi, there to be purified from his blood-guiltiness, and forthwith flees, full of horror, before his mother's Furies, whom the Chorus does not yet see, and deem a phantom of his brain, but who leave him no more rest. The Chorus concludes the play with a reflection on the scene of murder thrice repeated in that royal house since the Thyestean banquet.

The scene of Sophocles' *Electra* is also laid in front of the palace, but without Agamemnon's tomb. At day-break enter as from abroad, Pylades, Orestes, and his keeper, who on that bloody day had been his preserver. The latter gives him instructions, as he introduces him to the city of his fathers: Orestes replies with a speech upon the commission given him by Apollo, and the manner in which he means to execute it, and then addresses a prayer to the gods of his native land, and to the house of his fathers. Electra is heard sobbing within; Orestes wishes to greet her immediately, but the old man leads him away to present an offering at the grave of his father. Electra comes out; in a pathetic address to heaven she pours forth her griefs, and, in a prayer to the infernal deities, her unappeased longing for revenge. The Chorus, consisting of virgins of the land, approaches to administer consolation. Electra, alternating song and speech with the Chorus, makes known her unabatable sorrow, the contumely of her oppressed life, her hopelessness on account of Orestes' many lingerings, notwithstanding her frequent exhortations, and gives faint hearing to the encouraging representations made by the Chorus. Chrysothemis, Clytæmnestra's younger, more submissive, and favourite daughter, comes with a grave-offering, which she is commissioned to bear to her father's sepulchre. An altercation arises between the sisters concerning their different sentiments: Chrysothemis tells Electra that Ægisthus, now absent in the country, has come to the severest resolu-



tions respecting her; to which the other bids defiance. Then she proceeds to relate how Clytæmnestra has had a dream that Agamemnon was come to life again, and planted his sceptre in the floor of the house, whence there sprang up a tree that overshadowed the whole land; whereby she was so terrified, that she commissioned her to be the bearer of this grave-offering. Electra advises her not to regard the commands of her wicked mother, but to offer at the tomb a prayer for herself, her brother and sister, and for the return of Orestes to take vengeance: she adds to the oblation her own girdle and a lock of her hair. Chrysothemis promises to follow her advice and departs. The Chorus augurs from the dream that retribution is nigh, and traces back the crimes committed in this house to the arch-sin of its first founder, Pelops. Clytæmnestra chides her daughter, to whom, however, perhaps from the effect of the dream, she is milder than usual: she justifies what she did to Agamemnon; Electra attacks her on that score, but without violent altercation on either side. After this, Clytæmnestra, standing beside the altar in front of the house, addresses her prayer to Apollo for welfare and long life, and secretly for the destruction of her son. Now enters the keeper of Orestes, and, in the character of messenger from a Phocian friend, announces the death of Orestes, entering withal into the most minute details, how he lost his life at the chariot-race in the Pythian games. Clytæmnestra scarcely conceals her exultation, although at first a touch of maternal feeling comes over her, and she invites the messenger to partake of the hospitality of her house. Electra, in touching speeches and songs, abandons herself to her grief; the Chorus in vain attempts to console her. Chrysothemis returns from the tomb overjoyed, with the assurance that Orestes is near at hand, for she has found there the lock of his hair, his drink-offering, and wreaths of flowers. Electra's despair is renewed by this account; she tells her sister the dreadful tidings which have just arrived, and calls upon her, now that no other hope is left them, to take part with her in a daring deed, and put Ægisthus to death; this proposal Chrysothemis, not possessing the courage, rejects as foolish, and, after a violent altercation, goes into the house. The Chorus bewails Electra now so utterly desolate; Orestes enters with Pylades and some servants who bear the urn which, it is pretended, contains the ashes of the dead youth. Electra prevails upon him by her entreaties to give it into her hands, and laments over it in the most touching speeches; by which Orestes is so overcome, that he can no longer conceal himself: after some preparation, he makes himself known to her, and confirms the discovery by showing her the signet-ring of their father. She gives vent, in speech and song, to her unbounded joy, until the old man comes out, rebukes them both for their imprudence, and warns them to refrain themselves. Electra with some difficulty recognizes in him the faithful servant to whom she had entrusted Orestes for preservation, and greets him thankfully. By the old man's advice, Orestes and Pylades hastily betake themselves with him into the house to surprise Clytæmnestra while she is yet alone. Electra offers a prayer in their behalf to Apollo: the ode of the Chorus announces the moment of retribution. From within the house is heard the shriek of the dismayed Clytæmnestra, her brief entreaties, her wailings under the death-blow. Electra, from without, calls upon Orestes to finish the deed: he comes out with bloody hands. The Chorus sees Ægisthus coming, and Orestes hastes back into the house to take him by surprise. Ægisthus inquires about the death of Orestes, and from Electra's equivocal replies is led to believe that his corpse is within the house. He therefore orders the doors to be thrown open to convince those among the people who bore him away with reluctance, that there is no more hope from Orestes. The middle entry is thrown open, and discloses in the

interior of the palace a covered body lying on a bed. Orestes stands beside it and bids Ægisthus uncover it: he suddenly beholds the bloody corpse of Clytæmnestra, and finds himself lost past redemption. He desires to be allowed to speak, which, however, Electra forbids. Orestes compels him to go into the house, that he may slay him on the selfsame spot where Ægisthus had murdered his father.

The scene of Euripides' *Electra* lies, not in Mycenæ, but on the borders of the Argolic territory, in the open country, in front of a poor solitary cottage. The inhabitant, an old peasant, comes out, and in the prologue tells the audience how matters stand in the royal house; partly what was known already, but moreover, that not content to treat Electra with ignominy and leave her unwedded, they had married her beneath her rank to him; the reasons he assigns for this procedure are strange enough, but he assures the audience he has too much respect for her to debase her in reality to the condition of his wife. They are therefore living in virgin wedlock. Electra comes out, before it is yet day-break, bearing on her head, which is shorn in servile fashion, a pitcher with which she is going to fetch water; her husband conjures her not to trouble herself with such unwonted labours, but she will not be kept from the performance of her housewifely duties, and the two depart, he to his work in the field, she upon her errand. Orestes now enters with Pylades, and in a speech to his friend states that he has already sacrificed at his father's grave, but that he does not venture into the city, but wishes to look about for his sister (who, he is aware, is married and lives hereabout on the frontier), that he may learn from her the posture of affairs. He sees Electra coming with the water-pitcher, and retires. She strikes up a song of lamentation over her own fate and that of her father. The Chorus, consisting of rustic women, comes and exhorts her to take part in a festival of Juno, which she however, in the dejection of her sorrow, and pointing to her tattered garments, declines. They offer to lend her a supply of holiday gear, but she is fixed in her purpose. She espies Orestes and Pylades in their lurking-place, takes them for robbers, and is about to flee into her cottage; upon Orestes coming forth and stopping her, she thinks he is going to kill her; he pacifies her and gives her tidings that her brother lives. Hereupon he inquires about her situation, and then the whole matter is drilled into the audience once more. Orestes still forbears to make himself known, but merely promises to do Electra's commission to her brother, and testifies his sympathy as a stranger. The Chorus think this too good an opportunity to be lost of gratifying their own ears also with a little news from town; whereupon Electra, after describing her own miserable condition, depicts the wanton and insolent behaviour of her mother and Ægisthus: this wretch, she says, capers upon Agamemnon's grave and pelts it with stones. The peasant returns from his work, and finds it not a little indecorous in his wife to be gossiping with young men; but when he hears they are the bearers of intelligence from Orestes, he invites them into his house in the most friendly manner. Orestes, at sight of this worthy man, enters into a train of moral reflections, how often it does happen that the most estimable men are found in low families, and under an unpromising exterior. Electra reproves her husband for inviting them, knowing as he does that they have nothing in the house; he is of opinion that even were it so, the strangers would goodnaturedly put up with it; but a good housewife can always manage to get together all sorts of dishes, her stores will surely hold out for one day. She sends him to Orestes' old keeper, and former preserver, who lives hard by in the country, to bid him come and bring along with him something for their entertainment. The peasant departs with saws upon riches and moderation. Off flies the Chorus into an ode upon the expedi-

tion of the Greeks against Troy, proluxly describes all that was graven on the shield of Achilles which his mother Thetis brought him, but winds it up however with the wish that Clytæmnestra may be punished for her wickedness.

The old keeper, who finds it right hard work to climb up-hill to the house, brings Electra a lamb, a cheese, and a skin of wine; hereupon he falls a weeping, not forgetting, of course, to wipe his eyes with his tattered garments. In replying to Electra's questions, he relates how at the grave of Agamemnon he had found traces of an oblation together with a lock of hair, and therefore he conjectures that Orestes has been there. Hereupon ensues an allusion to the mode of recognition used by Æschylus, namely by the resemblance of the hair, the size of the foot-marks, the garment, which are demonstrated, all and several, to be absurd. The seeming improbability of the Æschylean anagnorisis perhaps admits of being cleared up; at all events one may easily let it pass; but a reference like this, to another author's treatment of the same subject, is the most annoying interruption, the most alien from genuine poetry that can possibly be. The guests come out; the old keeper recognises Orestes with a scrutinizing eye, knows him, and convinces even Electra that it is he, by a scar on his eyebrow received from a fall in his childhood—so this is the superb invention for which Æschylus' is to be cashiered!—they embrace, and abandon themselves to their joy during a short ode of the Chorus. In a lengthy dialogue, Orestes, the old man, and Electra concert their plans. Ægisthus, the old man knows, has gone into the country to sacrifice to the Nymphs: there Orestes will steal in as a guest and fall upon him by surprise. Clytæmnestra, for fear of evil tongues, has not gone with him: Electra offers to entice her mother to them by the false intelligence of her being in childbed. The brother and sister now address their united prayers to the gods and their father's shade for a happy issue. Electra declares she will make away with herself if it should miscarry, and for that purpose will have a sword in readiness. The old man departs with Orestes to conduct him to Ægisthus, and afterwards to betake himself to Clytæmnestra. The Chorus sings the Golden Ram, which Thyestes stole from Atreus by the help of the treacherous wife of the latter, and how he was punished for it by the feast made for him with his own children's flesh, at the sight of which the Sun turned out of his course: a circumstance, however, concerning which the Chorus, as it sapiently adds, is very sceptical. From a distance is heard a noise of tumult and groans, Electra thinks her brother is overcome, and is going to kill herself. But immediately there comes a messenger, who, proluxly and with divers jokes, relates the manner of Ægisthus' death. Amidst the rejoicing of the Chorus, Electra fetches a wreath with which she crowns her brother, who holds in his hand the head of Ægisthus by the hair. This head she in a long speech upbraids with its follies and crimes, and says to it, among other things, "it is never well to marry a woman with whom one has lived before in illicit intercourse; that it is an unseemly thing when a woman has the mastery in the family," &c. Clytæmnestra is seen approaching, Orestes is visited by scruples of conscience concerning his purpose of putting a mother to death, and concerning the authority of the oracle, but is induced by Electra to betake himself into the cottage there to accomplish the deed. The queen comes in a superb chariot hung with tapestry, and attended by her Trojan female slaves. Electra would help her to descend, but this she declines. Thereupon she justifies what she had done to Agamemnon by reference to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and requires her daughter to make her objections; all which is in order to give Electra an opportunity of holding a captious, quibbling harangue, in which, among other things, she upbraids her mother with having sat

before her mirror, and studied her toilette too much while Agamemnon was away. Clytæmnestra is not angry, although Electra plainly declares her purpose of putting her to death if ever she should have the power; she inquires about her daughter's confinement, and goes into the cottage to perform the ceremonies of purification. Electra accompanies her with a sarcastic speech. Then we have a choral ode upon retribution, the cry of the murdered woman within the house, and the brother and sister return stained with blood. They are full of remorse and despair at what they have done, afflict themselves by repeating to each other their mother's lamentable speeches and gestures; Orestes will flee into foreign lands, Electra asks "who will marry me now?" The Dioscuri, their uncles, appear in the air, vituperate Apollo for his oracle, command Orestes, in order to secure himself from the Furies, to go and have himself tried by the Areopagus; they also prophesy his further destinies. They then ordain a marriage between Electra and Pylades, her first husband to be taken with them to Phocis and handsomely provided for. After reiterated wailings, the brother and sister take a life-long farewell of each other, and the play comes to an end.

It is easy to perceive, that Æschylus has grasped the subject on its most terrific side, and borne it back into the domain of the gloomy deities, in which he so much delights to take up his abode. Agamemnon's grave is the murky centre, whence the avenging retribution emanates; his gloomy ghost, the soul of the whole poem. The very obvious exterior imperfection, of the play's dwelling too long on one point without perceptible progress, becomes in fact a true interior perfection: it is the hollow stillness of expectation before a storm or earthquake. It is true there is much repetition in the prayers, but their very accumulation gives the impression of a great unheard-of purpose, to which human powers and motives alone are inadequate. In the murdering of Clytæmnestra and in her heartrending speeches, the poet, without disguising her crimes, has gone to the utmost verge of all that he had a right to demand of our feelings. The crime which is to be punished is kept in view from the very first by the tomb, and at the conclusion is brought still nearer to the eye of memory by the unfolding of the fatal garment: thus Agamemnon, even after full revenge, is murdered, as it were, afresh before the mental eye. Orestes' betaking himself to flight betrays no undignified remorse or weakness; it is only the inevitable tribute which he must pay to offended Nature.

How admirably Sophocles has managed the subject I need only remark in general terms. What a beautiful preface he has made, in those introductory scenes to that mission of Clytæmnestra's to the tomb with which Æschylus begins at once! With what polished ornament he has invested the whole, for example in the story of the games! How skilfully he husbands the pathos of Electra—first, general expressions of woe, then, hopes derived from the dream, their annihilation by the intelligence of Orestes' death, new hopes suggested by Chrysothemis only to be rejected, and, last of all, the mourning over the urn! The noble spirit of Electra is finely set off by the contrast with her tamer sister. Indeed the poet has given quite a new turn to the subject by directing the interest principally to Electra. A noble pair he has made of this brother and sister; allotting to the female character invincible constancy and devotedness, the heroism of endurance; to the male, the beautiful vigour of a hero's youthful prime. To this the old man in his turn opposes thoughtfulness and experience: the circumstance that both poets leave Pylades silent<sup>1</sup> is an instance how greatly ancient art disdained all useless redundancy.

<sup>1</sup> [Pylades speaks in the *Choeph.* 900 sqq.—]

But what especially characterizes the tragedy of Sophocles, is the heavenly serenity amid a subject so terrific, the pure breath of life and youth which floats through the whole. The radiant god Apollo, who enjoined the deed, seems to shed his influence over it; even the day-break at the opening of the play is significant. The grave and the world of shades are kept afar off in the distance; what in *Æschylus* is effected by the soul of the murdered monarch, proceeds here from the heart of the living Electra, which is gifted with equal energy for indignant hatred and for love. Remarkable is the avoidance of every gloomy foreboding in the very first speech of Orestes, where he says, he feels no concern at being thought to be dead, so long as he knows himself to be alive in sound health and strength. Nor is he visited either before or after the deed by misgivings and compunctions of conscience; so that all that concerns his purpose and act is more sternly sustained in Sophocles than in *Æschylus*; the terrific stroke of theatrical effect in the person of *Ægisthus*, and the reserving this person to await an ignominious execution at the end of the play, is even more austere than any thing in *Æschylus*' play. The most striking emblem of the relation the two poets bear to each other is afforded by Clytæmnestra's dreams: both are equally apt, significant, ominous; *Æschylus*' is grander but horrible to the senses; that of Sophocles, terrible and majestically beautiful withal.

Euripides' play is a singular instance of poetical or rather unpoetical obliquity; to expose all its absurdities and contradictions would be an endless undertaking. Why, for instance, does Orestes badger his sister by keeping up his incognito so long? How easy the poet makes his labour, when, if any thing stands in his way, he just shoves it aside without further ceremony—as here the peasant, of whom, after he has sent up the old keeper, nobody knows where he is all this while! The fact is, partly Euripides wanted to be novel, partly he thought it too improbable that Orestes and Pylades should despatch the king and his wife in the midst of their capital city; to avoid this he has involved himself in still grosser improbabilities. If there be in the play any relish whatever of the tragic vein, it is not his own, it belongs to the fable, to his predecessors, and to tradition. Through his views it has ceased at least to be a tragedy; he has laboured every way to lower it down to the level of a “family-picture,” as the modern phrase is. The effect attempted in Electra's indigence is sad claptrap: he betrays the knack of his craft in her complacent ostentation of her own misery. In all the preparatives to the deed there is utter levity of mind and want of inward conviction: it is a gratuitous torturing of one's feelings that *Ægisthus* with his expressions of goodnatured hospitality, and Clytæmnestra with her kindly compassion towards her daughter, are set in an amiable point of view, just to touch us in their behalf: the deed is no sooner accomplished but it is obliterated by a most despicable repentance, a repentance which is no moral feeling at all, but a mere animal revulsion. Of the calumniations of the Delphian oracle I shall say nothing. As the whole play is annihilated thereby, I cannot see for what end Euripides wrote it at all, except it were that a comfortable match might be got up for Electra, and that the old peasant might make his fortune as a reward for his continency. I could only wish Pylades were married out of hand, and the peasant fingered a specified sum of money told out to him upon the spot in hard cash: in that case all would end to the audience's satisfaction like a common comedy.

Not to be unjust however, I must add the remark, that the *Electra* is perhaps of all Euripides' extant plays the very vilest. Was it rage for novelty that led him here into such vagaries? No doubt it was a pity that in this subject two such predecessors had forestalled him. But what forced him to measure himself with them, and to write an *Electra* at all?

## CHAPTER I.

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### SECTION V.

#### AGATHON AND THE REMAINING TRAGEDIANS.

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Ἐπιφυλλίδες ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ στωμύλματα,  
Χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωβηταὶ τέχνης,  
Ἄ φροῦδα θᾶπτον, ἦν μόνον χορὸν λάβη.

ARISTOPHANES.

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IN addition to the seven Tragedians, of whom we have attempted to give some account, a list of thirty-four names of tragic poets, so called, has been drawn up<sup>1</sup>. Of these, very few are worthy of even the slightest mention, and we have but scanty information respecting those few, of whom we might have wished to know more.

ION, the son of Orthomenes of Chios, was, according to Suidas, not only a tragedian, but a lyric poet and philosopher also. He began to exhibit in B.C. 451, and wrote twelve, thirty, or forty dramas. The names of eleven have been collected<sup>2</sup>. He gained the third prize when Euripides was first with the *Hippolytus* in B.C. 428<sup>3</sup>. He wrote, not only Tragedies, but elegies<sup>4</sup>, dithyrambs<sup>5</sup>, and an account of the visits paid by eminent men to his native island<sup>6</sup>. Though he did not exhibit till after Euripides had commenced his dramatic career, and though he was, like that poet, a friend of Socrates<sup>7</sup>, we should be inclined to infer, from his having written dithyrambs, that he belonged to an earlier age of the

<sup>1</sup> By Clinton, *P. H.* II. pp. xxxii.—xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> By Bentley (*Epistola ad Millium.*)

<sup>4</sup> Athenæus, X. p. 436.

<sup>6</sup> Athenæus, III. p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Argum. Hippolyti.*

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *Pax*, 798.

<sup>7</sup> Diogenes Laert. II. p. 23.



dramatic art, and that his plays were free from the corruptions which Euripides had introduced into Greek Tragedy: it is, indeed, likely that a foreigner would copy rather from the old models, than from modern innovations. He died before Euripides, for he was dead when Aristophanes brought out the *Peace*<sup>1</sup> (B.C. 419). From an anecdote mentioned by Athenæus, that he presented each Athenian citizen with a Chian vase, on one occasion, when he gained the tragic prize<sup>2</sup>, we may infer that he was a man of fortune.

ARISTARCHUS, of Tegea, who first exhibited in B.C. 454, deserves to be mentioned as having furnished models for the imitations of Ennius.

ACHÆUS, of Eretria, must also be considered as belonging to an earlier age of the tragic art than Euripides, whose senior he was by four years. He wrote forty-four, thirty, or twenty-four dramas, but only gained one tragic victory<sup>3</sup>. His countryman Menedemus considered him the best writer of satirical dramas after Æschylus<sup>4</sup>.

AGATHON was, like his friend Euripides, a dramatic sophist. He is best known to us from his appearance in the *Banquet* of Plato, which is supposed to have been held at his house on the day after the celebration of his tragic victory. This appears to have taken place at the Lenæa, in the archonship of Euphemius, B.C. 416<sup>5</sup>. He is introduced to us by Plato as a well-dressed, handsome young man, courted by the wealth and wisdom of Athens, and exercising the duties of hospitality with all the ease and refinement of modern politeness. In the *Epideixis*, in praise of love, which he is there made to pronounce, we are presented with the artificial and rhetorical expressions which his friend<sup>6</sup> Aristophanes attributes to his style<sup>7</sup>, and which we might

<sup>1</sup> Schol. *Pac.* 837: ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἴων ἤδη τέθνηκε, δῆλον.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, I. p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. II. p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Athenæus, V. p. 217 A: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ἀθηναῖοις.

<sup>6</sup> It will be recollected, that Aristophanes is introduced at Plato's *Banquet* among the other intimates of Agathon.

<sup>7</sup> Μέλλει γὰρ ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων  
Δρυόχους τιθέναι, δράματος ἀρχάς.



have expected from a pupil of Gorgias<sup>1</sup>. Aristotle tells us<sup>2</sup> that he was the first to introduce into his dramas arbitrary choral songs, which had nothing to do with the subject; and it appears from the same author that he sometimes wrote pieces with fictitious names, which Schlegel justly concludes were something between the idyl and the newest form of Comedy<sup>3</sup>. He was residing at the court of Archelaus when Euripides died<sup>4</sup>: the cause of his departure from Athens is not known. He is represented as a delicate and effeminate person in Aristophanes' play, called the *Θεσμοφορίάζουσαι*<sup>5</sup>; and it is, perhaps, only the intimacy subsisting between Aristophanes and him which has gained for him the affectionate tribute of esteem which the comedian puts into the mouth of Bacchus<sup>6</sup>, and has saved him from the many strictures which he deserved, both as a poet and as a man. The time of his death is not recorded.

XENOCLES, though he is called an execrable poet<sup>7</sup>, gained a tragic prize with a Trilogy, over the head of Euripides, in B.C. 415<sup>8</sup>. He was the son of CARCINUS, a tragedian of whom nothing is known, and is continually ridiculed by Aristophanes. His brothers, Xenotimus and Demotinus or Xenoclitus, were choral dancers.

Κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἀψίδας ἐπῶν·  
Τὰ δὲ τορνεύει, τὰ δὲ κολλομελεῖ,  
Καὶ γνωμοτυπεῖ, κἀντονομάζει,  
Καὶ κηροχυτεῖ, καὶ γογγύλλει,  
Καὶ χοανεύει. *Thesmoph.* 49.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the *Banquet* that he was Gorgias' pupil: his imitation of Gorgias is mentioned by Philostratus, *de Soph.* I.: 'Αγάθων ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητῆς ὃν ἡ κωμῶδία σοφῶν τε καὶ καλλιερῆ οἶδε (in allusion to the last quotation) πολλαχοῦ τῶν λαμβείων γοργιάζει: and by the Clarkian Scholiast on Plato (Gaisford, p. 173): ἐμμεῖτο δὲ τὴν κομψότητα τῆς λέξεως Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόμενα οὐ μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου, ἢ ἄλλης τραγωδίας ἐστὶ· δι' ὃ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσι, πρώτου ἀρξάντος Ἀγάθωνος τοιούτου. *Aristot. Poet.* XVIII. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Lect. v. ad fin.* One of these was called the *Flower*. *Aristot. Poet.* IX. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran.* 85; *Ælian, V. H.* II. 21, XIII. 4; *Clark. Schol. Plato.* p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> *Thesmoph.* 29 sqq. 191, 192.

<sup>6</sup> *Ran.* 84: 'Ηρ. Ἀγάθων δὲ ποῦστιν; Δι. ἀπολιπὼν μ' ἀποίχεται,  
'Αγαθὸς ποιητῆς καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.

<sup>7</sup> *Aristoph. Ran.* 86; *Thesm.* 169.

<sup>8</sup> *Ælian, V. H.* II. 8. On 'the son of Cleomachus' (*Athen.* XIV. 638 F) who defeated Sophocles, see *Meineke, Fragm. Com. Ant.* p. 28; *Müller, Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 505 (new. ed.).

IOPHON, the son of Sophocles, is described by Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> as a man whose powers were, at the time of his father's death, not yet sufficiently proved to enable a critic to determine his literary rank. He appears, however, to have been a creditable dramatist, and gained the second prize in 428 B.C., when Euripides was first and Ion third<sup>2</sup>.

EUPHORION, the son of Æschylus, deserves to be mentioned as having obtained the first prize, when Sophocles gained the second, and Euripides the third. He probably produced, on this occasion, one of his father's posthumous Tragedies, with which he is said to have conquered four times. He did, however, occasionally bring out Tragedies of his own composing<sup>3</sup>.

EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES, the nephew and grandson respectively of their namesakes, are said to have exhibited, either for the first or for the second time, some of the dramas of their relatives. The younger Sophocles reproduced the *Œdipus at Colonus*, in 401 B.C.<sup>4</sup>; and first contended in his own name 396 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Euripides the younger is said to have published an edition of Homer<sup>6</sup>.

MELETUS, the accuser of Socrates, is stated to have been a tragedian<sup>7</sup>, and a writer of drinking songs<sup>8</sup>. Œdipus was the subject of one of his plays<sup>9</sup>.

CHÆREMON, who flourished about B.C. 380, was celebrated for his *Centaur*, in which he mixed up the drama with the styles of epic and lyric poetry then fashionable<sup>10</sup>. He had a great talent for description, but his works were better suited for the closet than for the stage<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ran.* 73 sqq.    <sup>2</sup> *Arg. Hippolyti.*    <sup>3</sup> Suidas, v. Εὐφορίων. *Argument. Medæ.*

<sup>4</sup> Elms. *ad Bacch.* p. 14, and Suidas.

<sup>5</sup> Diodor. Sic. xiv. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. *Ran.* 1337: τραγικὸς ποιητὴς ὁ Μέλητος· οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Σωκράτη γραψάμενος· κωμῳδεῖται δὲ ὡς ψυχρὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει καὶ ὡς πονηρὸς τὸν τρόπον.

<sup>8</sup> *Ran.* 1297.

<sup>9</sup> Gaisford, *Lect. Platon.* p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> Aristot. *Poet.* i.; Athenæus, xiii. p. 608.

<sup>11</sup> Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12.

SOSICLES, of Syracuse, gained seven victories, and wrote seventy-three Tragedies. He flourished in the reigns of Philip and Alexander of Macedon<sup>1</sup>.

The tyrants CRITIAS and DIONYSIUS the elder, and the rhetorician THEODECTES obtained some eminence as Tragedians.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, seven tragic poets flourished at Alexandria, who were called the *Pleias*<sup>2</sup>; their names were, HOMERUS, SOSITHEUS, LYCOPHRON, ALEXANDER ETOLUS, ÆANTIDES, SOSIPHANES, and PHILISCUS<sup>3</sup>. It is quite uncertain, however, how far their works possessed an independent and original character; it is probable that the best of these tragedies were servile imitations of the great Attic models<sup>4</sup>, and some of them may have been mere *centos*, not altogether unlike the *Christus Patiens* of Gregorius Nazianzenus<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas. He is not in Clinton's list.

<sup>2</sup> The Alexandrian custom of making *Pleiads* or groups of seven for "the stars" of the day, is shown also by the well-known enumeration of the seven wonders of the world.

<sup>3</sup> The authorities do not agree in their lists of these tragedians. There are four different catalogues (Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 502); Homerus, Philiscus, and Lycophron appear in all four; Alexander Ætolus and Sositheus in three; Æantides has three testimonies, and Sosiphanes has two; and Dionysides, who is substituted for Sosiphanes in one of the lists, is attested by Strabo, XIV. p. 675.

<sup>4</sup> In the list of Lycophron's tragedies we have two plays entitled *Ædipus*, and others called *Æolus*, *Andromeda*, *Hercules*, *Supplices*, *Hippolytus*, *Pentheus*.

<sup>5</sup> "The Alexandrine scholars also took to manufacturing tragedies; but if we may form a judgment from the only extant specimen, Lycophron's *Alexandra*, which consists of an interminable monologue, full of vaticination and lumbered with obscure mythology, these productions of a would-be-poetical dilettantism were utterly lifeless, untheatrical, and every way flat and unprofitable. The creative power of the Greeks in this department was so completely defunct, that they were obliged to content themselves with repetitions of the old masterpieces." On the *Alexandra*, which was not a tragedy, as Schlegel supposes, see *Hist. Lit. Gr.* II. pp. 437 foll.

## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE GREEK COMEDIANS.

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#### SECTION I.

#### THE COMEDIANS WHO PRECEDED OR WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH ARISTOPHANES.

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*Quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est.*

HORATIUS.

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FROM the first exhibition of Epicharmus to the last of Posidippus, the first and last of the Greek comedians, is a period of about 250 years; and between these two poets, one hundred and four authors are enumerated<sup>1</sup>, who are all said to have written Comedies. The claims of some of these, however, to the rank of comedians are very doubtful, and two who are contained in the list, Sophron and his son Xenarchus, were mimographers, and as such, were not only not comedians, but hardly dramatists at all, in the Greek sense of the word.

It has been already mentioned that Greek Comedy did not attain to a distinct literary form until it became Athenian; and that, in its Attic form, it presents itself in three successive varieties—the Old, the Middle, and the New Comedy. The Sicilian Comedy, which, in some of its features, resembled the Middle, rather than the Old Comedy, found its origin in the same causes as the latter, being immediately connected with the old farces of Megara and the rustic buffooneries, which were common to the whole of Greece. The absence, indeed, of a distinct political reference deprived it of that ingredient which gave its greatest significance to the plays of Aristophanes and his principal Athenian contemporaries during

<sup>1</sup> By Clinton, *F. H.* II. pp. xxxvi—xlvi.

the first half of the Peloponnesian war, and on this account we cannot class the dramatic efforts of the Siceliotes with those of the Attic poets. But the Sicilian Comedy comes first in chronological order, and Aristotle connects Crates with Epicharmus. Before therefore we speak of the Attic comedians, we must give some account of Epicharmus and his school.

EPICARMUS, the son of Helothales, whom Theocritus calls the inventor of Comedy<sup>1</sup>, and who, according to Plato<sup>2</sup>, bore the same relation to Comedy that Homer did to Tragedy, was a native of Cos<sup>3</sup> and went to Sicily with Cadmus, the son of Scythes, about the year 488 B.C. After residing a short time at the Sicilian Megara<sup>4</sup>, he was removed to Syracuse along with the other inhabitants of that town, when it was conquered by Gelo in B.C. 484. Diogenes Laertius states that Epicharmus was only three months old when he went first to Sicily: but this is contradicted by his own statement, that the poet was one of the auditors of Pythagoras<sup>5</sup>, who died in 497 B.C., by the statement of Aristotle<sup>6</sup>, that he was long before Chionides and Magnes, and by the fact that he was a man of influence in the reign of Hiero, who died eighteen years after the date of Epicharmus' arrival in Sicily. Besides being a Pythagorean and a comic poet, he is said to have been a physician, as was also his brother. This has been considered an additional proof of his Coan origin<sup>7</sup>. He was ninety

<sup>1</sup> Ἄ τε φωνὰ Δώριος, χώνηρ, ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν  
Εὐρώων Ἐπίχαρμος.  
Ὡ Βάκχε, χάλκεόν νιν ἀντ' ἀλαθινοῦ  
Τιν ὦδ' ἀνέθηκαν,  
Τοὶ Συρακόσσαις ἐνίδρυνται Πελωρεῖς τῇ πόλει,  
Οἱ ἄνδρ' ἰ πολίται,  
Σωρὸν γὰρ εἶχε χρημάτων, μεμναμένοι  
Τελεῖν ἐπίχειρα.  
Πολλὰ γὰρ ποττὰν ζοᾶν τοῖς παισὶν εἶπε χρήσιμα.  
Μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ. *Εἰρη.* XVII.

<sup>2</sup> *Theætet.* p. 152 E: οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος.

<sup>3</sup> *Diog. Laert.* VIII. 78.

<sup>4</sup> See Müller, *Dorians*, I. 8, § 5, note (q), and IV. 7, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Diog. u. s.*: καὶ οὗτος ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρου.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐκεῖθεν [ἐκ Σικελίας] γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς, πολλῶ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος. *Arist. Poet.* III. 5.—Chionides, on the authority of Suidas and Eudocia, began to exhibit B.C. 487: Aristotle's expression, πολλῶ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου, would therefore almost induce us to carry back the date of Epicharmus' first Comedy still higher than B.C. 500.

<sup>7</sup> Müller, *Dor.* IV. 7, § 2.

or ninety-seven years old when he died<sup>1</sup>. The Comedies of Epicharmus<sup>2</sup> were partly parodies of mythological subjects, and as such, not very different from the dialogue of the satirical drama; partly political, and in this respect may have furnished a model for the dialogue of the old Athenian Comedy. He must have made some advance towards the Comedy of Character, if it be true that the *Menæchmi* of Plautus was founded upon one of his plays<sup>3</sup>, and Müller has therefore well remarked<sup>4</sup>, that although "the Sicilian Comedy in its artistic development preceded the Attic by about a generation, yet the transition to the *middle* Attic Comedy, as it is called, is easier from Epicharmus than from Aristophanes, who appears very unlike himself in the play which tends towards the form of the Middle Comedy." It is not stated expressly that he had choruses in his Comedies; it seems, however, probable from the title of one of them (the *Κωμασταί*) that he had<sup>5</sup>.

His style was not less varied than his subjects; for while, on the one hand, he indulged in the wildest buffoonery, he was fond, on the other hand, of making his characters discourse most philosophically on all topics, and we may discern in many of his remaining lines that moral and gnomic element which contributed so much to the formation of the dialogue in the Attic Tragedy<sup>6</sup>. Aristotle charges him with using false antithesis<sup>7</sup>, the effect perhaps of his acquaintance with the forced and artificial rhetoric of the Sicilians. The titles of thirty-five of his Comedies are known<sup>8</sup>.

Although Epicharmus is mentioned as the inventor of Comedy,

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. (VIII. 78) gives the former number; Lucian (Macrob. xxv.) the latter.

<sup>2</sup> On the nature of the Comedy of Epicharmus, see Müller, *Dor.* IV. 7, §§ 2, 3, 4; *Hist. Lit. Gr.* II. pp. 44 [56 new ed.] sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Prolog. Menæchm.* 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Lit. Gr.* II. p. 46 [59 new ed.].

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> See the passages in Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. xxxvi. note (g).

<sup>7</sup> *Rhetoric*, III. 9.

<sup>8</sup> These titles are as follows:

1. 'Αλκυών, 2. 'Αμυκος, 3. 'Αταλάνται, 4. Βάκχαι, 5. Βούσιρις, 6. Γὰ καὶ Θάλασσα, 7. Διώνυσοι, 8. 'Ελπίς ἢ Πλούτος, 9. 'Ηβας γάμος, 10. 'Ηρακλῆς Παράφορος, 11. Κύκλωψ, 12. Κωμασταὶ ἢ 'Ηφαιστος, 13. Μέγαρις, 14. Μοῦσαι, 15. Νιόβης γάμος, 16. 'Οδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος, 17. 'Οδυσσεὺς ναυαγός, 18. Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς, 19. Σειρήνες, 20. Σκίρων, 21. Σφίγξ, 22. Τρῶες, 23. Φιλοκτήτης, 24. 'Αγρωστῖνοι, 25. 'Αρπαγαί, 26. Δίφιλοι, 27. 'Εορτή, 28. Θεωροί, 29. Λόγος ἢ Λογική, 30. Νᾶσοι, 31. 'Ορύα, 32. Περίαλλοι, 33. Πύρροι, 34. Πίθων, 35. Χύτραι. See Fabricius, II. p. 300, Harles, where however there are some repetitions of names.

it is probable that PHORMIS<sup>1</sup>, or Phormus<sup>2</sup>, preceded him by a few Olympiads; for he was the tutor to the children of Gelon, Hiero's predecessor. He is supposed to have been the same with the Phormis of Mænalus, who distinguished himself in the service of Gelo and Hiero in a military capacity<sup>3</sup>. From the titles of his plays, it is presumed that they were mythological parodies<sup>4</sup>. He is said to have been the first to cover the stage with purple skins<sup>5</sup>.

DINOLOCHUS, according to Suidas the son, according to others the scholar of Epicharmus, flourished about B.C. 487. He was a native of Syracuse or Agrigentum: probably he was born at the latter place, and represented at Syracuse. Ælian says he contended with Epicharmus<sup>6</sup>.

While the Doric Comedy was rapidly advancing to perfection in Sicily, a comic drama originally perhaps of much the same kind, sprang up in Attica. This was the old Comedy, which was represented by a list of forty poets, and some three hundred plays, including in the calculation the great name of Aristophanes. Reserving him and his works for a separate chapter we shall here enumerate the leading poets of the old Comedy, who were his predecessors or contemporaries.

CHIONIDES, who is called the first writer of the old Athenian Comedy, was a contemporary of the Sicilian comedians<sup>7</sup>. To judge from the three titles which have come down to us—the *Ἡρώες*, *Πέρσαι ἢ Ἀσσυριοί*, and the *Πτωχοί*, we should conclude that his Comedies had a political reference, and were full of personal satire; and, from an allusion in Vitruvius<sup>8</sup>, we may infer,

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Poet.* III. 5; V. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, XIV. 652 A; Suidas Φόρμος.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. V. 27, 1. Bentley thinks he is the same with the poet: not so Müller, *Dor.* IV. 7, § 2, note (g).

<sup>4</sup> Three of them were called *Κεφαῖος*, *Ἀλκυόνες*, and *Ἰλίου πόρθησις*.

<sup>5</sup> Suid. Comp. Aristot. *Ethic.* IV. 2, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ælian, *H. A.* VI. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, s. v. *Χίωνιδης*, says that he was the *πρωταγωνιστὴς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας*, and that he exhibited eight years before the Persian war, i. e. in B. C. 488. Aristotle therefore, or rather, his interpolator (*Poet.* III. 5), must be misinformed when he says that Epicharmus flourished long before Chionides and Magnes.

<sup>8</sup> "Hæc ita esse plures philosophi dixerunt, non minus etiam poetæ, qui antiquas



that they were gnomie like those of Epicharmus. The same appears to have been the character of the Comedies of his countryman and contemporary MAGNES, from whom Aristophanes borrowed the titles of two of his plays, the *Βάτραχοι* and *Ὀρνίθες*, and perhaps the form of all of them. Magnes gained many victories in his younger days: but when he was old, says Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>, he was cast aside, merely because the edge of his satire was blunted.

Of ECPHANTIDES we know little more than that for some doubtful reason he was called *Καπνίος*<sup>2</sup>, and that he was one of the oldest and most celebrated of the early comedians. We have the title of only one of his plays, the *Σάτυροι*<sup>3</sup>. The *Πύραυρος*, mentioned as a play of *Ἐμφάνης*, has been assigned to him; but the true reading is probably *Ἀντιφάνης*<sup>4</sup>.

CRATINUS, the son of Callimedes, was born at Athens, B.C. 519<sup>5</sup>. It is stated that he succeeded Magnes; he must, therefore, have commenced his dramatic career late in life<sup>6</sup>. We do not know the date of any of his Comedies earlier than the *Ἀρχίλοχοι*: and since allusion was made in that Comedy to the death of Cimon (B.C. 449), it must have been represented after that event<sup>7</sup>. By a decree prohibiting Comedy, which was passed in the year 440 B.C., and was not repealed till the year 436 B.C., he was prevented from producing any Comedies or plays in that interval<sup>8</sup>. After the repeal of this decree in 436 B.C. Cratinus gained three comic victories. In 425 B.C. he was second, with the *Χειμαζόμενοι*, Aristophanes being first with the *Ἀχαρνῆς*, and Eupolis third with the *Νουμηνίαι*<sup>9</sup>. In 424 B.C. he gained the second prize with the

comœdias Græcè scripserunt, et easdem sententias versibus in scena pronuntiaverunt, Eucrates, Chionides, Aristophanes," &c. Vitruv. Præf. in lib. VI.

<sup>1</sup> *Equit.* 520:

Τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ἄπαθε Μάγνης ἄμα ταῖς πολιαῖς κατιούσαις,  
Ὅς πλείστα χορῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων νίκης ἔστησε τρόπαια,  
Πάσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἰεῖς, καὶ ψάλλων, καὶ πτερυγίζων,  
Καὶ λυδίζων, καὶ ψηνίζων, καὶ βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις,  
Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν· ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ γήρῳ, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡβῆς,  
Ἐξεβλήθη πρεσβύτης ὢν, ὅτι τοῦ σκώπτειν ἀπελείφθη. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com.* I. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. I. p. 96 c.

<sup>4</sup> Meineke, l. c. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> He died in 422 B. C. at the age of ninety-seven. Lucian, *Macrob.* c. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> See Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> See Plutarch, *Cimon*, c. x.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 67.

<sup>9</sup> *Argum. Acharn.*

Σάτυροι, Aristophanes being first with the *Ἰππῆς*, and Aristomenes third with the *Ἰλοφόροι* or *Ὀλοφυρμοί*<sup>1</sup>. In 423 B.C. Cratinus gained the first prize with the *Πυτίνη*: Ameipsias was second with the *Κόννος*, and Aristophanes third with the *Νεφέλαι*<sup>2</sup>. The old poet died the year after this victory<sup>3</sup>. The names of forty of his Comedies are known<sup>4</sup>. He appears to have been an exceedingly bold satirist<sup>5</sup>, and was so popular that his choruses were sung at every banquet by the *comus* of revellers<sup>6</sup>. The model for his iambic style was doubtless Archilochus<sup>7</sup>, whom he regarded as a type of his own profession, and whom he multiplied, as he might have done any other ideal, in the chorus of one of his plays (the *Ἀρχίλοχοι*). To his audacious frankness, even Aristophanes appeared to be infected with the mincing rhetoric of Euripides<sup>8</sup>. There is reason to believe that Cratinus, in imitation of Sophocles, increased the number of comic actors to three<sup>9</sup>. Of his private character we know nothing, save that he was a great tippler, and recommended the use of wine both by precept and by example<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Argum. Equit.*<sup>2</sup> *Argum. Nub.*<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *Macroβ.* xxv.; *Proleg. Küst.* p. xxix.<sup>4</sup> Fabric. II. p. 431, Harles.<sup>5</sup> Comp. Horat. I. *Serm.* iv. 1 sqq. with Persius, I. 123.<sup>6</sup> Aristoph. *Equit.* 526 sqq.

Εἶτα Κρατίου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῷ ρεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ  
 Διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳ ἐρῶει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων  
 Ἐφόρει τὰς δρυὺς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμους·  
 Ἄσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν συμποσίῳ, πλὴν ΔΩΡΟΙ ΣΤΚΟΠΕΔΙΑΕ,  
 Καὶ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ΕΥΠΑΛΛΑΜΩΝ ΤΜΝΩΝ· οὕτως ἠνθησεν ἐκεῖνος.  
 Νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὀρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,  
 Ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων, καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκ ἔτ' ἐνόντος,  
 Τῶν θ' ἀρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὦν περιέρρει,  
 Ὡς περ Κόννας, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὖον, δίψει δ' ἀπολωλώς,  
 Ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ,  
 Καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

Comp. Buttm. *Mythol.* II. 345 foll.

<sup>7</sup> His fragments abound in direct imitations of the great iambographer. See Cratin. *Archiloch.* Fr. VIII. IX.; *Pytine*, Fr. XI. &c. The verb *συγκεραυνῶ* in *Pyt.* Fr. VIII. is Archilochian; see above, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> He asks this question of his rival (*Fragm. Incert.* CLV.)

Τί δέ σὺ; κομψὸς τις ἔροιτο θεατῆς,  
 Ἵπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφάνιζων.

To which Aristophanes answers (*Fragm.* CCCXCVII.):

Χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,  
 Τοὺς νοὺς δ' ἀγοραίους ἤττον ἢ κεῖνος ποιῶ.

<sup>9</sup> Anon. *de Com.* p. xxxii. Comp. Meineke, *Quæstiones Scenicae*, I. p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Horat. I. *Epist.* XIX. 1; Aristoph. *Pax*, 687 (700) and Schol.; Meineke, *Fragm. Com.* Vol. II. p. 119.

CRATES is said to have been originally an actor in the plays of Cratinus<sup>1</sup>; he could not, however, have followed this profession very long, for we learn from Eusebius that he was well known as a comedian in 450 B.C., which was not long after Cratinus, if he could be called in any sense the successor of Magnes, began to exhibit. He was the first comedian at Athens who departed from the satyrical form of Comedy, and formed his plots from general stories<sup>2</sup>. The names of twenty-six of his Comedies are known<sup>3</sup>. Aristophanes speaks in the highest terms of his wit and ingenuity<sup>4</sup>. His brother EPILYCUS was an epic poet and comedian<sup>5</sup>.

PHERECRATES is mentioned as an imitator or rival of Crates, whose actor he is said to have been; and an admirable emendation of the corrupt passage, which is our chief account of him, assigns his first victory to the archonship of Theodorus, B.C. 438<sup>6</sup>. Although the same authority says that he abstained from personal vituperation<sup>7</sup>, the fragments of his plays show that he attacked Alcibiades, the tragic poet Melanthius, Polytion, and others. He was distinguished by the elegance of his style, and is called 'Αττικώτατος<sup>8</sup>. Perhaps his name is most familiar to scholars as the inventor of the Pherecratean metre, which he calls a contracted anapæstic verse<sup>9</sup>, and which he probably formed by omitting the first two times in the paroemiac<sup>10</sup>. We have the names of between 15 and 20 of his Comedies.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Equit.* (p. 567, Dindorf).

<sup>2</sup> Τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς λαμβικῆς ἰδέας, καθόλου τινῶν λόγους ἢ μύθους. Aristot. *Poet.* IV. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Fabricius, II. p. 429, Harles.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. *Equit.* 537:

Κράτης

\*Ὅς ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς δαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπε  
'Απὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἀστειοτάτας ἐπινοίας.

<sup>5</sup> Suid. Κράτης.

<sup>6</sup> *Anon. de Com.* p. xxix.: Φερεκράτης Ἀθηναῖος νικᾷ ἐπὶ θεάτρου (l. ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου Dobree) γενόμενος ὁ δὲ (om. ὁ Dobr.) ὑποκριτῆς ἐξήλωκε Κράτητα.

<sup>7</sup> τοῦ μὲν λοιδορεῖν ἀπέστη.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. VI. p. 268 E; Suid. s. v. Ἀθηναῖα; Phrynichus *Sophist. ap. Steph. Byz.* s. v. Ἀθῆναι, p. 34, Meineke.

<sup>9</sup> *Ap. Hephaest.* x. 5; xv. 15; Schol. *Ar. Nub.* 564:

ἄνδρες πρόσσχετε τὸν νοῦν  
ἐξευρήματι καινῷ  
συμπτύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.

<sup>10</sup> As the paroemiac is itself catalectic, the omission of a syllable at the beginning makes it σύμπτυκτος, i. e. "folded in at both ends."

PHRYNICHUS, the comic poet, who must be carefully distinguished from the tragedian of the same name, exhibited first in the year 435 B.C.<sup>1</sup> He was attacked as a plagiarist in the *Φορμοφόροι* of Hermippus, which was written before the death of Sitalces, i. e. before 424 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In 414 B.C. when Ameipsias was first with the *Κωμασταί*, and Aristophanes second with the *Ὀρνιθες*, Phrynichus was third with the *Μονότροπος*<sup>3</sup>. In 405 B.C. Philonides was first with the *Βάτραχοι* of Aristophanes, Phrynichus second with the *Μοῦσαι*, and Plato third with the *Κλεοφῶν*<sup>4</sup>. He is ridiculed by Aristophanes in the *Βάτραχοι* for his custom of introducing grumbling slaves on the stage<sup>5</sup>. The names of ten of his pieces are known to us<sup>6</sup>.

Of HERMIPPUS, the son of Lysis, we know nothing save that he was opposed to Pericles<sup>7</sup>, and on one occasion prosecuted Aspasia for impiety<sup>8</sup>. His brother MYRTILUS was also a comedian<sup>9</sup>.

EUPOLIS was not much older than Aristophanes. It is stated by Suidas that he was seventeen years old when he began to exhibit; and if we may conclude from another statement<sup>10</sup>, that he produced his first Comedy in the archonship of Apollodorus, he must have been born about the year 446 B.C.<sup>11</sup> The success of his Comedy, called *Νουμηνίαι*, in 425 B.C., has been already mentioned. Two of his Comedies, the *Μαρικᾶς* and the *Κόλακες*, appeared in 421 B.C. The *Αὐτόλυκος* came out in the following year, when perhaps he wrote the *Ἀστράτευτοι* also, for that play appears to have preceded the *Εἰρήνη* of Aristophanes, which was acted in

<sup>1</sup> Suid. *Φρύν*.—ἐδίδαξε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πστ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. Clinton would read πζ'.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Arg. Av.*

<sup>4</sup> *Arg. Ran.*

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 12 sqq.

*Ξανθίας.* τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν,  
εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὥνπερ Φρύνιχος  
εἴωθε ποιεῖν, καὶ Λύκισ, κ' Ἀμειψίας,  
σκεύη φεροῦσ' ἐκάστοτ' ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ;

*Διώνυσος.* μὴ νῦν ποιήσης' ὥς ἐγὼ θεώμενος,  
ὅταν τι τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων ἴδω,  
πλεῖν ἢ ἵναυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ἀπέρχομαι.

<sup>6</sup> Fabricius, II. p. 483, Harles.

<sup>7</sup> See the Anapæsts in Plutarch, *Pericles*, XXXIII.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles*, OXXXI. XXXII. This was about the year 432 B. C.

<sup>9</sup> Suid. *Μυρτίλος*.

<sup>10</sup> *Prolegom. Aristoph.* p. xxix.

<sup>11</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 63.

419 B.C.<sup>1</sup> According to one account he was thrown overboard by Alcibiades on his way to Sicily in 415 B.C., in consequence of some invectives against that celebrated man, which he had introduced into one of his Comedies. This story is improbable in itself; and it is, besides, refuted by two circumstances: Eratosthenes adduced some Comedies which he had written after the year 415 B.C.<sup>2</sup>, and Pausanias tells us that his tomb was on the banks of the Asopus in the territory of the Sicyonians<sup>3</sup>. According to another account, he fell in a sea-fight in the Hellespont; and Ægina is said to have been the place of his burial. The titles of twenty-four of his Comedies have been preserved<sup>4</sup>. • Eupolis was very personal and scurrilous, and almost every one of his plays seems to have been written to caricature and lampoon some obnoxious individual. The *Μαρικᾶς* was a professed attack upon the demagogue Hyperbolus<sup>5</sup>; in the *Αὐτόλυκος* he ridiculed the handsome pancratiast of that name<sup>6</sup>; in the *Αστράτευτοι*, which was probably a pasquinade, directed against the useless and cowardly citizens of Athens, Melanthius was denounced as an epicure<sup>7</sup>; the *Βαπταί* dealt very hardly with Alcibiades<sup>8</sup>; and in the *Λάκωνες* he inveighed against Cimon, both in his public and private character, because that statesman was thought to incline too much to the Spartans, and showed in every action a desire to counteract the democratical principle, which was at work in the Athenian constitution<sup>9</sup>. Ari-

<sup>1</sup> See Clinton, under these years. Autolycus was a sort of Agathon; like Agathon he obtained a victory at the public games, and is the hero of a symposium (Athen. v. 187 F, 217 D, and Xenoph. *Symposium*); and, like Agathon, he was courted for his personal attractions. Athen. p. 188 A.

<sup>2</sup> Quis enim non dixit, Εὐπολῶν, τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, ab Alcibiade, navigante in Siciliam, dejectum esse in mare? Redarguit Eratosthenes. Adfert enim, quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit. Cicero *ad Att.* vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 7, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Fabricius, ii. p. 445, Harles. •

<sup>5</sup> Schol. *Nub.* 591: ἐδιδάχθη καθ' Ὑπερβόλου μετὰ τὸν Κλέωνος θάνατον. See also the passage from the *Ἰππῆς* quoted below.

<sup>6</sup> Athen. v. 216, where Eupolis is said to have brought out this piece under the name of Demonstratus, probably the same as Demopœetus, a comic poet mentioned by Suidas, v. χάραξ. There were two editions of the *Autolycus*.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Pax*, 808.

<sup>8</sup> Themist. p. 110 B. The words of Juvenal, ii. 91, if they refer to this Comedy, would imply that the obscene rites of Cotytto were the objects of his censure—

Talia secretâ coluerunt orgia tædâ

Cecropiam soliti *Baptæ* lassare Cotytto.

On the Cotyttia and the Baptæ, see Buttmann, *Mythol.* ii. p. 159 sqq. and Meineke, *Hist. Crit.* p. 119 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch, *Cim.* xv. With regard to the name of the Comedy, we may remark, that Cimon had called his son Lacedæmonius (see Thucyd. i. 45), and that the name of the son was often an epithet of the father. Müller, *Dor.* i. 3, § 10, note (f).

stophanes, too, seems to have been on bad terms with Eupolis, whom he charges with having pillaged the materials for his *Μαρικᾶς* from the *Ἰππῆς*<sup>1</sup>, and with making scurrilous jokes on his premature baldness<sup>2</sup>. Eupolis appears to have been a warm admirer of Pericles as a statesman and as a man<sup>3</sup>, as it was reasonable that such a Comedian should be, if it is true that he owed his unrestrained license of speech to the patronage of that celebrated minister. We may form an idea of the style of Eupolis from the *Horsemen* and *Frogs* of Aristophanes, which had many points in common with the *Maricas* and *Demi* of this poet. For as in the *Maricas* Hyperbolus, so in the *Horsemen* Cleon is represented as an intriguing and influential slave of the people, and in both Comedies the worthy Nicias appears as an undervalued and superseded domestic. As in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, Bacchus visits the lower world to seek out and restore to Athens one of the older and better tragedians, so in the *Demi* of Eupolis, Myronides is made to bring back Solon, Miltiades, and Pericles, to their unworthy and degenerate countrymen.

Other writers of the Old Comedy are mentioned as the predecessors or contemporaries of Aristophanes; but we know little more of them than their names; though it is probable that many of them (for instance, AMEIPSIAS, who twice conquered Aristophanes) were (at least in the opinion of their contemporaries) by no means deficient in merit.

Of those poets of the Old Comedy, who survived the full vigour of Athenian democracy and lived till the period of transition to the

<sup>1</sup> Οὔτοι δ' ὡς ἅπαξ παρέδωκεν λαβὴν Ὑπέρβολος,  
Τοῦτον δειλαιὸν κολετρῶσ' αἶψα καὶ τὴν μητέρα.  
Εὐπολὺς μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρελκυσεν  
Ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς,  
Προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃ, τοῦ κόρδακος εἴνεχ', ἣν  
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν. *Nubes*, 551 sqq.

Eupolis, however, had reasons for recriminating. See Meineke, *Hist. Crit.* p. 101, and below, Section II.

<sup>2</sup> See the Schol. on *Nub.* 532:

οὐδ' ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλακρούς.

<sup>3</sup> Eupolis, *Δήμοις*:

Κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν.  
Ὅποτε παρέλθοι, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,  
Ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.  
B. Ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει  
Πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν  
Οὕτως ἐκῆλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων  
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις.

Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* p. 794, Dindorf. See Meineke, *Fragm.* II. 458.

Middle Comedy, the most eminent were PLATO, THEOPOMPUS, and STRATTIS.

PLATO, commonly known as *ὁ κωμικός*, to distinguish him from his great namesake the philosopher, first exhibited in B.C. 427<sup>1</sup>, and as he alluded in one of his plays to the appointment of Agyrrhius as general of the army at Lesbos<sup>2</sup>, he must have been flourishing in B.C. 339. In his *Peisander* he described himself as having laboured for others, like an Arcadian mercenary<sup>3</sup>. And this has been interpreted as indicating his poverty<sup>4</sup>. It may, however, simply mean that Plato did not at first represent under his own name; but, like Aristophanes and Ameipsias, published his dramas anonymously, until in the *parabasis* to the *Peisander* he thought it expedient to assert his literary claims<sup>5</sup>. There seems to be little doubt that Plato was one of the most distinguished of the contemporaries of Aristophanes. His style is described as "brilliant<sup>6</sup>." Though he inclined to the type of Middle Comedy in his later years, his earlier plays were full of political satire, and Dio Chrysostom mentions him along with Aristophanes and Cratinus as a specimen of the abusive personalities to which the Athenians were willing to listen<sup>7</sup>. His attacks were directed against demagogues like Cleon, Hyperbolus, Cleophon, Peisander, and Agyrrhius, against the general Leagrus, and the rhetoricians Cephalus and Archinus. And, like Eupolis, he ventured to ridicule Aristophanes himself<sup>8</sup>. He left twenty-eight Comedies<sup>9</sup>, some of which bore the names of the persons against whom they were directed<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrill. *ad Julian*. I. p. 13 B.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Præc. resp. ger.* p. 801 B. For Agyrrhius and his appointment see Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8, 31; Diod. Sic. XIV. 99. Cf. Schol. *Eccles.* 102.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas, s. v. Ἀρκάδας μιμούμενοι.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas says διὰ πενίαν Ἀρκάδας μιμεῖσθαι ἔφη, but there is nothing to show that this was the assertion of Plato himself.

<sup>5</sup> Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com.* p. 162.

<sup>6</sup> Bekker. *Anecd.* p. 1461: ὁ τὸ χαρακτήρα λαμπρότατος. Cf. Suidas, s. v. Πλάτων.

<sup>7</sup> *Orat.* XXXIII. p. 4, Reiske.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. *Plat.* p. 331, Bekker: κωμωδεῖται δὲ ὅτι τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν ἔργον ἄγαλμα Εὐπολὶς Αὐτολύκῳ, Πλάτων Νίκαις.

<sup>9</sup> *Anon. de Com.* p. xxxiv.; Bekker. *Anecd.* u. s. Suidas enumerates 30, but two of these, the *Λάκωνες* and *Μαμμάκυθος*, were merely two editions of the same play.

<sup>10</sup> As the *Κλεοφῶν*, the *ὑπερβολος* and the *Πείσανδροι*.



THEOPOMPUS, the son of Theodectes, Theodorus, or Tisamenus, is said to have been a contemporary of Aristophanes, but, if we may judge from the titles of twenty of his plays, which have been preserved, his style must have been chiefly that of the Middle Comedy.

STRATTIS, who began to exhibit about B.C. 412, and wrote about twenty plays, two of which, the *Medea* and *Phænissæ*, derived their titles and probably their subjects from tragedies by Euripides, is chiefly interesting from the fact that he entertained a warm admiration for the tragi-comedies of that poet, especially the *Orestes* which he called *δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον*<sup>1</sup>, a circumstance which tends to confirm our belief that Euripides exercised a paramount influence over the later writers of Attic Comedy.

Besides the fifteen names which we have mentioned, the following poets are assigned to the Old Comedy.

1. TELECLEIDES, a contemporary and opponent of Pericles.
2. PHILONIDES, a friend and coadjutor of Aristophanes.
3. ARCHIPPUS, who gained the prize in B.C. 415, and was chiefly celebrated for a play called the *Fishes* in which he ridiculed the fish-dinners of Athens.
4. ARISTOMENES, who competed with Aristophanes in B.C. 424 and 392.
5. CALLIAS, a younger contemporary of Cratinus.
6. LYSIPPUS, who won the prize in B.C. 435, and whose play called the *Bacchæ* gained some reputation.
7. LEUCON, who competed with Aristophanes and Eupolis in B.C. 422 and 421<sup>2</sup>.
8. METAGENES, who is known by the names of some five or six Comedies, and seems to have enjoyed a considerable reputation.
9. ARISTAGORAS, who edited the *Αὔραι* of Metagenes with the new title *Μαμμάκνθος*, to which Aristophanes alludes.
10. ARISTONYMUS, a contemporary of Aristophanes, best known by his play called *The Shivering Sun* (*Ἥλιος ῥυγῶν*).

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 278.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com.* p. 217.

11. ALCÆUS, a writer of mythological Comedies.
12. EUNICUS (or ÆNICUS), whose Comedies *Anteia* or *Antheia* and *The Cities* are attributed to other writers<sup>1</sup>.
13. CANTHARUS, a contemporary of Plato the Comedian, to whom one of his plays is attributed.
14. DIOCLES of Phlius, of the same age as Cantharus.
15. NICOCHARES, son of Philonides, wrote mythical Comedies, and belonged to the Middle Comedy as well as to the Old.
16. NICOPHON, a younger contemporary of Aristophanes, but a poet of the mythical school.
17. PHILYLLIUS<sup>2</sup>, a careless poet, inclining to the style of the Middle Comedy.
18. POLYZELUS, a poet of mythical Comedy.
19. SANNYRION, a contemporary of the later poets of the Old Comedy, by whom he is ridiculed.
20. APOLLOPHANES, a contemporary of Strattis.
21. EPILYCUS, author of the *Coraliscus*.
22. EUTHYCLES, author of the *Profligates* and *Atalanta*.
23. DEMETRIUS, wrote after the Peloponnesian war.
24. CEPHISODORUS, author of the *Amazons*, *Antilais*, *Trophonius* and the *Hog*.
25. AUTOCRATES, author of the *Tympanistæ*.

<sup>1</sup> Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com.* pp. 250, 260.

<sup>2</sup> Philyllius is said to have been the first to introduce torches on the stage (Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1195); and it is remarkable that he used the word ἀναφάβητος as a synonym for ἀμύθητος γραμμάτων (*Antiatticista*, p. 83).

## CHAPTER II.

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### SECTION II.

#### ARISTOPHANES.

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*Je suys, moyennant ung peu de Pantagruelisme (vous entendez que c'est certaine guayeté  
desperit conficte en mepriz des choses fortuites) sain et degourt; prest a boyre, si  
voulez.*  
RABELAIS.

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OF the works of the other comedians we possess only detached fragments; but eleven of the plays of ARISTOPHANES have come down to us complete. This alone would incline us to wish for a fuller account of the writer, even though the intrinsic value of his remaining Comedies were not so great as it really is. Unfortunately, however, we know much less about Aristophanes than about any of his distinguished contemporaries, and the materials for his biography are so scanty and of so little credit, that we willingly turn from them to his works, in which we see a living picture of the man and his times. The following are the few particulars which are known regarding his personal history<sup>1</sup>. His father's name was Philippus<sup>2</sup>, not Philippides, as has been inferred from the inscription on a bust supposed to represent him<sup>3</sup>. Of the rank and station of his father we know nothing; it is presumed,

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find a full and accurate discussion of all questions relating to the life of Aristophanes down to the representation of the *Clouds* in Ranke's *Commentatio de Aristophanis Vita*, prefixed to Thiersch's edition of the *Plutus*. See also Bergk in Meineke's *Fragm.* II. pp. 893—940.

<sup>2</sup> This is stated by all the authorities of his life—namely, his anonymous biographer, the writer on Comedy in the Greek prolegomena to Aristophanes, the Scholiast on Plato, and Thomas Magister.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription is 'Αριστοφάνης Φιλίππιδου. That this statue is not genuine is now generally agreed. See Winckelmann, II. p. 114. The fact that his son's name was Philippus is an evidence that it was also the grandfather's name. Ranke, clxxxiv.

however, from his own silence, and that of his enemies, that it was respectable. More than one country claims the honour of being his birth-place. The anonymous writer on Comedy says merely that he was an Athenian; the author of his life, and Thomas Magister, add that he was of the Cydathenæan Deme, and Pandionid Tribe. Suidas tells us, that some said he was from Lindus in Rhodes, or from Camirus; that others called him an Ægyptian<sup>1</sup>, and others an Æginetan. All this confusion seems to have arisen from the fact, that Cleon, in revenge for some of the invectives with which Aristophanes had assailed him, brought an action against the poet with a view to deprive him of his civic rights (*ξενίας γραφή*). Now the defence, which Aristophanes is said to have set up on this occasion, shows the object of Cleon was to prove that he was not the son of his reputed father Philippus, but the offspring of an illicit intercourse between his mother and some person who was not an Athenian citizen. Consequently his nominal parents are tacitly admitted to have been Athenian citizens, and, as Cleon failed to prove his illegitimacy, he must have been one likewise. That he was born at Athens cannot but be evident to every one who has read his Comedies. Would a mere resident alien have laboured so strenuously for the good of his adopted country? Would one who was not a citizen by birth have ventured to laugh at all who did not belong to the old Athenian *φρατρίαι*<sup>2</sup>? and how are we otherwise to account for the purely Athenian spirit, language, and tone which pervade every line that he wrote? It would not be difficult to explain why these different countries have been assigned as the birth-places of Aristophanes. With regard to the statement that he was a Rhodian; he is very often confounded with Antiphanes and Anaxandrides, the former of whom was, according to Dionysius, a Rhodian, and the latter, according to Suidas, was born at Camirus. The notion that he was an Ægyptian may very well have arisen from the many allusions which he makes to the people of that country, and their peculiar customs. With regard to the statement of Heliodorus that he was from Naucratis, it is possible that writer may be alluding to some commercial residence of his ancestors in that city, but his words do not imply that either Aris-

<sup>1</sup> Heliodorus *περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως* (apud Athen. vi. p. 229 E) says that he was of Naucratis in the Delta.

<sup>2</sup> *Ran.* 418; *Aves*, 765.

tophanes or his parents were born there. His Æginetan origin has been presumed from the passage in the *Acharnians*, in which his actor Callistratus (who was the nominal author of the play) alludes to his being one of the *κληροῦχοι*, to whom that island had been assigned<sup>1</sup>. We have positive evidence that he was one of them, and the fact that these *κληροῦχοι* were generally poor<sup>2</sup> would show that Callistratus is alluding to himself, and not to Aristophanes; and even if he were, this would be no proof that Aristophanes was not a citizen, for all the *κληροῦχοι* continued to enjoy their civic rights<sup>3</sup>. The remains of Aristophanes are sufficient to show that he had received a first-rate education. There is no positive evidence for the opinion<sup>4</sup>, that he was a pupil of Prodicus. The three passages in his remaining Comedies<sup>5</sup>, in which he mentions that sophist, do not show the usual respect of a disciple for his master, and the coincidence in name, and probable similarity of subject, between the *Ὀραιο* of Aristophanes and *The Choice of Hercules* by Prodicus, are perhaps a proof that the Comedian parodied and ridiculed, rather than admired and imitated, the latter<sup>6</sup>.

The literary career of Aristophanes naturally divides itself into three periods, defined by the corresponding changes of social and political life at Athens. As Attic Comedy rose and fell with the democratic domination of the state, even the genius of its greatest representative could not control the outward influences to which he was exposed. The waning vigour of popular freedom necessarily affected the political character of Comedy, and deprived the *parabasis* or address to the audience of its unconstrained liberty of speech. On the other hand, the fatal catastrophe of Syracuse, while it destroyed the flower of the citizens, so seriously diminished the resources of the state, that the dramatic entertainments could no longer be exhibited with the same lavish expenditure. From both causes, the chorus of Comedy became insignificant, till, at

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. II. 27; Diod. XII. 44. Callistratus was one of them, Aristophanes not. Schol. *Acharn.* 654, p. 801, Dind.: οὐδὲν ἱστορήκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κέκτηται τι Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀλλ' εἰκε ταῦτα περὶ Καλλιστράτου λέγεσθαι, ὅς κεκληρούχηκεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Αἰγυπτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh, *Econ. of Ath.* Vol. II. p. 172, note 521, Engl. Tr.

<sup>3</sup> Böckh, *Ec.* II. p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Of Rückert on Plat. *Symp.* pp. 280 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Aves*, 692; *Nubes*, 360; fr. *Tragonist.* No. 418, Dindorf.

<sup>6</sup> On the *Ὀραιο* of Aristophanes and Prodicus, see Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* for 1833, p. 576. He thinks that the connexion between the *Ὀραιο* of these two authors is merely accidental, p. 592.

last, there was the literary paradox of a *κωμῳδία* without its *κῶμος*. The eleven extant Comedies of Aristophanes may be arranged in three groups corresponding to the three periods, to which we refer. In the first period, which extends to the time of the Sicilian expedition, we have six Comedies, all of which represent the unimpaired genius of the poet, and the complete machinery of the comic stage. These are the *Acharnians*, the *Horsemen*, the *Clouds*, the *Wasps*, the *Peace*, and the *Birds*. The second period, which corresponds to the later years of the war, is represented by three dramas, in which the political element and the chorus are both diminished in prominence and importance. These are the *Lysistrata*, the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and the *Frogs*. The third and concluding period, which followed the downfall of the Athenian empire, exhibits the genius of Aristophanes in its feeblest form, and has transmitted to us only two Comedies, the *Ecclesiazusæ* and the *Plutus*, in which the choral element is altogether insignificant, and the plots are derived from the ideal world rather than from the actualities of Athenian life, which furnished the materials for the Comedies of the first period.

Aristophanes brought out his first Comedy, the *Banqueters*, (*Δαιταλεῖς*) in B.C. 427<sup>1</sup>; and it is from the known date of this play that we must infer his birth-year. It is stated<sup>2</sup> that he was at this time little more than a boy (*σχεδὸν μειράκισκος*). We are told, indeed<sup>3</sup>, that he was thirty years of age when the *Clouds* was acted. This would place his birth-year at 453, if the first edition, or at 452 B.C., if the second edition of that play is referred to<sup>4</sup>. But could a man born so early as 452 B.C. be called *σχεδὸν μειράκισκος* at the time of the great plague? We think he could not. If, then, these two authorities of the same kind contradict one another, which are we to adopt? Now there is no reason to doubt the first statement, that Aristophanes was very young at the time when his first Comedy appeared; and there is reason to believe that the second statement is merely an inference drawn from a misinterpretation of a passage in the *Clouds*. We feel inclined, there-

<sup>1</sup> See the passages in Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. *Ran.* 504. Müller thinks (*Hist. Lit. Gr.* II. p. 19, new ed.) that this statement is an exaggeration, and that Aristophanes was at least twenty-five in B.C. 427.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. *Nub.* p. 237, Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> Unless we adopt Ranke's conjecture with regard to the date of the second edition, which would make the two accounts nearly agree. See below, p. 184.

fore, to reject the latter altogether, and take the former as the only means we have of approximating to the birth-year of Aristophanes, which, if he was *σχεδὸν μειράκισκος* or nearly seventeen in 427 B.C., must have been about the year 444 B.C.

The *Banqueters*, which was acted in the name of Philonides<sup>1</sup>, was an exposition of the corruptions which had crept into the Athenian system of education. A father was introduced with two sons, one of them educated in the old-fashioned way, the other brought up in all the new-fangled and pernicious refinements of sophistry; and by drawing a comparison between the two young men to the disadvantage of the latter, the poet hoped to attract the attention of his countrymen to the dangers and inconveniences of the new system<sup>2</sup>. The second prize was awarded to Philonides, and the play was much admired<sup>3</sup>. In 426 B.C. he brought out the *Babylonians*, and, in the following spring, the *Acharnians*, both under the name of his actor Callistratus<sup>4</sup>. The latter gained the first prize, the second and third being adjudged to Cratinus and Eupolis. The chorus of the *Babylonians* consisted of barbarian slaves employed in the mills<sup>5</sup>: this is all that we know of the plot of the piece. It appears to have been acted at the great Dionysia, and to have been an attack upon the demagogues; for Cleon, who was then (Pericles having recently died) at the head of affairs<sup>6</sup>, brought an *εἰσαγγελία* before the senate against Callistratus, on the grounds that he had satirized the public functionaries in the presence of their allies, who were then at Athens to pay the tribute<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf, *fr. Aristoph.* p. 527, Oxford edition. Ranke (p. cccxx) thinks it was Callistratus. If there is truth in the statement that he handed over to Callistratus his political dramas, and to Philonides those which related to private life, the *Δαιταλεῖς* was probably transferred to the latter.

<sup>2</sup> See Süvern, *über die Wolken*, pp. 26 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. *Nub.* 529.

<sup>4</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* under those years.

<sup>5</sup> See Hesych. s. vv. *Βαβυλώνιοι*.—*Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος*. And Suid. s. v. *Βαβυλωνία κάμνος*.

<sup>6</sup> Thucydides, writing of the year before the performance of *The Babylonians* says (III. 36), that Κλέων was τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. *Acharn.* 355 foll.:

Αὐτός τ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄπαθον  
'Ἐπίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρυσι κωμῳδίαν.  
Εἰσελκύσας γάρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
Διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῇ κατεγλώττιζέ μου,  
Κάκυκλοβόρει κάπλυνεν ὥστ' ὀλίγου πάνυ  
'Ἀπωλόμην μολυνοπραγμονούμενος

with vv. 476 foll.:

'Εγὼ δὲ λέξω δεινὰ μὲν δίκαια δέ·  
Οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι



This accusation has been confounded with the indictment of *ξενία*, brought by Cleon against Aristophanes himself.

It does not appear that Cleon was successful in establishing his charge, for we find Callistratus again upon the stage the following year, when the *Acharnians* was performed at the Lenæa. The object of this play, the earliest of the Comedies of Aristophanes which have come down to us entire, is to induce the Athenians, by holding before them the blessings of peace, and by ridiculing the braggadocios of the day, to entertain any favourable proposals which the Lacedæmonians might make for putting an end to the disastrous war in which they were engaged; and while he ventured to utter the well-nigh forgotten word *Peace*, he boldly told his countrymen that they had sacrificed, without any just or sufficient cause, the comforts which he painted to them in such vivid colours.

Aristophanes, having conferred upon the nominal authors of his early plays much, not only of reputation, but also of danger, now thought it right to appropriate to himself both the glory and the hazard of his undertaking, and in 424 B. C. demanded a chorus in his own name. The Comedy, which he exhibited on this occasion, and in the composition of which Eupolis claimed a share, was the *Horsemen*; it was acted at the Lenæa, and gained the first prize: Cratinus was second, and Aristomenes third<sup>1</sup>. The object of this play is to overthrow Cleon, who was then flushed with his undeserved success at Sphacteria in the preceding year, and had excited the indignation of Aristophanes and all the Athenians who wished well to their country, by his constant opposition to the proposals of the Lacedæmonians for an equitable arrangement of the terms of peace. The demagogue was considered at that time so formidable an adversary, that no one could be found to make a mask to represent his features, so that Aristophanes, who personated him on the stage, was obliged to return to the old

Ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω,  
Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν οὐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ τ' ἀγών,  
Κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεισιν·

and the Scholiasts. On the relations between Aristophanes and Cleon, and on the character of the latter, the student will find some striking remarks in Grote, *Hist. Gr.* Vol. VI. pp. 657 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> *Argum. Eqq.* The reference of this piece to the Lenæa is supported by the allusion in vv. 881—3, to the wintry weather, which prevailed in the month Lenæon, according to Hesiod. On the claims of Eupolis to a share in this Comedy, see Bernhardy, *Grundriss*, II. p. 973; and for the passage attributed to him, Meineke, *Fragm.* II. I, p. 577.

custom of smearing the face with wine-lees<sup>1</sup>; and, as Cleon is represented in the play as a great drunkard, the substitute was probably adequate to the occasion. The Comedy is an allegorical caricature of the broadest kind, showing how the eminent generals and statesmen, Nicias and Demosthenes, with the aid of the *καλοὶ καὶγαθοί* among the citizens, delivered the Athenian John Bull from the clutches of the son of Cleænetus, and effected a marvellous change in the temper and external appearance of their doting master. This is expressed in a wonderfully ingenious manner. The instrument they use is one Agoracritus, who is called a sausage-seller (*ἀλλαντοπώλης*). Now there lived, at this time, a celebrated sculptor of that name, who, having made for the Athenians a most beautiful statue of Venus which they could not buy, transformed it into a representation of Nemesis, and sold it to the Rhamnusians<sup>2</sup>. It is this Agoracritus, who, by a play upon the words *ἀλλάσσειν* and *ἀλλᾶς*, is called a transformation-monger in regard to the People: he changes the easy good-tempered old man into a punisher of the guilty—a laughing Venus into a frowning Nemesis;—he metamorphoses the ill-clad unseemly Demus of the Pnyx into a likeness of the beautiful Demus, the son of Pyrilampes the Rhamnusian, just as Agoracritus transferred to Rhamnus a statue destined for Athens. It seems to have been in consequence of this attack that Cleon made the unsuccessful attempt (to which we have already alluded) to deprive Aristophanes of his civic rights.

The next recorded Comedy of Aristophanes is the *Clouds*, the most celebrated and perhaps the most elaborately finished, as it is certainly the most serious, of his remaining plays. When he first submitted it to the judges, the plays of Cratinus and Ameipsias, who were his competitors, were honoured with the first and second prizes. This was in the year 423 B. C.; and it is probable that Aristophanes, indignant at his unexpected ill-success, withdrew the play, and did not bring it out till some years afterwards, when he added something to the *parabasis*, and perhaps made a few other alterations. The author of the argument and the Scholiast refer the second edition to the year 422 B. C.; but it has been shown from the mention of the *Maricas* of Eupolis, and other internal evidences, that it could not have been acted till some years

<sup>1</sup> Schol. *Eqq.* 230. See above, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4.

after the death of Cleon; and it is conjectured that it did not appear till after the exhibition of the *Lysistrata* in 411 B. C.<sup>1</sup> It will not be expected that we should here enumerate the various opinions which have been entertained of the object of Aristophanes in writing this Comedy<sup>2</sup>, or that we should enter upon a new and detailed examination of the piece. We must, on the present occasion, be content with stating briefly and generally, what we conceive to have been the design of the poet. In the *Wasps*, which was written the year after the first ill-success of the *Clouds*, he calls this Comedy an attack upon the prevailing vices of the young men of his day<sup>3</sup>. Now, if we turn to the *Clouds*, we shall see that he not only does this, but also investigates the causes of the corrupt state of the Athenian youth; and this he asserts to have arisen from the changes introduced into the national education by the sophists, by the substitution of sophistical for rhapsodical instruction. The hero of the piece is Socrates, who was, in the judgment of Aristophanes, a sophist to all intents and purposes. We do not think it necessary to deny that Socrates was a well-meaning man, and in many respects a good citizen; we are disposed to believe that he was, not because Plato and Xenophon have represented him as such (in their justification of his character, each of them is but *ιατρὸς ἄλλων αὐτὸς ἔλκεσι βρύων*), but because Aristophanes has brought no specific charges against him, as far as his intentions are concerned. But Socrates was an innovator in education; he approved, perhaps assisted in the corruptions which Euripides introduced into Tragedy; he was the pupil and the friend of several of the sophists; it was in his character of dialectician that he was courted by the ambitious

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, chapters xxviii. and xl.

<sup>2</sup> We refer the reader who wishes to study this subject minutely and accurately to Hermann, *Præfat. ad Nubes*, xxxii—liv; Wolf's Introduction to his German translation of the play; Reisig. *Præfat. ad Nubes*, viii—xxx, and his Essay in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1828, pp. 191 and 464; Mitchell's and Welcker's Introductions to their Translations of Aristophanes; Ranke, *Comment.* chapters xli.—xlii.; Süvern's *Essay*; and Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* ii. pp. 33, new ed. sqq. Röscher has given a general statement of some of these opinions in his *Aristophanes und sein Zeitalter*, pp. 294—391, which he follows up with his own not very intelligible view of the question.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 1037 foll. :

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔτι καὶ νυνὶ πολεμεῖ. φησὶν τε μετ' αὐτοῦ  
 Τοῖς ἡπιάλοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι πέρυσιν καὶ τοῖς πυρετοῖσιν  
 Οἱ τοὺς πατέρας τ' ἡγχον νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς πάππους ἀπέπνιγον,  
 Κατακλινόμενοι τ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κοίταις ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπράγμοσιν ὑμῶν  
 Ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας συνεκόλλων, κ. τ. λ.

young men; he was the tutor of Alcibiades; his singular manners and affected slovenliness had every appearance of quackery; and, if we add, that he was the only one of the eminent sophists who was an Athenian-born, we shall not wonder that Aristophanes selected him as the representative of the class. The other two principal characters are a father and son. The latter is a general personification of the young profligates of the day, and only wants a little sophistical education to enable him to throw aside every moral restraint. His silly father supplies this defect, and is the first to suffer from the weapon which he has placed in his son's hand. The name of the father, Strepsiades, shows that he is intended as a representative of the class who advocated the change in education<sup>1</sup>. It does not appear of whom his mask was a portrait. It is likely that the son, Pheidippides, came forward in the character of Alcibiades, who had the same love for horses, and bore a similar relation to Socrates<sup>2</sup>: at the same time, the prominent part which Alcibiades was beginning to take in public affairs, and the influence he possessed over the young men of his own age, pointed him out as their most adequate representative. With these actors, then, the *Clouds* was merely a general exhibition of the corrupt state of education at Athens, and of its causes; it was a loudly uttered protest, on the part of Aristophanes, against the useless and pernicious speculations of the sophists<sup>3</sup>, and was not intended to pave the way for the accusation which was many years afterwards brought against Socrates as a corrupter of youth, whatever may have been its effect upon the verdict of the Dicasts at the trial. The *Clouds* appears to have been acted at the great Dionysia<sup>4</sup>.

The *Wasps* was brought out in the name of Philonides, and performed at the Lenæa, in 422 B.C. As the object of the *Clouds* was to attack the prevailing vices of the young men of the day, and to stigmatize the love of disputation, which was so prevalent at Athens, and which the sophists did so much to foster, so it was the intention of the *Wasps* to inveigh against a predominant fault

<sup>1</sup> *Nub.* 88, 434, 1455.

<sup>2</sup> Süvern, *über die Wolken*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Süvern has conjectured very ingeniously, that the λόγος ἀδικος wore a mask representing Thrasymachus, because his opponent addresses him in v. 890, καίπερ θρασὺς ὢν, and in v. 915, θρασὺς εἰ πολλοῦ; and that the λόγος δίκαιος was Aristophanes himself. *Über die Wolken*, p. 12, note (3).

<sup>4</sup> See *Nubes*, 311.

of the old peevish Athenians, whose delight it was to spend their time in the law-courts, and to live on the judicial fees, which Pericles had established, and which Cleon was pledged to maintain. There are many points in which the *Clouds* and the *Wasps* supplement one another, and there is a unity of design between them, which cannot be mistaken. A father and his son are the principal characters in both. In the *Wasps*, the father Philocleon, who, as his name denotes, is warmly attached to Cleon, has surrendered the management of his affairs to his son Bdelycleon, indicated by his name as loathing and detesting that demagogue. The son regrets his father's perverse fondness for judicial business, and weans him from it, partly by establishing a law-court at home, in which a dog is tried for stealing a cheese, with all the circumstances of a regular process in the dicasterion, and partly by leading him to indulge in a life of sensual enjoyment. And as Strepsiades in the *Clouds* has reason to regret the sophistical training, which he procures for his dissipated son, so Bdelycleon in the *Wasps* repents of the consequences of the curative treatment to which he had subjected his father. An eminent modern scholar has pronounced the *Wasps* one of the most perfect of the plays of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>, and the dramatic merits of the piece must have been of great intrinsic value, for Racine was able to reproduce it with eminent success as a French Comedy adapted to the usages of his own time<sup>2</sup>.

In the *Peace*, which was produced in 419 B.C., the poet returns to the subject of the *Acharnians*, and insists strongly upon the advantages which might be expected from a reconciliation of the belligerents. The difference, however, between the two plays is very considerable, not only in dramatic merit, but in the nature of the wish for peace which they severally represent. The *Acharnians* has a strongly conceived dramatic unity, and a great variety of comic incidents, and it represents the wish for peace as not only limited to Athens, but limited also to an individual Athenian, to whom the chorus of his own countrymen is violently opposed. The *Peace* has really only one incident—the journey to heaven of Trygæus, a new sort of Bellerophon, mounted on a new sort of Pegasus, in the shape of a dung-beetle; and the wish for peace is represented as common to all the Greek cities, whose countrymen join in the

<sup>1</sup> C. O. Müller, *Hist. of Lit. of Gr.* II. p. 38, new ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Plaideurs*, acted in 1668.

chorus, and assist the hero in pulling Peace from the pit into which she had been thrown by the Dæmon of War. After this rescue is accomplished, the rest of the play is merely a series of cheerful sketches, which were doubtless very entertaining to the spectators, but do not afford much gratification to the modern reader, or furnish the best specimen of the genius of Aristophanes.

In the year 414 B.C., Aristophanes produced two Comedies; the *Amphiaraus*, which appeared at the Lenæa, under the name of Philonides; and the *Birds*, which came out at the great Dionysia, under the name of Callistratus. The objects of these two plays appear to have been the same. The former was named after one of the seven chiefs who led the Argive army against Thebes, and was always foretelling the misfortunes which attended that expedition. In this he corresponded to Nicias, who in the same manner foretold the disastrous termination of the expedition which had sailed for Syracuse the year before; and Aristophanes no doubt took this opportunity of warning his countrymen against the dangers into which their compliance with the wishes of Alcibiades would lead them<sup>1</sup>. The *Birds*, which is certainly one of the most wonderful compositions in any language, was designed, we think, in conjunction with the *Amphiaraus*, to parody and ridicule the Euripidean Trilogy, which came out the year before<sup>2</sup>. The Athenians are represented as a set of gaping foolish birds, persuaded by the extravagant promises of a couple of designing adventurers to set up a city in the clouds, and to declare war against the gods. In this caricature we easily recognize a ridicule of the extravagant schemes of universal rule which Alcibiades had formed, and which might well be called castle-building in the air; and the termination of the play, in which the chief adventurer is represented as making a supper off his subjects, points clearly to what the Athenians had to expect from the success of an ambitious plan, conceived by an uncompromising aspirant after sovran power. According to Süvern's ingenious explanation of the play, the names of the two heroes of the piece, *Peisthetærus* and *Euelpides*, whom we have elsewhere anglicized as Messrs. *Agitator* and *Hopegood*, point at once to the objects of this satirical delineation. The former is a combination of the two great moving causes of the expedition to Syracuse, Gor-

<sup>1</sup> Süvern's Essay on the *Birds*, p. 77, Engl. Tr.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 147.



gias, and Alcibiades<sup>1</sup>: the age of Master Agitator, his eloquence, his being a stranger, and his sophistical harangues, may remind us of Gorgias, and Callistratus may have worn a mask which was a portrait of the Leontine ambassador; at the same time, the prominent part which Alcibiades took in the affair, and the notorious fact that he was the head of an extensive club (ἐταιρία) at Athens, would point to him as also represented by Peisthetærus<sup>2</sup>; and Euelpides may have personified those confident citizens, who, full of hope for the future (εὐέλπιδες<sup>3</sup>), willingly undertook the expedition<sup>4</sup>.

This allegorical interpretation of the Comedy will hardly bear the test of a critical examination<sup>5</sup>; but there can be little doubt that it contains a great deal of truth, and the general reference of the *Birds* to the unfortunate Sicilian expedition may be regarded as more or less an admitted fact.

In the Comedies, which have been considered up to this point, the genius of Aristophanes appears under all the advantages which it was certain to derive from the support of a vigorous democracy, and from the unimpaired opulence and prosperity of Athens. But the Sicilian expedition, which the *Birds* had taken for its theme, came to a disastrous issue in B.C. 413, and speedily produced its effect both on the democratic government and on the political power of the great Attic republic. Here we commence the second period in the literary history of Aristophanes, when his poetical powers were unimpaired, but when he had neither the same materials to work upon, nor the same external support, on which he could rely. In this period he exhibited three plays, the *Lysistrata*, the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and the *Frogs*. The first two were represented in B.C. 411, when the democracy had been obliged to accept certain modifications in the form of πρόβουλοι, and a council of 400. The third play of this period was acted in B.C. 405, in the interval between the battles of Arginusæ and Ægos-Potami.

The *Lysistrata*, which appeared in the name of Callistratus, is a coarse and laughable recommendation of peace. The women of the

<sup>1</sup> Süvern, pp. 31 fol. Engl. Tr.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. VI. 13: comp. Göller's notes upon III. 82; VIII. 54; and Arnold's Thucyd. Vol. III. p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. VI. 24: εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to Süvern's Essay, we must refer the curious reader to Droysen's Essay on the *Birds*, in the *Rhein. Mus.* for 1835, pp. 161. fol.

<sup>5</sup> The theory of Süvern is combated by Mr W. G. Clark, now Public Orator at Cambridge, in a very able paper which appeared in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. I. pp. 1—20.



belligerent nations, worn out by the miseries of the protracted warfare, combine against the men, seize the acropolis of Athens, and starve the nobler sex into mutual reconciliation by cutting them off from domestic life and connubial felicity. The play is full of talent, and is replete with wit and humour. But its grossness is offensive. The political ingredient is greatly diminished in extent and importance. And the *parabasis*, or direct appeal to the audience, is for the first time omitted.

If the men of Athens had any reason to be offended by the prominent part which the *Lysistrata* had assigned to their help-mates, they were avenged in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, which appeared in the same year. This play, which begins with a satirical caricature of the effeminate Agathon and the woman-hater Euripides, and exhibits throughout an extravagant humour worthy of the best Comedies of the first period, is mainly occupied with an exposure of the moral corruption and depravity of the Athenian women. The chorus has very little to do, and there is no *parabasis*. Politics are almost excluded, and with the exception of the ridicule thrown on Euripides and Agathon, there is no personal satire. There was a second version of the *Thesmophoriazusæ* (Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι δεύτεραι), which appears from the fragments to have had much the same subject as the extant play.

The *Frogs* was exhibited at the Lenæa in B.C. 405, under the name of Philonides, and won the first prize from the *Muses* of Phrynichus, and the *Cleophon* of Plato. The leading object of this admirable play is dramatic criticism, but the political element is by no means excluded. The demagogue Cleophon, who gave his name to the rival Comedy of Plato, and who was then in great power at Athens, is directly and violently attacked<sup>1</sup>; the play has a *parabasis*, in which the poet recommends his audience to make peace with the discarded faction of the Four Hundred<sup>2</sup>; and he even goes so far as to hint the propriety of their recalling Alcibiades, and submitting to his capricious genius<sup>3</sup>. The plot of the Comedy is very striking. Dionysus, the god of the Athenian drama, being

<sup>1</sup> vv. 679—685, 1504, 532.

<sup>2</sup> 689:      κεῖ τις ἤμαρτε σφαλὲς τι Φρυνίχου παλαίσμασιν  
ἐγγενέσθαι φημι χρῆναι τοῖς δλισθοῦσιν τότε  
αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι λῦσαι τὰς πρότερον ἀμαρτίας.

<sup>3</sup> v. 1432:      μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ᾽ν πόλει τρέφειν,  
ἦν δ' ἐκτρέφῃ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

much vexed by the dearth of good tragic poets since the death of Sophocles and Euripides, is resolved to go down to Hades and bring up one of the great departed, if possible Euripides, for whom, as a representative of the popular taste, he professes a warm admiration. Accordingly he equips himself for the adventure in the costume of Hercules, and, after a brief interview with his heroic brother, he and his servant Xanthias proceed on their journey to the other world; the god has to take an oar in Charon's boat, while the slave runs round the Stygian pool and meets him on the other side. The chorus, which had performed the croaking of the invisible Frogs during the short voyage, appears as a band of happy souls duly initiated into sacred mysteries. After many ludicrous and entertaining incidents, Bacchus and his attendant are admitted into the halls of Pluto, and the God of the drama is appointed judge in the contest, which has arisen between Æschylus, the occupant of the tragic throne in the lower world, and Euripides, who, as a new-comer, had laid claim to it, although the good-natured Sophocles had accepted the existing state of things. The God of the drama makes this contest work into his own scheme for resuscitating one of the great tragedians, and he promises to take back with him to Athens whichever of the two competitors shall gain the victory. The unfavourable opinion, which Aristophanes everywhere expresses respecting the dramatic merits of Euripides, could not have left his audience in any doubt as to the results of a comparison, which he undertook to make, between the great founder of Greek Tragedy, and the rhetorical poet, who had so entirely altered its character. Accordingly, Æschylus is carried back to the city, where his Tragedies were still alive; for he is made to say, with considerable humour, that his poetry had not died with him, and that Euripides, who had brought his works down to Hades, was better prepared for the literary contest<sup>1</sup>.

The exhibition of the *Frogs* was speedily followed by the battle of Ægis-Potami, the fall of Athens, and the subversion of the democracy. For some years there was no possibility for any display of the literary genius of such a poet as Aristophanes, and we do not

<sup>1</sup> vv. 866 sqq.:

ΑΙ. ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε·  
οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ ἔστω ἀγὼν νῶν.  
ΔΙ. τί δαί;  
ΑΙ. ὅτι ἡ πόλις οὐχὶ συντέθνηκέ μοι,  
τούτῳ δὲ συντέθνηκεν, ὥσθ' ἔξει λέγειν.

hear of him until some years after the return of Thrasybulus. From the concluding period of his literary history, only two Comedies have come down to us complete. And both of these present to us a very different state of things from that which had prevailed during the Peloponnesian war. While democracy had revived with some of its worst abuses, and while demagogues, like Agyrrhius, were leading the populace into the most whimsical extravagances, the educated class had learned to express with boldness the feelings of disgust and contempt with which this wild republicanism had inspired them. This anti-democratic tendency was fostered by the writings of some able men attached to the government of the thirty tyrants, among whom the most eminent was Plato. Connected with Critias by the ties of blood, and a near relation of the Charmides, who fell fighting against the party of Thrasybulus, he had but little sympathy with the restored democracy at Athens; and when his teacher Socrates had been put to death in B.C. 399, after a prosecution instituted by men connected with the popular party, Plato retired to Megara, and did not return to Athens till after some four years spent in foreign travel. The feelings of despair with which he regarded all existing forms of government are recorded in an epistle written about this time<sup>1</sup>, and it has been fairly argued<sup>2</sup> that he must have published soon afterwards at least the first sketch of his *Republic*, in which his object is to maintain by the elaborate picture of an ideal government the thesis laid down in the epistle, namely, that the only remedy for the miseries of mankind must be sought in the establishment of a truly philosophical aristocracy. One of the most offensive features in Plato's ideal *Republic* is his proposal for a community of property and wives, and the supposition that the original edition, containing the first six books<sup>3</sup>, was given to the public soon after B.C. 395, is strongly supported by the statement of the old grammarians<sup>4</sup>, that this work is ridiculed by Aristophanes in his *Ecclesiazusæ* which appeared in B.C. 392, and in which Plato is mentioned, as he is also in the *Plutus*, by a diminutive of his original name Aristocles<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Epist.* VII. pp. 324 B, sqq., especially 326 A, B.

<sup>2</sup> By Professor Thompson. See our *History of the Literature of Greece*, Vol. II. pp. 211 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Literature of Greece*, II. p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. III. 23; Herodian, *apud Etym. M.* p. 142 F.

<sup>5</sup> *Ecclesiaz.* 646; *Plutus*, 313.

In this Comedy the women assume the male attire, steal into the assembly, and by a majority of votes carry a new constitution<sup>1</sup>, which realizes, in part at least, the Platonic Utopia; for there is to be a community of goods and women, and with regard to the latter the rights of the ugly are to be protected by special enactment. The play has a good deal of the old Aristophanic energy, and its indecency is as extravagant as its drollery and humour. It has the literary characteristics as well as the phallic grossness of the oldest Attic Comedy. But it is manifestly deficient in the outward apparatus which had set out the Comedy in its best days. The chorus is poorly equipped, and it has little to do in any respect which would have required careful training. There is no *parabasis*; but instead of this a mere *plaudite* is addressed to the audience before the chorus go to supper<sup>2</sup>.

The *Plutus*, in its extant form, is the second edition of the play, which appeared in B.C. 388. The first edition was performed in B.C. 408. In the play, which has come down to us, we have only here and there a reminiscence of what the Old Comedy had been. The chorus is altogether insignificant. There is no political satire, and the personal attacks are directed against individuals capriciously selected. The plot is the development of a very simple and perfectly general truth of allegorical morality—that if the god of riches were not blind, he would have bestowed his favours with more discrimination. In this play Plutus falls into the hands of Chremylus, a poor but most worthy citizen, who contrives to restore the blind god to the use of his eyes. The natural consequences follow. The good become rich, and the bad are reduced to poverty. There is a slight dash of the old Aristophanic humour in the successive pictures of these alterations in the condition of the different classes of men. But on the whole the play exhibits many symptoms not only of the change, which had come over the whole spirit of Greek comic poetry, but also of the decay of the poet's

<sup>1</sup> It is intimated, with a good deal of point, that this transference of the government to the women was the only expedient which had not been tried among the many changes of constitution at Athens (v. 456):

ἔδδκει γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει  
οὕπῳ γεγενῆσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 1154 sqq.: σμικρὸν δ' ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς κριταῖσι βούλομαι·  
τοῖς σοφοῖς μὲν τῶν σοφῶν μεμνημένους κρίνειν ἐμέ·  
τοῖς γελῶσι δ' ἡδέως διὰ τὸν γέλων κρίνειν ἐμέ,  
κ.τ.λ.

vigour and vivacity. The *Plutus* is not yet a play of the Middle Comedy, but it has lost all the characteristic features of the ancient comic drama of Athens.

The last two Comedies which Aristophanes wrote were called *Æolosicon* and *Cocalus*; they were brought out about the time of the peace of Antalcidas, by Araros, one of the sons of the poet, who had been his principal actor at the representation of the second edition of the *Plutus*. They both belonged to the second variety of Comedy; namely, the Comedy of Criticism. The *Æolosicon* was a parody and criticism of the *Æolus* of Euripides<sup>1</sup>. The *Cocalus* was, perhaps, a similar criticism of a Tragedy or Epic Poem, the hero of which was Cocalus, the fabulous king of Sicily, who slew Minos<sup>2</sup>; it was so near an approach to the third variety of Comedy, that Philemon was able to bring it again on the stage with very few alterations<sup>3</sup>.

It is altogether unknown in what year Aristophanes died; it is probable, however, that he did not long survive the commencement of the 100th Olympiad, 380 B.C.<sup>4</sup> He left three sons, Philippus, Araros, and Nicostratus, who were all poets of the Middle Comedy, but do not appear to have inherited any considerable portion of their father's wonderful abilities. Their mother was not a very estimable woman; at all events, the poet is said to have declared, in one of his Comedies, that he was ashamed of her and his two foolish sons; meaning, we are told, the two first-mentioned<sup>5</sup>.

The number of Comedies brought out by Aristophanes is not known with certainty: the reader will see in the note a list of forty-four names of Comedies attributed to him<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Grauert, in the *Rhein. Mus.* for 1828, pp. 50 fol. The name *Αἰολοσίκων* is a compound (like *Ἡρακλειοξανθίας*, &c.) of the name of Euripides's tragic hero, and Sicon, a celebrated cook. Grauert, p. 60. And for this reason the whole Comedy was full of cookery terms. Grauert, pp. 499 fol.

<sup>2</sup> Grauert, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> Clemens Alex. *Strom.* vi. p. 628: τὸν μέντοι Κώκαλον τὸν ποιηθέντα Ἀραρότι τῷ Ἀριστοφάνους υἱεῖ, Φιλήμων ὁ κωμικὸς ὑπαλλάξας ἐν Ἵποβολιμαίῳ ἐκωμώδησεν.

<sup>4</sup> Ranke, p. cxcix.

<sup>5</sup> *Vit. Anonym.* p. xvii: (Ἀριστοφάνης) μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον παῖδας καταλιπὼν τρεῖς, Φίλιππον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πάππῳ καὶ Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα.—τινὲς δὲ δύο φασί, Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀραρότα, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμνήσθη·

Τὴν γυναῖκα δὲ  
αἰσχύνομαι τῷ τ' οὐ φρονοῦντε παιδίῳ·

ἴσως αὐτοὺς λέγων.

<sup>6</sup> I. Δαιταλῆς. II. Βαβυλώνιοι. III. Ἀχαρνῆς. IV. Ἰππῆς. V. Νεφέλαι πρότεραι. VI. Προάγων. VII. Σφήκες. VIII. Εἰρήνη προτέρα. IX. Ἀμφιδάρος. X. Ὀρνίθες. XI. Λυσιστράτη. XII. Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι πρότεραι. XIII. Πλούτος πρότερος. XIV. Βά-

In the very brief sketch which we have given of the general objects of Aristophanes' Comedies, we have confined ourselves to their external and political references. It must not, however, be supposed, because Aristophanes was a Pantagruelist, a fabricator of allegorical caricatures, giving vent at times to the wildest buffoonery, and setting no bounds to the coarseness and plain-spokenness of his words, that his writings contain nothing but a political *gergo*; on the contrary, we find here and there bursts of lyric poetry, which would have done honour to the sublimest of his Tragical contemporaries. The fact is, that Aristophanes was not merely a wit and a satirist; he had within himself all the ingredients which are necessary to form a great poet; the nicest discrimination of harmony, a fervid and active imagination drawing upon the stores of an ever-creating fancy, and a true and enlarged perception of ideal beauty. This was so notorious even in his own time, that Plato, who had little reason to speak favourably of him, declared that the Graces, having sought a temple to dwell in, found it in the bosom of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>, and it is very likely in consequence of Plato's belief in the real poetical power of Aristophanes, that he makes Socrates convince him in the *Banquet*, that the real artists of Tragedy and Comedy are one and the same<sup>2</sup>. Of the private character of Aristophanes we know little, save that he was, like all other Athenians, fond of pleasure; and it is intimated by Plato<sup>3</sup> that he was not distinguished by his abstinence and sobriety. That coarseness of language was in those times no proof of moral depravity, has already been sufficiently shown by a modern admirer of Aristophanes<sup>4</sup>: the fault was not in the man, but in the manners of the age in which he lived, and to blame the Comedian for it, is

τραχοι. XV. Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι. XVI. Πλούτος δεύτερος. XVII. Αἰολοσίκων πρότερος. XVIII. Αἰολοσίκων δεύτερος. XIX. Κώκαλος. These are arranged in the supposed order of their appearance. The remaining names are alphabetically arranged. I. Ἀλέγυρος. II. Γεωργοί. III. Γῆρας. IV. Γηρυτάδης. V. Δαίδαλος. VI. Δαναΐδες. VII. Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος. VIII. Δράματα ἢ Νίοβος. IX. Εἰρήνη δευτέρα. X. Ἑρως. XI. Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι δεύτεραι. XII. Λήμνιαι. XIII. Ναυαγός, or Δις Ναυαγός. XIV. Νεφέλαι δεύτεραι. XV. Νῆσοι. XVI. Ὀλκάδες. XVII. Πελαργοί. XVIII. Πόνητις. XIX. Πολύειδος. XX. Σκηναὶ καταλαμβάνουσαι. XXI. Ταγηνισταί. XXII. Τελμοσῆς. XXIII. Τριφάλης. XXIV. Φόβισσαι. XXV. Ὀραι. See Dindorf's *Collection of the Fragments*. Bergk, p. 901. On the Γῆρας, see Süvern's essay on that play; and on the Τριφάλης, Süvern, *über die Wolken*, pp. 62—65.

<sup>1</sup> Apud Thom. Mag.:

Αἱ χάριτες τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται  
Ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

<sup>2</sup> *Sympos.* p. 223 D.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, see *Symp.* 176 B.

<sup>4</sup> Porson's Review of Brunck's Aristophanes, *Mus. Criticum*, II. pp. 114, 115.

to give a very evident proof of that unwillingness to shake off modern associations which we have already deprecated<sup>1</sup>. The object of Aristophanes was one most worthy of a wise and good man; it was to cry down the pernicious quackery which was forcing its way into Athens, and polluting, or drying up, the springs of public and private virtue; which had turned religion into impudent hypocrisy, and sobriety of mind into the folly of word-wisdom; and which was the cause alike of the corruption of Tragedy, and of the downfall of the state. He is not to be blamed for his method of opposing these evils: it was the only course open to him; the demagogues had introduced the *comus* into the city, and he turned it against them, till it repented them that they had ever used such an instrument. So far, then, from charging Aristophanes with immorality, we would repeat, in the words which a great and a good man of our own days used when speaking of his antitype Rabelais, that the morality of his works is of the most refined and exalted kind, however little worthy of praise their manners may be<sup>2</sup>, and, on the whole, we would fearlessly recommend any student, who is not so imbued with the lisping and drivelling mawkishness of the present day as to shudder at the ingredients with which the necessities of the time have forced the great Comedian to dress up his golden truths, to peruse and re-peruse Aristophanes, if he would know either the full force of the Attic dialect, or the state of men and manners at Athens, in the most glorious days of her history<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Coleridge's *Table Talk*, I. p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> The admiration which all true scholars have felt and expressed for Aristophanes, will survive the attacks of certain modern detractors. Among these, Hartung, in his *Euripides restitutus*, has endeavoured to exalt that tragedian at the expense of the great author of the *Frogs*, whom he assails in the most abusive language (I. 380, 476). The disapprobation of the poetry and politics of Euripides, which Aristophanes so strongly avowed, is not incompatible with the imitation of his style, which he frankly admitted in his *Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσαι* (above, p. 169). And with regard to another charge, it is quite impossible, with the fragmentary evidence before us, to strike the balance of mutual obligation between Eupolis and Aristophanes. See Bernhardt, *Grundriss*, II. p. 973.



## CHAPTER II.

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### SECTION III.

#### THE COMEDIANS WHO SUCCEEDED ARISTOPHANES.

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*I coltivatori della commedia seguirono l'esempio di questi primi, come essi avevano pur seguito quello degli antichi, senza che nè gli uni nè gli altri, impediti da una servile imitazione, avessero soffocato il proprio genio o negletto i costumi del paese e del tempo loro.*

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SALFI.

ALTHOUGH, as we have already remarked<sup>1</sup>, the writers of the Old and Middle Comedy are not easily distinguished, and although we have been obliged to indicate several of the old comedians as having tended rather to the middle form of Comedy, writers on the subject have always attempted a distinct classification of the comedians rather than of their plays; and perhaps it may be said with truth that those who never wrote in the flourishing period of Athenian democracy, and whose earliest plays exhibit the characteristics of the final efforts of Aristophanes, may be regarded as belonging distinctively to the Middle Comedy.

According to this distinction, the Middle Comedy is represented by a list of thirty-seven writers,—nearly as many as those of the Old Comedy,—and by more than double the number of the plays attributed to the former school—Eubulus, Antiphanes, and Alexis having among them contributed more than 600 plays to the catalogue! The following are the names of the Middle Comedians:

1. ANTIPHANES. 2. EUBULUS. 3. ANAXANDRIDES. 4. ALEXIS.
5. ARAROS, son of Aristophanes. 6. PHILIPPUS, brother of the

<sup>1</sup> On these authors and their works, see Meineke, *Quæstiones Scenicae Spec.* III. and his *Historia Critica*, pp. 303 sqq. and 445 sqq.; also Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* II. ch. xxix.

preceding. 7. NICOSTRATUS. 8. PHILETÆRUS. 9. AMPHIS. 10. ANAXILAS. 11. EPHIPPUS. 12. CRATINUS, the younger. 13. EPIGENES. 14. ARISTOPHON. 15. OPHELION. 16. ANTIDOTUS. 17. DIODORUS of Sinope. 18. DIONYSIUS, a countryman of the preceding. 19. HENIOCHUS. 20. ERIPHUS. 21. SIMYLUS. 22. SOPHILUS. 23. SOTADES. 24. PHILISCUS. 25. TIMOTHEUS. 26. THEOPHILUS. 27. AUGEAS. 28. DROMON. 29. EUBULIDES, the philosopher. 30. HERACLEIDES. 31. CALLICRATES. 32. STRATON. 33. EPICRATES, of Ambracia. 34. AXIONICUS. 35. MNESIMACHUS. 36. TIMOCLES. 37. XENARCHUS.

The anonymous grammarian, who is our oldest authority for the history of the Greek comic stage, says that there were sixty-four writers of New Comedy<sup>1</sup>. But we have only the following twenty-seven names which we can with certainty assign to this age of the drama. They are given in alphabetical order: ANAXIPPUS, APOLLODORUS of Carystus, APOLLODORUS of Gela, ARCHEDICUS, BATHO, CRITO, DAMOXENUS, DEMETRIUS, DIPHILUS, EPINICUS, EUDOXUS, EUPHRON, HEGESIPPUS, HIPPARCHUS, LYNCEUS, MACHON, MENANDER, PHILEMON and his son, PHILIPPIDES, PHŒNICIDES, POSEIDIPPUS, SOSIPATER, SOSIPPUS, STEPHANUS, THEOGNETUS.

Other names are occasionally mentioned, though it cannot be determined whether they belonged to the Middle Comedy or not. Thus we have DEMOPHILUS, from whom Plautus derived some of his plots; CLEARCHUS and CROTYLUS, to each of whom three Comedies are assigned; CHARICLEIDES, CALLIPPUS, DEMONICUS, DEXICRATES, EVANGELUS, LAON, MENECRATES, NAUSICRATES, who has two comedies assigned to him, NICON, NICOLAUS, NICOMACHUS, PHILOSTEPHANUS, POLIOCHUS, SOSICRATES, two of whose plays are mentioned, THUGENIDES, TIMOSTRATUS, to whom four comedies are attributed, and XENON.

In these lists of writers of the Middle and New Comedy there are only a few who deserve or require any special notice.

Of the authors of the Middle Comedy we may mention the following:

It appears from the words of Suidas<sup>2</sup>, that EUBULUS, the son of Euphranor, who was an Athenian, and flourished about the year

<sup>1</sup> *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, xxx. 20, p. 537, Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> *Εὐβουλος—ἐδίδαξε δράματα ῥδ' ἦν δὲ κατὰ ρα' ὀλυμπιάδα, μεθόριος τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας καὶ τῆς νέας.*

375 B.C., stood on the debateable ground between the middle and new Comedy, and to judge from the fragments in Athenæus, who quotes more than fifty of his comedies by name, he must have written plays of both sorts. He composed in the whole 104 comedies.

ANTIPHANES was born in Rhodes in B.C. 404, began to exhibit about B.C. 383, and died in Chios in B.C. 330. He composed 260 or 280 Comedies, and the titles of 130 of these have come down to us. It appears from these names and from the numerous fragments, that the Comedies of Antiphanes were generally of the critical kind, but sometimes approximated to the Comedy of Manners<sup>1</sup>.

ANAXANDRIDES, of Camirus in Rhodes, flourished about the year 376 B.C.<sup>2</sup> He wrote sixty-five Comedies. To judge from the twenty-eight titles which have come down to us, we should infer that they were all of the second class; as, however, we are told that he introduced intrigues and love-affairs on the stage, we must presume that, like his countryman Antiphanes, he made an advance towards the third class of Comedy. Chamæleon tells us<sup>3</sup>, that he was a tall handsome man, and fond of fine dresses; he gives as a proof of his want of temper, that he used to destroy, or sell for waste paper, all his unsuccessful comedies. He lived to a good old age.

ALEXIS, of Thurium, wrote 245 Comedies; the titles of 113 of them are known to us. The *Parasite*, one of his Comedies, seems from the name to belong to the New Comedy. He flourished from the year 356 to the year 306, and was more than one hundred years old when he died<sup>4</sup>. We know nothing of him, except that he was an epicure<sup>5</sup>, and the uncle and instructor of Menander<sup>6</sup>.

TIMOCLES, to whom twenty-seven Comedies are attributed, was a writer of very considerable vigour, and occasionally recurred to the political invective of the older Comedy. Demosthenes was some-

<sup>1</sup> On Antiphanes and his fragments, see Clinton, *Phil. Mus.* i. pp. 558 fol.

<sup>2</sup> Parian Marble, No. 71, and Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> Athenæus, ix. p. 374 A.

<sup>4</sup> Clinton, *F. II.* ii. p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> Athenæus, viii. p. 334 C.

<sup>6</sup> Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxx, and Suidas, where we must read *πατρός*.

times the object of his attacks. He was still exhibiting in 324 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Of the authors of the New Comedy it will be sufficient to mention the following:

PHILIPPIDES, the son of Philocles of Athens, is one of the six poets generally selected as specimens of the New Comedy<sup>2</sup>. He flourished about the year 335 B.C., and wrote forty-five Comedies; of the twelve titles preserved, one at least, the *Amphiaraus*<sup>3</sup>, seems to belong to the Middle or Old Comedy. The intimacy which existed between him and Lysimachus was of great service to Athens<sup>4</sup>. As that prince did not assume the title of king till 306 B.C., and as it appears from the words of Plutarch<sup>5</sup>, that Lysimachus was king at the time of his acquaintance with Philippides, the poet must have lived after that year; besides we know that he ridiculed the honours paid by the Athenians to Demetrius, in 301 B.C.<sup>6</sup> There is, therefore, every reason to believe the statement of Aulus Gellius, that he lived to a very advanced age<sup>7</sup>, though perhaps the cause assigned for his death, excessive joy on account of an unexpected victory, is, like the similar story respecting Sophocles, a mere invention.

PHILEMON was, according to Strabo<sup>8</sup>, a native of Soli, though Suidas makes him a Syracusan, probably because he resided some time in Sicily. He began to exhibit about the year 330 B.C., and died at the age of ninety-seven, some time in the reign of Antigonos the second<sup>9</sup>. According to Diodorus<sup>10</sup>, he lived ninety-nine years, and wrote ninety-seven Comedies. Various accounts are given of the manner of his death<sup>11</sup>. Lucian tells us, he died in a paroxysm

<sup>1</sup> See the passages in Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Prol. Aristoph. p. xxx: ἀξιολογώτατοι Φιλήμων, Μένανδρος, Δίφιλος, Φιλιππίδης, Ποσειδίππος, Ἀπολλόδωρος.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Athenæus, III. p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Demetr.* c. XII.

<sup>5</sup> Φιλοφρονουμένου δέ ποτε τοῦ Λυσιμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, “ὦ Φιλιππίδη, τίς σοι τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ;” “Μόνον,” ἔφη, “ὃ βασιλεῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀπορρήτων.”

<sup>6</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> III. 15: Philippides comoediarum poëta haud ignobilis, ætate jam editâ, cum in certamine poëtarum præter spem vicisset, inter illud gaudium repente mortuus est.

<sup>8</sup> XIV. p. 671.

<sup>9</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> *Eclog.* Lib. XXIII. p. 318.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *An seni, &c.* p. 785; Lucian, *Macroch.* c. XXV. (Vol. VIII. p. 123, Lehm.); Apuleius, *Florid.* XVI. Suidas says he was ninety-four when he died, and gives nearly the same description of his death as Lucian.

of laughter at seeing an ass devouring some figs intended for his own eating. The names of fifty-three of his Comedies have come down to us<sup>1</sup>. Philemon was considered as superior to Menander<sup>2</sup>; and Quintilian, while he denies the correctness of this judgment<sup>3</sup>, is nevertheless willing to allow Philemon the second place. We may see a favourable specimen of his construction of plots, in the *Trinummus* of Plautus, which is a translation from his *Θησαυρός*<sup>4</sup>. His plays, like those of Menander, contained many imitations of Euripides; and he was so ardent an admirer of that poet, that he declared he would have hanged himself for the prospect of meeting Euripides in the other world, if he could have convinced himself that the departed spirits were really capable of recognizing one another<sup>5</sup>.

MENANDER, the son of Diopeithes, the well-known general, and Hegesistrata<sup>6</sup>, and the nephew of the comedian Alexis<sup>7</sup>, was born at Athens in B.C. 342<sup>8</sup>, while his father was absent on the Hellespont station<sup>9</sup>. He spent his youth in the house of his uncle, and received from him and from Theophrastus instructions in poetry and philosophy<sup>10</sup>: he may have derived from the latter, in some measure, the knowledge of character for which he was so eminent. In 321 B.C. his first Comedy came out<sup>11</sup>; it was called *Ὀργή*<sup>12</sup>. He wrote in the whole 105<sup>13</sup> or 108<sup>14</sup> Comedies, and gained

<sup>1</sup> Fabricius, II. p. 476, Harles.

<sup>2</sup> Aul. Gell. XVII. 4; Quintil. III. 7, 18.

<sup>3</sup> X. I, 72: *Philemon*, qui ut pravis sui temporis judiciis Menandro sæpe prælatum est, ita consensu tamen omnium meruit credi secundus.

<sup>4</sup> *Prol. Trinummi*, 18:

Huic nomen Græce est Thesauro fabulæ;  
Philemo scripsit; Plautus vortit barbære,  
Nomen Trinummo fecit.

<sup>5</sup> *Fragm.* 40 A, p. 48, Meineke; *Anthol. Pal.* Vol. II. p. 161:

Εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισι οἱ τεθνηκότες  
Ἀίσθησι εἶχον, ἄνδρες, ὥς φασὶν τῶες,  
Ἀπηγξάμην ἂν ὥς ἰδεῖν Εὐριπίδην.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas, Μένανδρος.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, Ἀλεξίς.

<sup>8</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 143.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Ulpian and Demosth. p. 54, 3, with Dionys. *Dinarch.* p. 666.

<sup>10</sup> Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx; Diogen. Laërt. v. 36.

<sup>11</sup> Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx.

<sup>12</sup> Euseb. *ad Olyn.* 114, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Apollod. ap. Aul. Gell. XVII. 4:

Κηφισιεὺς ὢν ἐκ Διοπίθεος πατρός,  
Πρὸς τοῖσιν ἑκατὸν πέντε γράψας δράματα  
Ἐξέλιπε, πεντήκοντα καὶ δυοῖν ἐτῶν.

<sup>14</sup> Suidas, γέγραφε κωμωδίας ρή'.

the prize eight times: 115 titles of Comedies ascribed to him have come down to us; it is not certain, however, that all these are correctly attributed to him<sup>1</sup>. He died at Athens in the year 291 B.C.<sup>2</sup> According to one account, he was drowned while bathing in the harbour of the Peiræus<sup>3</sup>. It appears from the encomiums which are heaped upon him<sup>4</sup>, that he was by far the best writer of the Comedy of Manners among the Greeks. We have a few specimens of the ingenuity of his plots in some of the plays of Terence, whom Julius Cæsar used to call a demi-Menander<sup>5</sup>. He was an imitator of Euripides<sup>6</sup>, and we may infer from what Quintilian says of him<sup>7</sup>, that his Comedies differed from the Tragi-comedies of that poet only in the absence of mythical subjects and a chorus. Like Euripides, he was a good rhetorician, and Quintilian is inclined to attribute to him some orations published in the name of Charisius<sup>8</sup>. The every-day life of his countrymen, and manners and characters of ordinary occurrence, were the objects of his imitation<sup>9</sup>. His plots, though skilfully contrived, are somewhat monotonous; there are few of his Comedies which do not bring on the stage a harsh father, a profligate son, and a roguish slave<sup>10</sup>. In his

<sup>1</sup> Fabricius, II. pp. 460, 468, Harles.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> A line in the *Ibis* attributed to Ovid, is supposed by some to allude to this (591):

Comicus ut mediis periit dum nabat in undis.

<sup>4</sup> Quintil. x. 1, 69; Plutarch, Tom. ix. pp. 387 sqq. Reiske; and Dio Chrysost. xviii. p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> Donatus, *Vit. Terentii*.

<sup>6</sup> See the passages compared by Meineke, *Fragm. Com. Gr.* Vol. iv. pp. 705 foll. It is interesting to know that it is still doubtful whether the Senarius quoted by St. Paul in 1 *Corinth.* xv. 33, was not borrowed by Menander, in his *Thais*, from some lost play of Euripides. It is quoted in Latin by Tertullian, *ad Uxor.* i. 8.

<sup>7</sup> x. 1, 69.

<sup>8</sup> x. 1, 70.

<sup>9</sup> Aristoph. Byz. *ap. Schol. Hermogenis*, p. 38:

ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βλε,  
Πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἐμίμησάτο;

Manilius, v. 472:

Ardentes juvenes, raptasque in amore puellas,  
Elusosque senes, agilesque per omnia servos,  
Quis in cuncta suam produxit sæcula vitam  
Doctor in urbe sua linguæ sub flore Menander,  
Qui vitæ ostendit vitam, chartisque sacravit.

<sup>10</sup>

Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba læna,  
Vivent, dum meretrix blanda, Menandrus erit.

Ovid, i. *Amorum*, xv. 18.

person Menander was foppish and effeminate<sup>1</sup>. He wrote several prose works<sup>2</sup>. A statue was erected to his memory in the theatre at Athens<sup>3</sup>.

The date of the birth of DIPHILUS is unknown; it is stated that he exhibited at the same time with Menander<sup>4</sup>. He was born at Sinope<sup>5</sup>, and died at Smyrna. Of one hundred Comedies, which he is said to have written, the names of forty-eight are preserved<sup>6</sup>. The *Casina* of Plautus is borrowed from his *Κληρούμενοι*<sup>7</sup>, and the *Rudens* from some other play<sup>8</sup>; and Terence tells us, that he introduced into the *Adelphi* a literal translation of part of the *Συναποθνήσκοντες* of Diphilus<sup>9</sup>. It appears from the *Casina* and *Rudens* and from a fragment of Machon<sup>10</sup>, that he

- <sup>1</sup> In quis Menander, nobilis comoediis,  
 . . . . .  
 Unguento delibutus, vestitu affluens,  
 Veniebat gressu delicato et languido.  
 . . . . .  
 Quisnam cinædus ille in conspectu meo  
 Audet venire? Responderunt proximi:  
 Hic est Menander scriptor.

Phædrus, v. i. 9.

Prorsus si quis Menandrico fluxu delicatam vestem humi protrahat. Tertullian, c. iv. de *Pallio*.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, Μένανδρος.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. i. 21, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Δίφιλος Σινωπέυς, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐδίδαξε Μενάνδρῳ, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Σμύρῃ, δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ρ'. Proleg. Arist. p. xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, xii. p. 546.

<sup>6</sup> Fabricius, ii. p. 438, Harles.

<sup>7</sup> *Clerumenæ* vocatur hæc comoedia  
 Græce; Latine *Sortientes*. Diphilus  
 Hanc Græce scripsit, post id rursum denuo  
 Latine Plautus cum latranti nomine.

*Prolog. Casinæ*, 30—32.

<sup>8</sup> *Prolog. Rud.* 32:

Primum dum huic esse nomen urbi Diphilus  
 Cyrenas voluit.

<sup>9</sup> *Synapothnescontes* Diphili comoedia 'st:  
 Eam *Conmorientes* Plautus fecit fabulam.  
 In Græca adolescens est, qui lenoni eripit  
 Meretricem in primâ fabulâ: eum Plautus locum  
 Reliquit integrum, eum hic locum sumpsit sibi  
 In *Adelphos*, verbum de verbo expressum extulit.

*Prol. Adelph.* 6—11.

<sup>10</sup> Athen. xiii. p. 580 A:

ὁ Δίφιλος,  
 “νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεοὺς ψυχρὸν γ’,” ἔφη,  
 “Γναθαῖν’, ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως.”  
 ἢ δ’ εἶπε, “τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς  
 εἰς αὐτὸν αἰετὸς τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν.”



wrote prologues to his dramas, which were probably very like the prologues of the Latin comedians, though they were, we think, originally borrowed (like all the New Comedy) from the tragedies of Euripides.

APOLLODORUS, of Gela in Sicily<sup>1</sup>, is also called a contemporary of Menander. He is often confused with APOLLODORUS of Carystus in Eubœa, whom Suidas calls an Athenian, probably because he had the Athenian franchise, but who flourished between B.C. 300 and 260. For he is said to have been a contemporary of MACHON, who was a Corinthian or Sicyonian by birth, who resided at Alexandria, and gave instructions in Comedy to Aristophanes of Byzantium, and whose Comedies obtained for him a place among the Alexandrian poets immediately after those of the Pleiad<sup>2</sup>. Of twenty-four Comedies, which are mentioned under the name of Apollodorus, four are ascribed to the earlier poet, six to the latter, and four to both. The remaining ten are quoted under the name of Apollodorus without any ethnic distinction<sup>3</sup>. The later Apollodorus was much the more distinguished writer of the two, and there can be little doubt that it is he, and not the Geloan, who is mentioned as one of the six chief poets of the New Comedy<sup>4</sup>. The *Phormio* of Terence is a translation from his *Ἐπιδικαζόμενος*, and the *Hecyra*, which is said in the didascalia to have been taken from Menander, was, according to a recently discovered fragment, also borrowed from this poet<sup>5</sup>.

POSIDIPPUS, the son of Cyniscus of Cassandreia, wrote thirty Comedies; the titles of fifteen of these are known, and some of them were Latinized like those of the three last mentioned poets<sup>6</sup>. He began to exhibit in 289 B.C., two years after the death of Menander<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the two comedians of this name see Clinton, *F. H.* III. pp. 521, 2; Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com.* pp. 459 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, p. 664 A (cf. VI. p. 241 F): *ἦν δ' ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς εἰ τις ἄλλος τῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰ*. The author of the article on Apollodorus of Carystus, in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, applies to Apollodorus what Athenæus says of Machon.

<sup>3</sup> Clinton's *F. H.* III. pp. 521, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Meineke, p. 462.

<sup>5</sup> Mai, *Fragm. Plaut. et Terent.* p. 38: "Fabula ejus [Terentii] exstant quatuor e Menandro translata, Andria, Eunuchus, Adelphæ et Heautontimorumenos; duæ ex Apollodoro Caricio [sic] Hecyra et Phormio."

<sup>6</sup> Aul. Gell. II. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, Ποσειδιππος.

The Greek Comedy properly ends with Posidippus, but there are some writers of a later date called comedians. RHINTHON, of Tarentum, is called a comedian by Suidas, but his plays seem to have been rather *phlyacographies*, or Tragi-comedies, and of those he left thirty-eight. He flourished in the reign of the first Ptolemy<sup>1</sup>. The titles of six of his plays are known<sup>2</sup>. SOPATER, of Paphos, was a writer of the same kind; and also SOTADES, of Crete, who flourished under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and wrote in the Ionic dialect<sup>3</sup>, and in the so-called *Ionic a minore* metre. From the extravagant indecency of the Sotadean poems the name has become a by-word of reproach<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas: 'Ρίνθων, Ταραντίνος, κωμικός, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς καλουμένης Ἰλαροτραγῳδίας ἣ ἐστὶ Φλυακογραφία. υἱὸς δὲ ἦν κεραμέως καὶ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου. Δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ κωμικὰ τραγικὰ λή'.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 486.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 500.

<sup>4</sup> See *History of Greek Literature*, II. p. 464.

# CHRONOLOGY

## OF

# THE GREEK DRAMA.

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
708	XVIII. 1.	<i>Archilochus</i> .	<i>Gyges</i> of Lydia.
693	XXI. 4.	<i>Simonides</i> of Amorgus.	
610	XLII. 3.	<i>Arion</i> and <i>Stesichorus</i> fl.	<i>Pisander</i> of Corinth.
594	XLVI. 3.	<i>Solon</i> fl.	
562	LIV. 3.	<i>Susarion</i> .	Usurpation of <i>Pisistratus</i> , B.C. 560.—The accession of <i>Cyrus</i> , B.C. 559.
549	LVII. 4.		Death of <i>Phalaris</i> .
544	LIX. 1.	<i>Theognis</i> .	
535	LXI. 2.	<i>Thespis</i> first exhibits.	<i>Anacreon</i> , <i>Ibycus</i> , <i>Hipponax</i> ,— <i>Pythagoras</i> .
525	LXIII. 4.	<i>Æschylus</i> born.	<i>Cambyses</i> conquers Egypt.
524	LXIV. 1.	<i>Chærilus</i> first exhibits.	
519	LXV. 2.	<i>Cratinus</i> born.	
518	— 3.		<i>Pindar</i> born.
511	LXVII. 2.	<i>Phrynichus</i> first exhibits.	Expulsion of the <i>Pisistratidæ</i> , B.C. 510—of the <i>Tarquins</i> , B.C. 509.
508	LXVIII. 1.	Institution of the <i>Xopos andrôn</i> . <i>Larus</i> of Hermione, the dithyrambic poet.	<i>Heracitus</i> and <i>Parmenides</i> , the philosophers.— <i>Hecatæus</i> , the historian.
500	LXX. 1.	<i>Epicharmus</i> perfects Comedy.	Birth of <i>Anaxagoras</i> .
499	— 2.	<i>Æschylus</i> first exhibits, and contends with <i>Chærilus</i> and <i>Pratinas</i> .	Ionian war commences, and Sardis is burnt.
495	LXXI. 2.	Birth of <i>Sophocles</i> .	Miletus taken, B.C. 494.
490	LXXII. 3.	<i>Æschylus</i> at Marathon.	<i>Miltiades</i> .

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
487	LXXIII. 2.	<i>Chionides</i> first exhibits.	
484	LXXIV. 1.	<i>Æschylus</i> gains his first tragic prize.	Birth of <i>Herodotus</i> .
480	LXXV. 1.	<i>Euripides</i> born.	Thermopylæ, Salamis. — <i>Leonidas</i> , <i>Aristides</i> , <i>Themistocles</i> . — <i>Pherecydes</i> , the historian. — <i>Gelon</i> of Syracuse.
477	— 3.	<i>Epicharmi</i> Νᾶσοι.	<i>Hiero</i> succeeds <i>Gelon</i> , B.C. 478.
476	LXXVI. 1.	<i>Phrynichus</i> victor with his Φολιῖσσαι. <i>Themistocles</i> choragus.	<i>Simonides</i> gains the prize Ἀδρῶν Χορῶ.
472	LXXVII. 1.	<i>Æschyli</i> Πέρσαι, Φινεύς, Γλαῦκος Πορτιεύς, Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος.	Birth of <i>Thucydides</i> , B.C. 471.
468	LXXVIII. 1.	<i>Sophocles</i> gains his first tragic prize. <i>Æschylus</i> goes to Sicily.	<i>Socrates</i> born. — Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives. — Death of <i>Simonides</i> , B.C. 467.
458	LXXX. 3.	<i>Æschyli</i> Ὀρεστεῖα. <i>Æschylus</i> again retires to Sicily.	<i>Anaxagoras</i> . Birth of <i>Lysias</i> .
456	LXXXI. 1.	<i>Æschylus</i> dies.	<i>Herodotus</i> at Olympia.
455	— 2.	<i>Euripides</i> exhibits the <i>Peliades</i> .	End of the Messenian and Egyptian wars. — <i>Empedocles</i> and <i>Zeno</i> . — <i>Pericles</i> .
454	— 3.	<i>Aristarchus</i> , of Tegea, the tragedian, and <i>Cratinus</i> , the comic poet, flourish.	
451	LXXXII. 2.	<i>Ion</i> of Chios begins to exhibit.	
450	— 3.	<i>Crates</i> exhibits.	<i>Bacchylides</i> , the lyric poet. — <i>Archelaus</i> , the philosopher.
448	LXXXIII. 1.	<i>Cratini</i> Ἀρχιλοχοί.	Death of <i>Cimon</i> , B.C. 449.
447	— 2.	<i>Achæus Eretriensis</i> , the tragedian.	Battle of Coronea.
441	LXXXIV. 4.	<i>Euripides</i> gains the first tragic prize.	<i>Herodotus</i> and <i>Lysias</i> go with the colonists to Thurium, B.C. 443.
440	LXXXV. 1.	Comedy prohibited by a public decree.	The Samian war, in which <i>Septacles</i> is colleague with <i>Pericles</i> .
437	— 3.	The prohibition of comedy repealed.	<i>Isocrates</i> born, B. C. 436.
435	LXXXVI. 2.	<i>Phrynichus</i> , the comic poet, first exhibits.	Sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyræans.
434	— 3.	<i>Lysippus</i> , the comic poet, is victorious.	<i>Andocides</i> , <i>Meton</i> , <i>Aspasia</i> .

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
431	LXXXVII. 2.	<i>Euripidis</i> Μήδεια, Φιλοκτήτης, Δίκτυς, Θερισταί. <i>Aristomenes</i> , the comic poet.	Attempt of the Thebans on Plataea. <i>Hippocrates</i> .
430	— 3.	<i>Hermippus</i> , the comic poet.	Plague at Athens.
429	— 4.	<i>Eupolis</i> exhibits.	Siege of Plataea.—Birth of Plato.
428	LXXXVIII. 1.	<i>Euripidis</i> Ἰππόλυτος. <i>Plato</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Anaxagoras</i> dies.
427	— 2.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Δαιταλεῖς.	Surrender of Plataea.— <i>Gorgias</i> of Leontium.
426	— 3.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Βαβυλώνιοι.	<i>Tanagra</i> .
425	— 4.	<i>Aristophanes</i> first with the Ἀχαρνεῖς: <i>Cratinus</i> second with the Χειμαζόμενοι: <i>Eupolis</i> third with the Νουμηνίαι.	<i>Cleon</i> at Sphacteria.
424	LXXXIX. 1.	<i>Aristophanes</i> first with the Ἰππεῖς: <i>Cratinus</i> second with the Σάτυροι: <i>Aristomenes</i> third with the Ὀλοφυρμοί.	<i>Xenophon</i> at Delium.—Amphipolis taken from <i>Thucydides</i> by <i>Brasidas</i> .
423	— 2.	<i>Cratinus</i> first with the Πυτρίη: <i>Ameipsias</i> second with the Κόννος: <i>Aristophanes</i> third with the Νεφέλαι.	The year's truce with Lacedæmon.— <i>Alcibiades</i> begins to act in public affairs.
422	— 3.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Σφήκες et αἱ δεύτεραι Νεφέλαι. (Sed vide supra.) <i>Cratinus</i> dies.	<i>Brasidas</i> and <i>Cleon</i> killed at Amphipolis.
421	— 4.	<i>Eupolidis</i> Μαρικᾶς et Κόλακες.	Truce for fifty years with Lacedæmon.
420	XC. 1.	<i>Eupolidis</i> Αὐτόλυκος et Ἀστράτευτοι.	Treaty with the Argives.
419	— 2.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Εἰρήνη.	
416	XCI. 1.	<i>Agathon</i> gains the tragic prize.	Capture of Melos.
415	— 2.	<i>Xenocles</i> first; <i>Euripides</i> second with the Τρωάδες, Ἀλέξανδρος, Παλαμήδης, and Σίσυφος. <i>Archippus</i> , the comic poet, gains the prize.	Expedition to Sicily.
414	— 3.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Ἀμφιδράκος (eis Ἀθήναια).	

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
		<i>Ameipsias</i> first with the <i>Κωμοσ- ταί</i> : <i>Aristophanes</i> second with the <i>Ὀρνιθες</i> : <i>Phrynichus</i> third with the <i>Μονότροπος</i> ( <i>εἰς ἄστυ</i> ).	
413	XCI. 4.	<i>Hegemonis</i> Γιγαντομαχία.	Destruction of the Athenian army before Syracuse.
412	XCII. 1.	<i>Euripidis</i> Ἀνδρομέδα.	Lesbos, Chios, and Erythræ re- volt.
411	— 2.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Λυσιστράτη et Θεσ- μοφοριάζουσαι.	The 400 at Athens.
409	— 4.	<i>Sophocles</i> first with the Φιλο- κτήτης.	
408	XCIII. 1.	<i>Euripidis</i> Ὀρέστης.	
406	— 3.	<i>Euripides</i> dies.	<i>Arginusæ</i> .— <i>Dionysius</i> becomes master of Syracuse.— <i>Phili- tus</i> , the Sicilian historian.
405	— 4.	Death of <i>Sophocles</i> .	<i>Ægospotami</i> .— <i>Conon</i> .
		<i>Aristophanis</i> Βάτραχοι, first; <i>Phrynichi</i> Μοῦσαι, second; <i>Platonis</i> Κλεοφῶν, third.	The <i>Thirty</i> at Athens.
404	XCIV. 1.	<i>Antiphanes</i> born.	
401	— 3.	<i>Sophoclis</i> Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ Κολώνῃ exhibited by the younger <i>So- phocles</i> ; who first represented in his own name, B.C. 396.	<i>Xenophon</i> , with Cyrus.— <i>Cleias</i> , the historian.— <i>Plato</i> .
392	XCVII. 1.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι.	<i>Agesilaus</i> .
388	XCVIII. 1.	<i>Aristophanis</i> Πλούτος β'.	
387	— 2.		Peace of <i>Antalcidas</i> .
386	— 3.	<i>Theopompus</i> , the last poet of the Old Comedy.	
383	XCIX. 2.	<i>Antiphanes</i> begins to exhibit.	
376	CI. 1.	<i>Eubulus</i> , <i>Araros</i> , and <i>Anaxan- drides</i> , the comic poets, flou- rished.	
368	CIII. 1.	<i>Aphareus</i> , the tragedian.	
356	CVI. 1.	<i>Alexis</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Alexander</i> born.—Expulsion of <i>Dionysius</i> .—Death of <i>Timo- theus</i> , the musician.
348	CVIII. 1.	<i>Heraclides</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Demosthenes</i> against <i>Midias</i> .— <i>Philip</i> and the Olynthian war

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
342	CIX. 3.	Birth of <i>Menander</i> .	<i>Timoleon</i> at Syracuse.— <i>Isocrates</i> . — <i>Aristotle</i> .
336	OXI. 1.	<i>Amphis</i> , the comic poet, still exhibits.	<i>Philip</i> assassinated.
335	— 2.	<i>Philippides</i> , the comedian.	
332	OXII. 1.	<i>Stephanus</i> , the comic poet.	Siege of Tyre.
330	— 3.	<i>Philemon</i> begins to exhibit.	<i>Darius</i> slain.
324	OXIV. 1.	<i>Timocles</i> still exhibits.	<i>Alexander</i> dies. — <i>Demosthenes</i> dies, B.C. 322.
321	— 4.	<i>Menandri</i> 'Opyῆ. <i>Diphilus</i> .	
307	OXVIII. 1.	<i>Demetrius</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Epicurus</i> .— <i>Agathocles</i> .
304	OXIX. 1.	<i>Archedippus</i> , <i>Philippides</i> , and <i>Anaxippus</i> , the comic poets, flourish.	<i>Demetrius Poliorcetes</i> .
291	OXXII. 2.	Death of <i>Menander</i> .	<i>Arcesilaus</i> .
289	— 4.	<i>Posidippus</i> begins to exhibit— <i>Rhinthon</i> flourishes.	
280	OXXV. 1.	<i>Sotades</i> .	War with Pyrrhus.
230	XXXVII. 3.	<i>Macho</i> , the comedian.	
200	OXLV. 1.	<i>Apollodorus</i> , the Carystian.	<i>Plautus</i> dies.



## BOOK III.

### EXHIBITION OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

#### ON THE REPRESENTATION OF GREEK PLAYS IN GENERAL.

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*Dass man auf das ganze Verhältniss der Orchestra zur Bühne keine vom heutigen Theater entnommenen Vorstellungen übertragen, und die alte Tragödie nicht MODERNISIREN dürfe, ist ja wohl eine der ersten Regeln, die man bei der Beurtheilung dieser Dinge zu beobachten hat.—K. O. MUELLER.*

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IF the Greek plays themselves differed essentially from those of our own times, they were even more dissimilar in respect of the mode and circumstances of their representation. We have theatrical exhibitions of some kind every evening throughout the greater part of the year, and in capital cities many are going on at the same time in different theatres. In Greece the dramatic performances were carried on for a few days in the Spring; the theatre was large enough to contain the whole population, and every citizen was there, as a matter of course, from daybreak to sunset<sup>1</sup>. With us a successful play is repeated night after night, for months together: in Greece the most admired dramas were seldom repeated, and never in the same year. The theatre with us is merely a place of public entertainment; in Greece it was the temple of the god, whose altar was the central point of the semicircle of seats or steps,

<sup>1</sup> Æsch. κατὰ Κτησ. p. 488, Bekker: καὶ ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγειτο τοῖς πρέσβεισι τὸ θέατρον.

The torch-races in the last plays of a trilogia (above, p. 102) seem to show that the exhibitions were not over till dark.

from which some 30,000<sup>1</sup> of his worshippers gazed upon a spectacle instituted in his honour. Our theatrical costumes are intended to convey an idea of the dresses actually worn by the persons represented, while those of the Greeks were nothing but modifications of the festal robes worn in the Dionysian processions<sup>2</sup>. Finally, the modern playwright has only the approbation or disapprobation of his audience to look to; whereas no Greek play was represented until it had been approved by a board appointed to decide between the rival dramatists. It will be worth our while, then, to consider separately the distinguishing peculiarities of a Greek dramatic exhibition. We shall discuss the points of difference successively, as they relate to the *time*, the *means*, the *place*, and the *manner* of performance; to which we shall add a few remarks on the audience and the actors. And first with regard to the *time*.

Theatrical exhibitions formed a part of certain festivals of Bacchus; in order, then, to ascertain at what time of the year they took place, we must inquire how many festivals were held in Attica in honour of that God, and then determine at which of them theatrical representations were given. There have been great diversities of opinion in regard to the number of the Attic Dionysia<sup>3</sup>: it appears, however, to be now pretty generally agreed among scholars that there were four Bacchic feasts; in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months respectively of the Attic year.

I. The "country Dionysia," (*τὰ κατ' ἀγρὸς Διονύσια*), were celebrated all over Attica, in the month Poseideon, which included the latter part of December and the beginning of January. This

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Sympos.* p. 175 E.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Eumeniden*, § 32, and *Hist. Gr. Lit.* I. p. 393 new ed.

<sup>3</sup> The reader who wishes to investigate the question fully is referred to Scaliger (*Emendat. Temp.* I. p. 29), Paulmier (*Exercitat. in Auctores Græcos*, pp. 617—619), Petit (*Legg. Atticæ*, pp. 112—117), Spanheim (*Argum. ad Arist. Ran.* Tom. III. pp. 122 sqq. ed. Beck), Oderici (*Dissert. de Didasc. Marmorea*, Rom. 1777, and in Marini, *Iscriz. Albane*, Rom. 1785, pp. 161—170), Kanngiesser (*Kom. Bühne*, pp. 161—170), and Hermann (Beck's *Aristoph.* Tom. V. pp. 11—28), who infer from the Scholiast, on Aristoph. *Ach.* 201 and 503, that the Lenææ were identical with the rural Dionysia; to Selden (*ad Marm. Oxon.* pp. 35—39), Corsini (*F. A.* II. 325—329), Ruhnken (in Alberti's *Hesych. Auclar.* to Vol. I. p. 1000), Barthélemy (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* XXXIX. pp. 172 sqq.), Wytttenbach (*Biblioth. Crit.* II. 3, pp. 41 sqq.), Spalding (*Abhandl. d. Berl. Academie*, 1804—1811, pp. 70—82), Blomfield (in *Mus. Crit.* II. pp. 75 sqq.), and Clinton (*F. H.* II. p. 332), who identify the Lenææ and Anthesteria; finally, to Böckh (*Abhandl. d. Berlin. Acad.* 1816, pp. 47—124), Buttmann (*ad Dem. Mid.* p. 119), and Dr Thirlwall (in the *Phil. Mus.* II. pp. 273 fol.), who adopt the opinion stated in the text. Some arguments in favour of the second hypothesis have been brought forward by a writer in the *Classical Museum*, No. XI. pp. 70 sqq.

was the festival of the vintage, which is still in some places postponed to December<sup>1</sup>.

II. The festival of the wine-press (τὰ Λήναια) was held in Gamelion, which corresponded to the Ionian month Lenæon, and to part of January and February. It was, like the rural Dionysia, a vintage festival, but differed from them in being confined to a particular spot in the city of Athens, called the Lenæon, where the first wine-press (ληνός) was erected.

III. The "Anthesteria" (τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια, τὰ ἐν Λιμναῖς) were held on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month Anthesterion. This was not a vintage festival, like the former two. The new wine was drawn from the cask on the first day of the feast (Πιθοίγια), and tasted on the second day (Χόες): the third day was called Χύτροι, on account of the banqueting which went on then<sup>2</sup>. At the *Choës* each of the citizens had a separate cup, a custom which arose, according to the tradition, from the presence of Orestes at the feast, before he had been duly purified<sup>3</sup>; it has been thought, however, to refer to a difference of castes among the worshippers at the time of the adoption of the Dionysian rites in the city<sup>4</sup>. The "Anthesteria" are called by Thucydides the more ancient festival of Bacchus<sup>5</sup>.

IV. The "great Dionysia" (τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τὰ κατ' ἄστν, τὰ ἀστικά) were celebrated between the eighth and eighteenth of Elaphebolion<sup>6</sup>. This festival is always to be understood when the Dionysia are mentioned without any qualifying epithet.

At the first, second, and fourth of these festivals, it is known that theatrical exhibitions took place. The exhibitions at the country Dionysia were generally of old pieces<sup>7</sup>; indeed, there is no instance of a play being acted on those occasions for the first time, at least after the Greek Drama had arrived at perfection.

<sup>1</sup> *Philol. Mus.* II. p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> See the end of the *Acharnians*, and Aul. Gell. VIII. 24.

<sup>3</sup> See Müller's *Eumeniden*, § 50.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> II. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Æschin. περί παραπρεσβ.* p. 36: μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὴν ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησίαν προγράψαι δύο ἐκκλησίας, τὴν μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, τὴν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα: and κατὰ Κτησ. p. 63: εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Demosthenes twits *Æschines* with his wretched performances in some of the characters of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* at the deme *Cotyttus*. *De Corona*, p. 288. Comp. *Æschin. c. Timarch.* p. 158. There appear to have been dramatic exhibitions at *Phlyæ*, in the time of *Isæus*: καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεκαλούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦγεν αἰεὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτῶ, &c.—*Isæus, de Ciron. Hæred.* Vol. I. p. 114, *Orator. Attic.* Oxford.

At the Lenæa and the great Dionysia, both Tragedies and Comedies were performed<sup>1</sup>; at the latter the Tragedies at least were always new pieces; the instances in the *didascalix*, which have come down to us, of representations at the Lenæa are indeed always of new pieces<sup>2</sup>, but from the manner in which the exhibition of new Tragedies is mentioned in connexion with the city festival<sup>3</sup>, we must conclude that repetitions were allowed at the Lenæa, as well as at the country Dionysia. The month Elaphebolion may have been selected for the representation of new Tragedies, because Athens was then full of the dependent allies, who came at that time to pay the tributes<sup>4</sup>, whereas the Athenians alone were present at the Lenæa. It does not clearly appear that there were any theatrical exhibitions at the Anthesteria; it is, however, at least probable that the Tragedians read to a select audience at the Anthesteria the Tragedies which they had composed for the festival in the following month, or, perhaps, the contests took place then, and the intervening month was employed in perfecting the actors and chorus in their parts<sup>5</sup>.

In considering the *means* of performance, we must recal to mind the different origins of the two constituent parts of a Greek drama—the chorus and the dialogue. Choruses were, as we have

<sup>1</sup> Law in Demosth. *Mid.* p. 517. ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ πομπή καὶ οἱ τραγωδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπή καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγωδοί.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 160, 182, 187, 189.

<sup>3</sup> See the decree, Demosthenes περὶ στεφάνου, p. 264, Bekker: ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς. *Lexicon Sangerm.* p. 309, Bekker: τραγωδοῖσι; τῶν τραγωδῶν οἱ μὲν ἦσαν παλαιοὶ οἱ παλαιὰ δράματα εἰσάγοντες· οἱ δὲ καινοί, οἱ καινὰ καὶ μηδέποτε εἰσαχθέντα. See Hemsterhuis on Lucian's *Timon*, Vol. I. p. 463, Lehmann.

This custom continued down to the times of Julius Cæsar, when a similar decree was passed in favour of Hyrcanus the high-priest and Ethnarch of the Jews. See Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* XIV. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Οὐ γὰρ με καὶ νῦν διαβαλεῖ Κλέων, ὅτι  
Ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.  
Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν, οὐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ τ' ἀγών,  
Κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεσιν· οὔτε γὰρ φόροι·  
Ἦκουσιν, οὔτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ξύμμαχοι·  
'Αλλ' ἐσμέν αὐτοὶ νῦν γε περιεπτισμένοι·  
Τοὺς γὰρ μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστών λέγω.

Aristoph. *Acharn.* 477: see the Scholiast.

Hence Æschines takes occasion to reproach Demosthenes with being too vain to be content with the applause of his own fellow-citizens, since he must needs have the crown decreed him proclaimed at the *great Dionysia*, when all Greece was present: οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἶον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν.—*Contra Ctesiph.* Vol. III. p. 469, *Orat. Att.* Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> *Philol. Mus.* II. pp. 292 fol.

seen<sup>1</sup>, originally composed of the whole population. When, however, in process of time, the fine arts became more cultivated, the duties of this branch of worship devolved upon a few, and ultimately upon one, who bore the whole expense, when paid dancers were employed<sup>2</sup>. This person, who was called the *Choragus*, was considered as the religious representative of the whole people<sup>3</sup>, and was said to do the state's work for it (*λειτουργεῖν*<sup>4</sup>). The *Choragia*, the *Gymnasiarchy*, the *Feasting of the Tribes*, and the *Architheoria*, belonged to the class of regularly recurring state burthens (*ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι*), to which all persons whose property exceeded three talents were liable. It was the choragus' business<sup>5</sup> to provide the chorus in all plays, whether Tragic or Comic, and also for the lyric choruses of men and boys, *Pyrrhichists*, *Cyclian dancers*, and others; he was selected by the managers of his tribe (*ἐπιμελεῖται φυλῆς*) for the choragy which had come round to it. His first duty, after collecting his chorus, was to provide and pay a teacher (*χοροδιδάσκαλος*), who instructed them in the songs and dances which they had to perform, and it appears that the choragi drew lots for the first choice of teachers. The choragus had also to pay the musicians and singers who composed the chorus, and was allowed to press children, if their parents did not give them up of their own accord. He was obliged to lodge and maintain the chorus till the time of performance, and to supply the singers with such aliments as conduce to strengthen the voice. In the laws of Solon the age prescribed for the choragus was forty years; but this rule does not appear to have been long in force. The relative expense of the different choruses, in the time of Lysias, is given in a speech of that orator<sup>6</sup>. We learn from this that the

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Buttmann on Dem. *Mid.* p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Hence his person and the ornaments which he procured for the occasion were sacred. See Demosth. *Mid.* p. 519, *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> On this word, see Valckenaer on *Ammon.* II. 16; Ruhnken, *Epist. Crit.* I. p. 54; Hesychius, s. v. p. 463, Vol. II. It is formed from *λέω*, *λείτον*, *λήϊτον* (see Herod. VII. 197: *λήϊτον καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί*). The best notion of the meaning of a liturgy may be derived from Æschyl. *Eumen.* 340:

Σπευδόμενος δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τάσδε μερίμνας  
Θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς λείταις ἐπικραίνει,

if the emendations which we have introduced, or adopted from Müller, are to be received.

<sup>5</sup> On the *choragia*, see Böckh's *Public Economy*, Vol. II. pp. 207 foll. Engl. Transl., or Stuart's *Athens*.

<sup>6</sup> Lysias, Ἀπολ. δωροδ. p. 698. Translated by Bentley (*Phalaris*, p. 360).

tragic chorus cost nearly twice as much as the comic, though neither of the dramatic choruses was so expensive as the chorus of men, or the chorus of flute-players<sup>1</sup>.

The actors were the representatives not of the people, but of the poet; consequently the choragus had nothing to do with them<sup>2</sup>. If he had paid for them, the dramatic choruses would surely have exceeded in expensiveness all the others; besides, the actors were not allotted to the choragi, but to the poets; and were therefore paid either by these, or, as we rather think, by the state.

When a dramatist had made up his mind to bring out a play, he applied, if he intended to represent at the Lenæa, to the king-archon, and, if at the great Dionysia, to the chief archon<sup>3</sup> for a chorus, which was given to him<sup>4</sup> if his piece was deemed worthy of it<sup>5</sup>. Along with this chorus he received three actors by lot<sup>6</sup>, and these he taught independently of the choragus, who confined his attention to the chorus. The most important personage in the formation of every chorus was the actual leader, precentor, or fogleman, whose voice and movements the choreutæ followed in all the songs and evolutions of the orchestra<sup>7</sup>. This functionary was called *κορυφαῖος*, *χοροῦ ἡγέμων*, *χοροποιός*<sup>8</sup>, also *χοροστάτης*<sup>9</sup>, and corresponded no doubt to the *ἐξάρχων* of the old choruses. It is probable that there were two other foglemen to take charge of the subordinate divisions of the chorus, when it was broken up into sections<sup>10</sup>, and perhaps the passage in the *Eumenides*, which

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *Mid.* p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> This is shown by Böckh, after Heraldus (*Public Economy*, III. ch. 22, p. 455, Engl. Tr.). Notwithstanding, however, what Böckh has said about the passage in Plutarch, *Phocion*, 19, it seems that the choragus had something to do with the costume of the actors, or at least of the supernumeraries who appeared on the stage or in the orchestra.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 114, note (1).

<sup>4</sup> There is some difference of opinion as to the person "who gave the chorus." Some think it was the choragus who was applied to (see Küster on Aristoph. *Eq.* 510; Ducker on Aristoph. *Ran.* 94); others that it was the archon: this opinion is in itself the most likely to be true, and appears to be confirmed by the words of Aristotle quoted above, p. 70, note (2).

<sup>5</sup> Hence *χορὸν δίδοναι* signifies generally to approve or praise a poet. See Plato, *Resp.* II. p. 383 c, and Aristoph. *Ran.* in p. 159 supra.

<sup>6</sup> This practice subsisted to the last: see Plotinus, III. 2, p. 484, Creuzer.

<sup>7</sup> Aristot. *de Mundo*, c. 6: *καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ κορυφαλὸν κατάρξαντος συνεπηχεῖ πᾶς ὁ χορός*.

<sup>8</sup> J. Pollux, IV. § 106.

<sup>9</sup> Himerius, p. 558; Theodor. Prodr. *Rhod.* IV. p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> Buttmann, *Index in Dem. Mid.* s. v. *κορυφαῖος*, p. 178.

led to the absurd supposition that the chorus in that play consisted of three only, refers to the coryphæus and his two immediate subalterns<sup>1</sup>. When the whole chorus was drawn up in three lines, these two subalterns stood immediately behind the coryphæus in the second and third ranks respectively, and were called *παραστάτης* and *τριτοστάτης* with reference to their leader<sup>2</sup>.

It is clear that the three actors, who were termed *πρωταγωνιστής*, *δευτεραγωνιστής*, and *τριταγωνιστής* respectively<sup>3</sup>, were always regarded as a distinct troop or company, and that each retained his relative rank. Thus Ischander was regularly a *δευτεραγωνιστής* of the *πρωταγωνιστής* Neoptolemus<sup>4</sup>, and Æschines never rose to a higher rank than that of a *τριταγωνιστής*<sup>5</sup>. The first actor was regarded as the representative and manager of his troop; he carried the inferior actors with him, received for himself the prize of victory, and, though he may have given a share of this and of the other honours of the performance to his second performer, it is probable that the tritagonist was obliged to be contented with his pay<sup>6</sup>. Before a troop could be regarded as generally entitled to perform it must have gained a prize. Otherwise it was obliged to encounter some previous scrutiny, which was waived in the case of any actor who had succeeded in a competition<sup>7</sup>. It is reasonable also to conclude that the protagonist of a successful troop was free from the risk of drawing lots for his poet. At least we hear that the eminent actors Cleander and Myniscus attached themselves almost exclusively to Æschylus<sup>8</sup>; that Sophocles almost monopolized the services of Tlepolemus

<sup>1</sup> v. 135: *ἔχειρ' ἔγειρε καὶ σὺ τήνδ' ἐγὼ δὲ σέ.*

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* III. 4, 6: *ἀνάγκη μὴ μίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν χορευτῶν κορυφαίου καὶ παραστάτου. Μεταφρ. IV. 11, p. 1018 b. 28: οἷον παραστάτης τριτοστάτου πρότερον καὶ παρανήτη νήτης· ἐνθα μὲν γὰρ ὁ κορυφαῖος, ἐνθα δὲ ἡ μόνη ἀρχή.* Jul. Pollux, IV. § 106, seems to call the *παραστάτης* *δευτεροστάτης*.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 54, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. *de Fals. Legat.* p. 344, 7.

<sup>5</sup> See the passage quoted at the end of this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> Dem. *de Coron.* p. 314; Lucian, *Navig.* ad fin., *Icaromen.* 29; Plutarch, *Præcept. Polit.* p. 816 ad fin.

<sup>7</sup> Hesychius and Suidas, s. v.: *νεμήσεις ὑποκριτῶν· οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐλάμβανον τρεῖς ὑποκριτὰς κλήρω νεμηθέντας· ὧν ὁ νικήσας εἰς τοῦπιόν ἀκρίτως (-τος Suid.) παρελαμβάνετο.* Where Hemsterhius conjectures *παρελάμβανε* and renders the passage (*ad Luciani Tim.* c. 51): "quorum poetarum qui superior discessit, in posterum sine discrimine suos sibi actores legebat." But the context shows that the relative refers to the actors and not to the poets.

<sup>8</sup> Hermann in Aristot. *Poet.* p. 193.



and Cleidemides<sup>1</sup>; and that the latter poet sometimes composed his plays with a special reference to the qualities of the actors who had to perform in them<sup>2</sup>, just as modern composers will sometimes write an opera for a particular singer. The control which the protagonist exercised over his coadjutors is shown in many ways. If the inferior actors had finer voices than their chief, they were sometimes obliged to do themselves imperfect justice in order that he might shine the more<sup>3</sup>. And though the protagonist had sometimes to appear in a humble character by the side of his crowned and sceptred hireling, the tritagonist<sup>4</sup>, the great actor Theodorus always took care to sustain any part, even that which belonged to the tritagonist, if this involved the first entry on the stage, in order to make sure of the first impression on the audience<sup>5</sup>. That the poet would undertake to teach a protagonist how to act his play seems very improbable, and the phrase *διδάσκειν δράμα* must refer only to the general superintendence, which the poet, in conjunction with the choragus, exercised during the rehearsals of the play.

When the day appointed for the trial came on, all parties united their efforts<sup>6</sup>, and endeavoured to gain the prize by a combination of the best-taught actors with the most sumptuously dressed and most diligently exercised chorus<sup>7</sup>. That the exertions of the choragus and the actors were often as influential with the judges as the beauty of the poem cannot be doubted<sup>8</sup>, when we have so many instances of the ill-success of the best dramatists. The

<sup>1</sup> Bernhardt, *Grundriss*, p. 642.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. Sophocl.* p. x.: καὶ πρὸς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν (τῶν ὑποκριτῶν) γράψαι τὰ δράματα.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *div. in Cæcil.* 15, 48: "ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, sæpe illum qui est secundarum vel tertiarum partium, quum possit aliquoties clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum submittere ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat."

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Præcept. Polit.* p. 816 F: ἀποπον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν τὸν μὲν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ πρωταγωνιστὴν Θεόδωρον ἢ Πῶλον ὄντα μισθωτῷ τῷ τὰ τρία (τρίτα?) λέγοντι πολλάκις ἐπεσθαι ἢ προσδιαλέγεσθαι ταπεινῶς ἢν ἐκεῖνος ἔχη τὸ διὰ δῆμα καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* IV. (VII.) 17, p. 1336: ἴσως γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ τοιοῦτον Θεόδωρος ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ὑποκριτῆς· οὐθένι γὰρ πώποτε παρήκεν ἑαυτοῦ προεισάγειν οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς οἰκειομένων τῶν θεατῶν ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς.

<sup>6</sup> The contending choragi were called ἀντιχόρηγοι (Demosth. *Mid.* p. 595, Bekker), the rival dramatists ἀντιδιδάσκαλοι (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1410), and their performers ἀντίτεχνοι (Alciphron, III. 48), a name which is also given to Euripides as the rival of Æschylus in the dramatic contest between them in the *Ranæ*, 815.

<sup>7</sup> For the harmony and equality of voice required in the chorus see Aristotle, *Polit.* III. 113, § 21: οὐδὲ δὴ χοροδιδάσκαλος τὸν μείζον καὶ κάλλιον τοῦ παντὸς χοροῦ φθειγγόμενον ἑάσει συγχορεύειν.

<sup>8</sup> It is expressly stated by Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 1, § 4. Cf. Terence, *Phormio*, *Prolog.* vv. 9, 10.

judges were appointed by lot, and were generally<sup>1</sup>, but, as we have seen, not always<sup>2</sup>, five in number. The archon administered an oath to them; and, in the case of the cyclian chorus, partiality or injustice was punishable by fine<sup>3</sup>. The successful poet was crowned with ivy (with which his choragus and performers were also adorned<sup>4</sup>), and his name was proclaimed before the audience. The choragus who had exhibited the best musical or theatrical entertainment generally received a tripod as a reward or price. This he was at the expense of consecrating, and in some cases built the monument on which it was placed<sup>5</sup>. Thus the beautiful choragic monument of Lysicrates, which is still standing at Athens, was undoubtedly surmounted by a tripod; and the statue of Bacchus, in a sitting posture, which was on the top of the choragic monument of Thrasyllus, probably supported the tripod on its knees. Such, at least, seems to have been the intention of the holes drilled



Fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> See Maussac, *Diss. Crit.* p. 204; Hermann, de quinque judiciis poetarum, *Opusc.* VII. p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Æschin. κατὰ Κρήνῃς*. § 85.

<sup>4</sup> See the passages quoted by Blomfield (*Mus. Crit.* II. p. 88), and the line of Simmias, in p. 113, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Lysias *ubi supra*, p. 202. Comp. Wordsworth's *Athens and Acton*, pp. 153, 4.

in the lap of the figure. From the inscriptions on these monuments, the *didascalix* of Aristotle, Carystius Pergamenus, Dicæarchus, and Callimachus, were probably compiled<sup>1</sup>. The choragus in Comedy consecrated the equipments of his chorus<sup>2</sup>, and was expected to provide his choreutæ with a handsome entertainment, an expectation which, to judge from the complaints of the comic poets themselves, he did not always fulfil in a satisfactory manner<sup>3</sup>. It is probable that the tragic chorus also looked for a similar conclusion of their labours. The successful poet, as we see from Plato's *Banquet*, commemorated his victory with a feast. As, however, no prize-drama was permitted to be represented for a second time (with an exception in favour of the three great dramatists, which was not long in operation<sup>4</sup>), the poet's glory was very transient; so much so, that when Thucydides wished to predict the immortality of his work, he sought for an apt antithesis in the once-heard dramas of the contemporary poets<sup>5</sup>. The time allowed for the representation was portioned out by the clepsydra, and seems to have been dependent upon the number of pieces represented<sup>6</sup>. What this number was is not known. It is probable, however, that about three trilogies might have been represented on one day<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Böckh's *Corpus Inscript.* I. p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Lysias ubi supra. Comp. Theophrastus, *Charact.* xxii.

<sup>3</sup> See Eupolis, ap. Jul. Poll. III. § 115, (p. 551 Meineke):

ἤδη χορηγὸν πρόποτε  
ῥυπαρώτερον τοῦδ' εἶδες;

Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1120:

ὅς γ' ἐμέ τὸν τλήμονα Δῆναια χορηγῶν ἀπέκλεισ'  
ἀδειπνον.

Cf. Arist. *Av.* 88 and the Scholiast: τοῦτο εἰς διαβολὴν τοῦ χορηγοῦ ὅτι μικρὸν δέδωκεν ἱερεῖον.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 99; Aul. Gell. vii. 5; Plutarch, *Rhetorum Vitæ*.

<sup>5</sup> I. 22: κτῆμα δὲ ἐς αἰὶ μάλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

<sup>6</sup> Τοῦ δὲ μήκουσ ὁρος, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν, οὐ τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἑκατὸν τραγωδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πρὸς κλεψύδρας ἂν ἡγωνίζοντο, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοι φασιν. Aristot. *Poet.* c. vii.

<sup>7</sup> "Yet that number seems to have been a fixed thing: so Aristotle speaks of it: εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων ἐλάττους αἱ συστάσεις εἴεν, πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τραγωδιῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασιν τιθεμένων παρήκοιεν. *Poet.* § 40. See Tyrwhitt's note. If each tribe furnished but one choragus, and not, as some appear to have supposed, one for each different kind of contest, the number of tragic candidates could scarcely have exceeded three. For there seem never to have been less than three or four distinct kinds of choruses at the great Dionysian festivals; which, when portioned out amongst the ten choragi, could not by any chance allow of more than three or four choragi to the tragic competitors; which agrees very well with all that is elsewhere mentioned on this head, for we seldom meet with more than three candidates recorded, and probably this was in general the whole number of exhibitors.

The *place* of exhibition was, in the days of the perfect Greek drama, the great stone theatre erected within the Lenæon, or enclosure sacred to Bacchus. The building was commenced in the year 500 B.C., but not finished till about 381 B.C., when Lycurgus was manager of the treasury. In the earlier days of the drama the theatre was of wood, but an accident having occurred at the representation of some plays of Æschylus and Pratinas, the stone theatre was commenced in its stead<sup>1</sup>.

The student who wishes to entertain an adequate notion of the Greek Theatre must not forget that it was only an improvement upon the mode of representation adopted by Thespis, which it resembled in its general features. The two original elements were the *θυμέλη*, or altar of Bacchus, round which the cyclian chorus danced<sup>2</sup>, and the *λογεῖον* or stage from which the actor or exarchus spoke<sup>3</sup>; it was the representative of the wooden table from which the earliest actor addressed his chorus<sup>4</sup>, and was also called *ὀκρίβας*. But in the great stone theatres, in which the perfect Greek dramas were represented, these two simple materials for the exhibition of a play were surrounded by a mass of buildings, and subordinated to other details of a very artificial and complicated description. That part of the structure, which was set apart for the audience, and was more properly called the *θέατρον*, may be discussed without any doubt or difficulty; for not only are the authorities explicit in their accounts, but we have many remains which are sufficiently complete to serve as a safe basis for architectural restorations; and the theatre at Aspendus in Pamphylia, which has come down to us without a single defect of any consequence in the stone work, enables us to restore, with very slight risk of error, all the details of

Aristophanes, indeed, had on one occasion *four* rival comedians to oppose (*Argum.* III. in Plut.); but this was, in all likelihood, at the *Lenæa*, when, perhaps, not a single tragedy had been offered for representation, and, consequently, a large proportion of choruses would be left disengaged for comic candidates.

“ If the custom of contending with tetralogies was still retained, Aristotle, in the passage above, most probably intended by *τῶν τραγωδιῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασις τεθυμένων* the exhibition of one such tetralogy. This supposition is in some measure supported by the fact, that there were three or four separate hearings in the day; since four tetralogies would occupy from twelve to sixteen hours: and if, as is natural, each competitor took up a whole hearing, this will confirm our former induction with regard to the number of candidates.” *Former Editor*.

<sup>1</sup> Libanius' *Argument. Demosth. Olynth.* I. and Suidas, *Πρατῖνας*.

<sup>2</sup> See Müller, *Anhang zum Buch, Æsch. Eumeniden*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 100, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 60; Pollux, IV. 123: *ἐλεὸς δὲ ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνετο*.

the proscenium and orchestra which were presented to the eyes of a Greek audience. With regard, however, to the minor arrangements of the stage, such as the painted scenes and the other machinery of exhibition, we are left in a great measure to an interpretation of the ancient descriptions; for the more fragile materials of which these parts of the theatre were constructed have yielded to the stress of time, and so left us without any tangible evidence to support the scattered statements of ancient writers. It will be desirable, therefore, before we proceed to give a general description of a Greek theatre, based on an examination of all the authorities, and including all the particulars for which we have any evidence, either monumental or literary, to present to the student the actual form of the best preserved of the ancient theatres, and to make this ocular demonstration the basis and starting-point of the more theoretical reconstructions.

The theatre at Aspendus belongs unquestionably to the times of the Roman domination in Asia Minor. An inscription over the eastern door informs us that two brothers, A. Curtius Crispinus Arruntianus and A. Curtius Auspicatus Titinnianus, in accordance with their father's will, had contributed to the repairs or adornment of the theatre in honour of their ancestral gods and the imperial house<sup>1</sup>; and it has been conjectured<sup>2</sup> from an inscription at Præneste, which one of the two brothers had set up to P. Ælius Pius Curtianus, that these persons lived in the time of M. Antoninus. Be that as it may, other inscriptions, placed on a pedestal in the interior, and over the door leading to the seats, inform us that the architect was a Greek, Zeno the son of Theodorus<sup>3</sup>. And we may infer that the theatre at Aspendus, though it belongs in its present state to the time of the Roman Cæsars, was probably built on the foundations, and perhaps to a certain extent according to the model of a previously existing Greek theatre. In its general features it corresponds to the restorations which have been made, with the aid

<sup>1</sup> Böckh, *C. I.* III. p. 1163:

Dis patriis et domui Augustorum  
ex testamento A. Curtii Crispini A. Curtius Crispinus Arrun-  
tianus et A. Curtius Auspicatus Titinnianus fecerunt.

Θεοῖς πατρίοις καὶ δόμῳ Σεβαστῶν  
ἐκ διαθήκης Α. Κουρτίου Κρεισπέινου Α. Κούρτιος Κρεισπέϊνος Ἀρρουν-  
τιανὸς καὶ Α. Κούρτιος Αὐσπικᾶτος Τιτυννιανὸς ἐποίησαν.

<sup>2</sup> Henzen, *Annali dell' Istituto di Corr. Arch.* 1852, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Böckh, III. pp. 172, 1161.

of the fragments, of the *cavea* of the theatre at Catana as seen from the stage<sup>1</sup>, and of the stage of the theatre at Tauromenium, as seen from the *cavea*<sup>2</sup>. It contains all that was required for the representation of a Greek play in the best period of the drama; and though, as we shall see, Vitruvius makes certain distinctions between the Greek and Roman theatres, it does not follow that all theatres built in Greek cities during the Roman period departed from the ancient model, which, after all, was the point of departure for the Roman architects themselves.

It will be observed that the theatre at Aspendus, as represented in the accompanying ground-plan (Plate 1), elevation of the lower front (fig. 2), and view of the interior (see Frontispiece)<sup>3</sup>, is externally

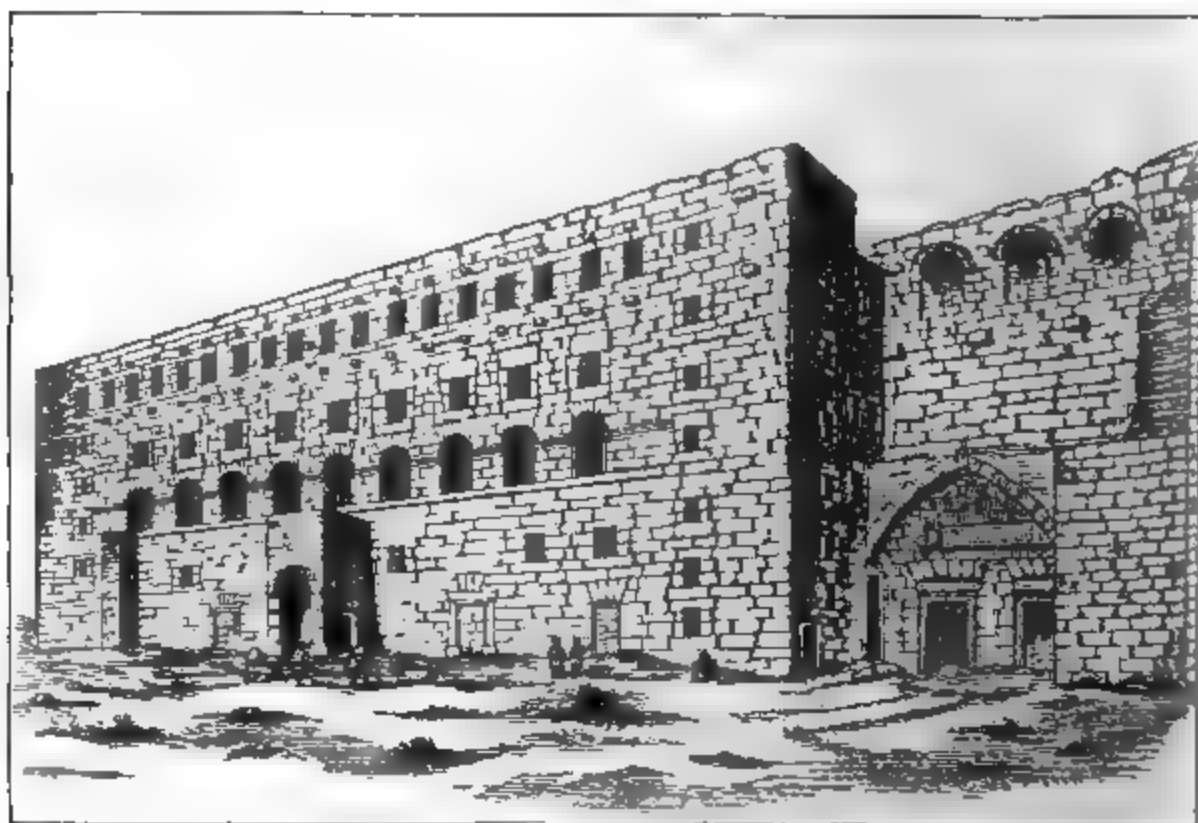


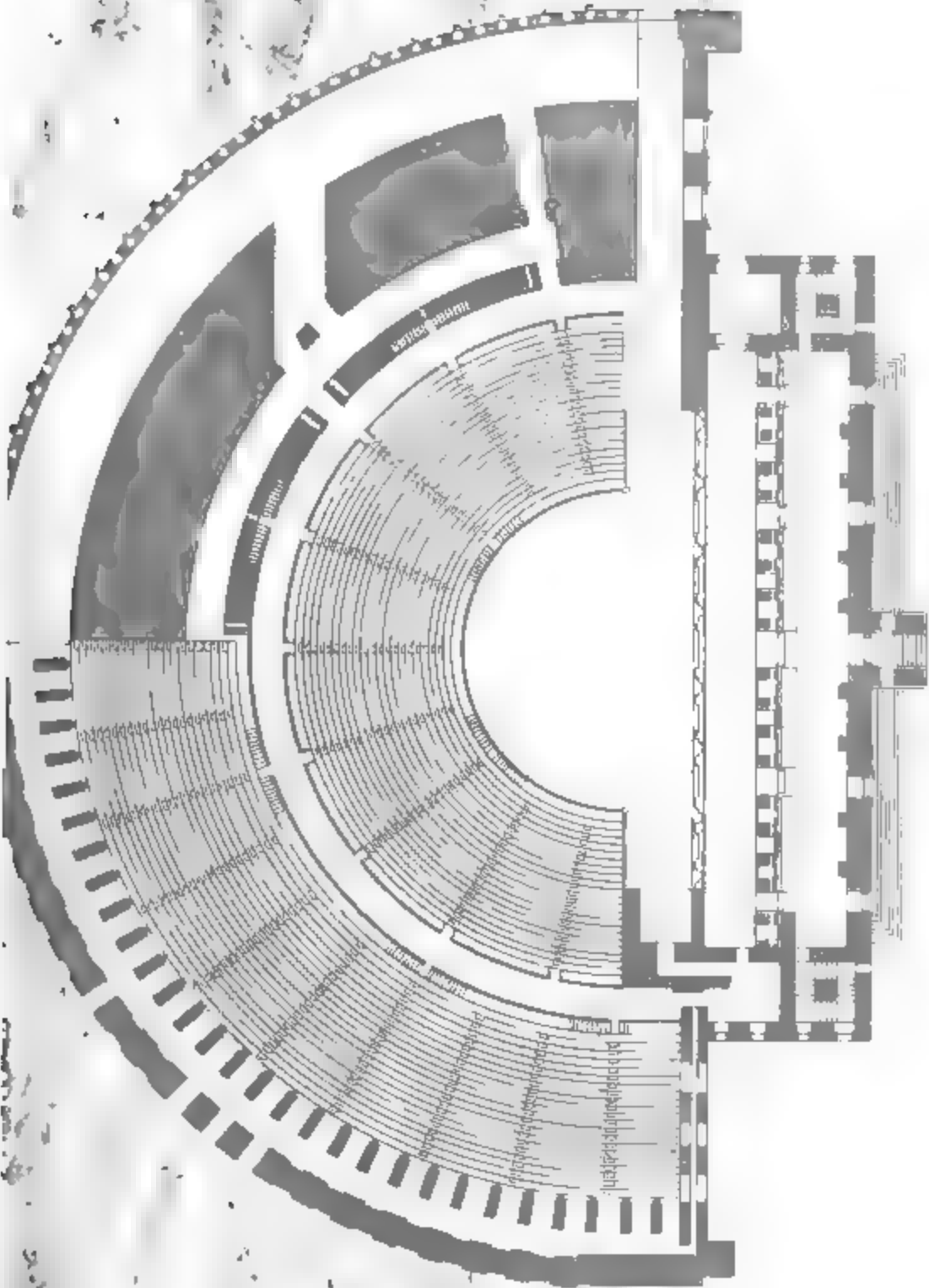
Fig. 2.

a plain building, with three complete rows of windows, besides sixteen other openings of the same kind. In the interior, the *theatron*, or part allotted to the spectators, is a hemicycle composed of two

<sup>1</sup> Serradifalco, *Antich. della Sicilia*, Vol. v. Taf. III.; Wieseler, *Theatergebäude*, Taf. III. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Serradifalco, Vol. v. Tav. XXII.; Wieseler, Taf. III. 6.

<sup>3</sup> These illustrations are taken from Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1849, Vol. III. Pl. 232 sqq. The description is due to Schönbörn (*Sceus der Hellenen*, pp. 26—28, 83—94), who saw the theatre about the same time as Texier.

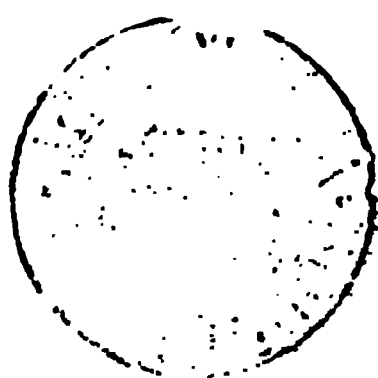


Scale 1/2 inch = 100 feet

# THEATRE AT ATRIUM, GREEK-ROMAN PERIOD

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*præcinctiones* or divisions separated by a *diazoma* or lobby, and there are nineteen tiers of seats in each of these separate halves of the theatre. The whole is crowned by a portico or gallery with fifty-eight arches. The great majority of the audience must have got to their places through the *parodi* of the orchestra, from which there are steps leading to the rows of seats, or through the gallery at the upper end, which had doors behind it. It was, however, possible to reach the upper seats by a door at the north end of the seats leading to the *diazoma*. The scene-front is connected with the spectators' seats by walls on either side rising to the full height of the theatre, and there can be no doubt that this part of the building was covered in by a roof. There are three stories in the scene. In the first story there are five doors. A cubical basement of stone appears in each angle of the scene, and these are continued by the sides of the doors, so that there are twenty of them in all. Those in the corners have each of them an unfluted column reaching to the second story, and these columns are still found in the Greek theatre at Myra in Lycia. The other basements by the doors were probably the distances from the proscenium at which the movable scenery hung from the balconies above. Besides the five doors the first story has nine windows, of which the four larger stand between the doors, and the other five over the doors. These windows, like those in the upper story, are merely ornamental, as they do not go through the wall. In the second story, immediately over the cubical basements of the *podium*, there is a corresponding number of little balconies, each consisting of a slab resting on two supports projecting at right angles from the wall. The faces of the latter are ornamented, like the frieze of a building, with the skulls of victims connected by garlands. On each of the balconies there is a low pedestal, and they are all connected by a narrow ledge, which may have served as the support of the planks laid across from one balcony to the other, when the exigencies of the performance required that the whole should be used as a continuous upper stage. It is to be remarked that Vitruvius, as we shall see, speaks of the *pluteum* in the singular; and there is no reason why these little balconies should not be regarded as really connected by the ledge to which reference has been made. There are no traces of balustrades. But the upper part of the scene served, no doubt, as a sufficient protection for the actors, when they had to appear on the second story. There are three little doors in the second story, leading to

the gallery formed by the series of balconies; also eight windows corresponding to those of the lower story, the place of the ninth being occupied by one of the doors. The third story has no doors or windows, and instead of a practicable gallery, it has a series of ornamental pediments, triangular or semicircular, standing over the projections below and similarly supported. That in the centre, which is much the largest, is adorned with a female figure surrounded by ramifications of foliage. There are traces in the third story both of the supports of the roof, and of the orifices, in which stage machinery rested. The two wings of the theatre are divided by a party wall in continuation of the proscenium, and the outer half of each, i.e. that which is bounded by the front wall of the theatre, constitutes in each case a staircase to the upper stories of the building.

We now proceed to show how exactly this well-preserved theatre corresponds in all essential features to the general descriptions which have come down to us.

A formal description of an ancient theatre necessarily rests on the geometrical rules of Vitruvius. The Roman theatre was arranged, he tells us<sup>1</sup>, according to the following scheme: describe a

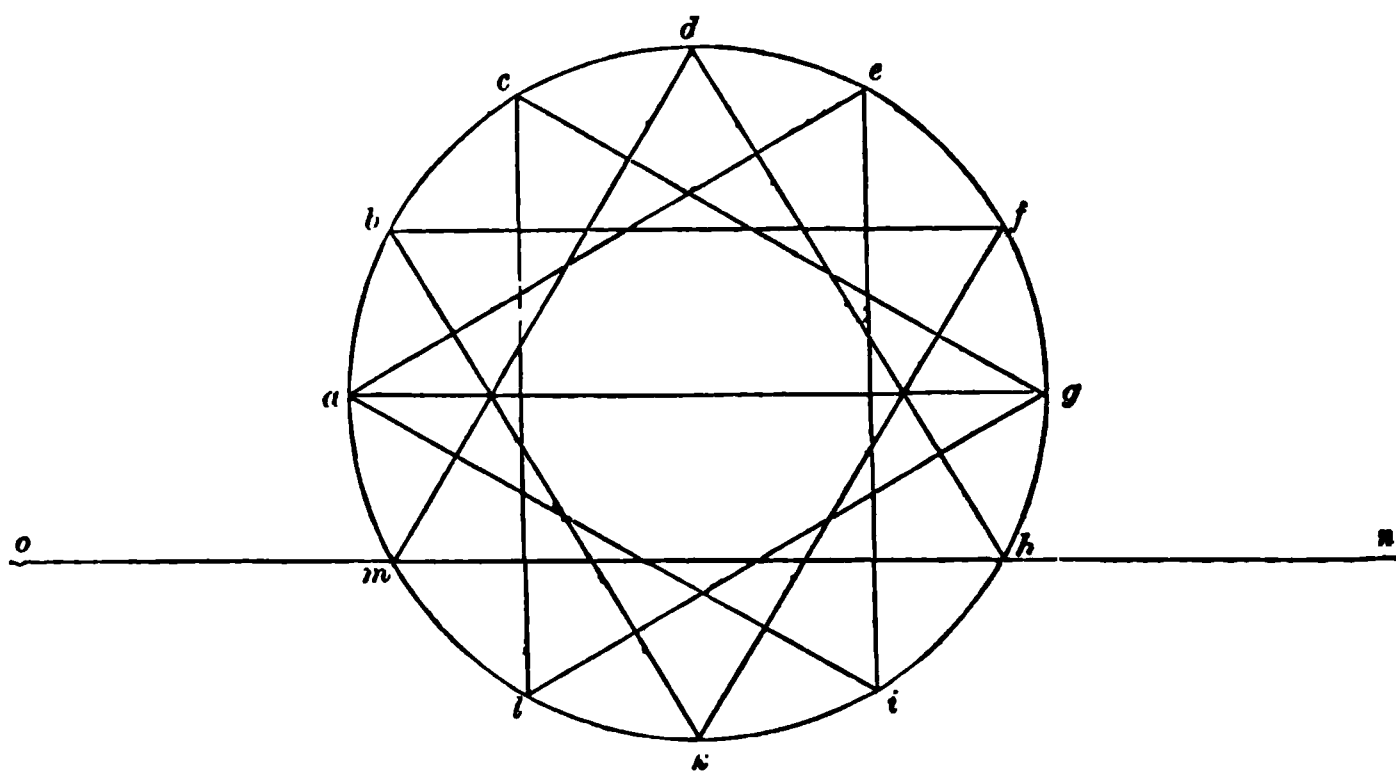


Fig. A.

circle (*abcdefghijklm*) with a radius corresponding to the intended size of the orchestra, and in this inscribe four equilateral triangles, *aei*, *bfk*, *cgl*, *dhm*, the angles of which shall touch the circumference

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, v. 6, 7.

at equal distances. Let any side,  $mh$ , of an included triangle be taken to represent the direction of the *scena*, and parallel to this draw the line  $ag$  through the centre of the circle. The line  $mh$  produced to  $o$  on one side and to  $n$  on the other so as to make it double the diameter, or four times the radius of the circle, gives the front of the scene; and the line  $ag$  marks the limits of the *pulpitum* on the side of the orchestra. The five angles, which fall within the scene, indicate the positions of the five doors opening on the stage; and the other seven angles define the directions of the steps leading to the seats of the spectators.

From this it appears that the orchestra in a Roman theatre formed a semicircle, of which the furthest point was one radius from the front of the stage, and one radius and a half from the front of the scene; the scene was four radii in length, and the stage half a radius in breadth.

The Greek theatre was arranged according to the following scheme<sup>1</sup>. Taking a circle  $agy$ , inscribe in it three squares  $nkfc$ ,  $mieb$ ,  $lgdy$ , so that the angles touching the circumference may be equidistant from one another. As before, let any side,  $nk$ , of an included square be taken to represent the boundary of the *proscenium* on the side of the spectators; then a tangent  $pr$ , drawn parallel to this side, will represent the front of the scene. Let  $o$  be the centre of the circle, and  $q$  the centre of the orchestra thus defined; through  $q$  draw  $ah$  parallel to  $nk$ ; and from  $a$  and  $h$ , with the radius of the original circle, draw the arcs  $st$ ,  $uv$ , cutting the pro-

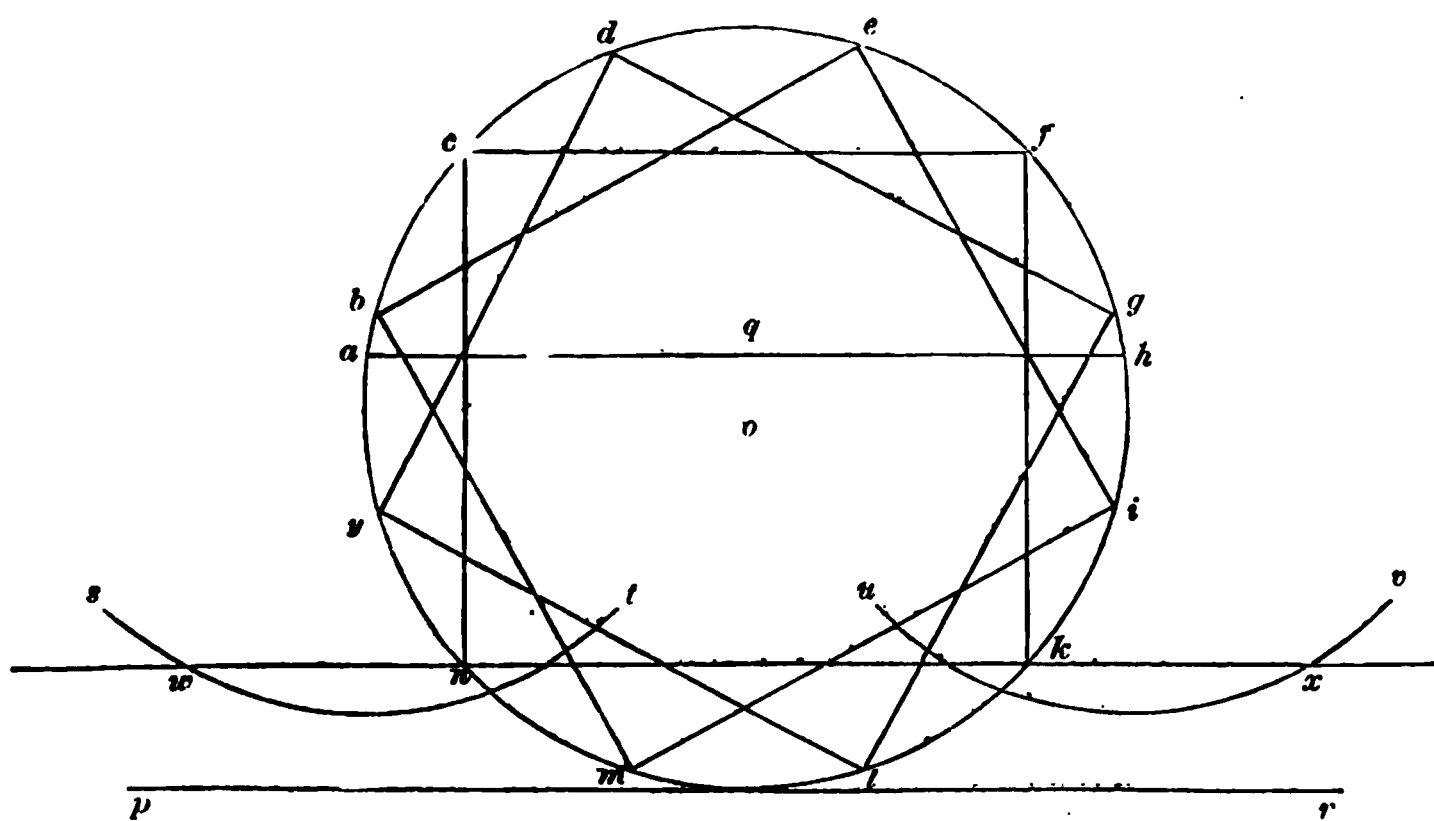


Fig. B.

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, v. 8.

duced line  $nk$  in the points  $w$  and  $x$ . The length of the scene shall be equal to the line  $wx$ .

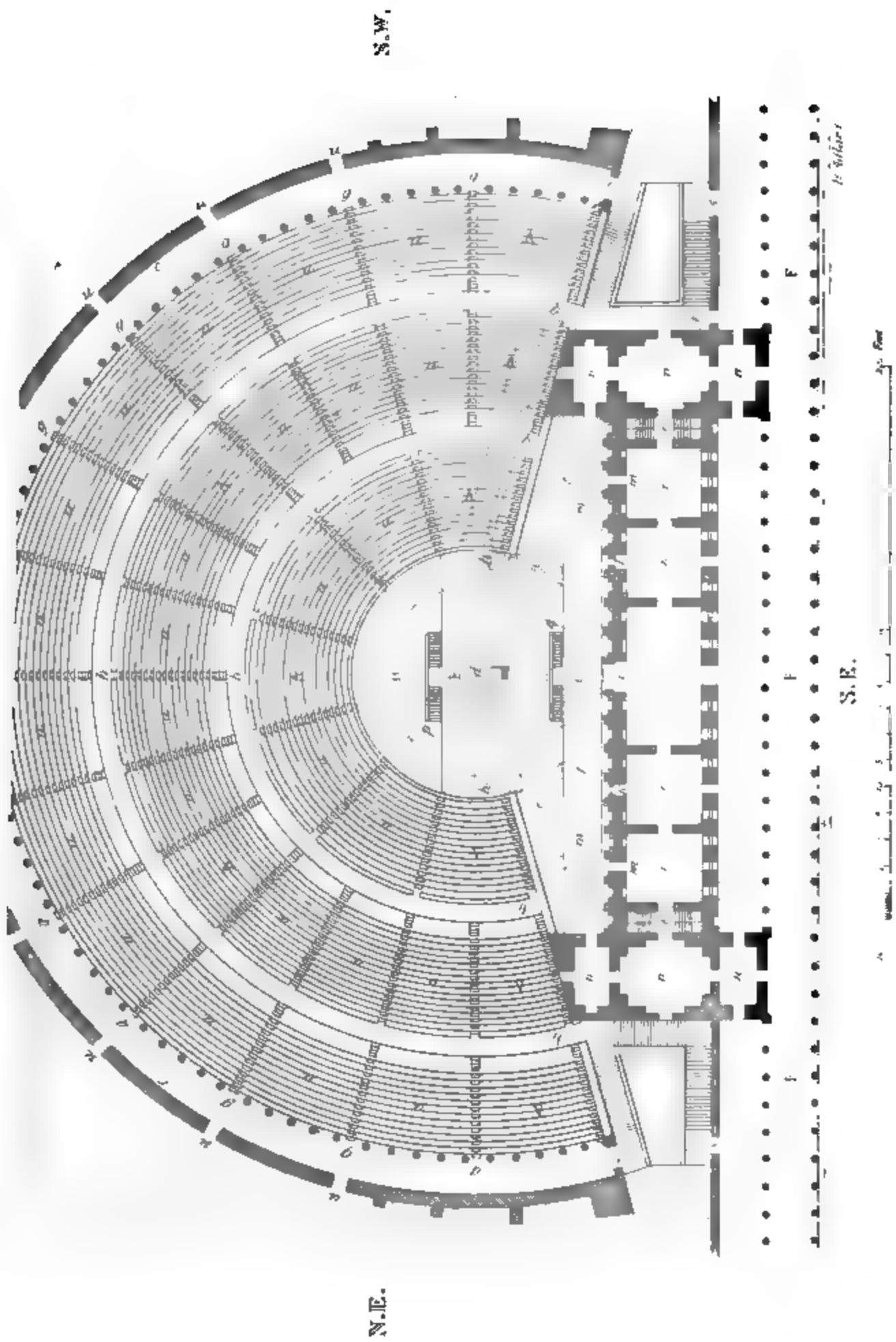
From this it appears that the orchestra in a Greek theatre was more than a semicircle, the furthest point being one radius and five-sevenths from the front of the stage, and a whole diameter from the front of the scene. The breadth of the stage is therefore  $\frac{2}{7}$  of the radius.

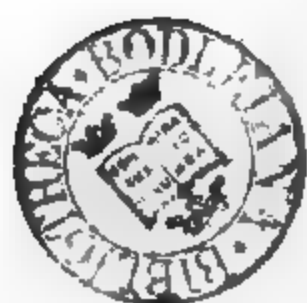
These proportions, though differing in special cases, correspond in the main to those of the existing theatres, and may be assumed as the basis of the following description, and of the plan (Plate 2) by which it is illustrated<sup>1</sup>.

In building a theatre, the Greeks always availed themselves of the slope of a hill, which enabled them to give the necessary elevation to the back-rows of seats, without those enormous substructions which we find in the Roman theatres. If the hill-side was rocky, semicircles of steps, rising tier above tier, were hewn out of the living material. If the ground was soft, a semicircular excavation of certain dimensions was made in the slope of the hill, and afterwards lined with rows of stone benches. Even when the former plan was practicable, the steps were frequently faced with copings of marble. This was the case with the theatre of Bacchus at Athens, which stood on the south-eastern side of the rocky Acropolis. This semicircular pit, surrounded by seats on all sides but one, and in part filled by them, was called the *κοῖλον* or *cavea* (A A A), and was assigned to the audience. At the top it was enclosed by a lofty portico and balustraded terrace (c). Concentric with this circular arc, and at the foot of the lowest range of seats, was the boundary line of the orchestra, *ὀρχήστρα*, or "dancing-place" (B), which was given up to the chorus. If we complete the circle of the orchestra (compare fig. B.), and draw a tangent to it at the point most removed from the audience, this line will give the position of the scene, *σκηνή*, or "covered building"<sup>2</sup> (D D), which presented to the view of the spectators a lofty façade of hewn stone, susceptible of such modifications as the different

<sup>1</sup> This plan, with the exception of the stage, is derived from that which was published by Mr. T. L. Donaldson in the supplemental volume to Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, 1830, p. 33. It has also appeared in *The Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, "Pompeii," Vol. I. p. 232, where the wood-cut preserves the engraver's error of OPKHΣTPA for OPXHΣTPA, by way of identification; for the author of the plan is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> "Scene properly means a tent or hut, and such was doubtless erected of wood by the earliest beginners of dramatic performances, to mark the dwelling of the principal person represented by the actor." Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 301.







plays rendered suitable. In front of this scene was a narrow stage, called, therefore, the *προσκήνιον* (C), which was indicated by the parallel side of a square<sup>1</sup>, inscribed in the orchestral circle, but extended to the full length of the scene on both sides (i. e. to D D). Another parallel at a certain distance behind the scene gave the portico (F F), which formed the lower front of the whole building.

We are not to suppose that a Greek theatre exhibited in its architecture any elaborate or superfluous ornamentation. It was constructed for a special purpose—the adequate representation of dramatic entertainments of a certain kind before a very considerable multitude of spectators,—and if it effected this purpose, the architect and his employers were quite satisfied. He was not inspired with the unprofitable ambition of an eminent and successful member of the same profession in our own time, of whom it has been said at once pointedly and truly, that being employed to build a house of Parliament, which was to accommodate a certain number of members and to admit of the speakers being well heard, he contrived it so that the persons, for whom it was intended, could not all be present, while those who spoke were, except under very favourable circumstances, inaudible to the reporters and their proper audiences; and who being also employed to build a picture-gallery for a nobleman, so contrived it that scarcely one of the paintings could be seen in a good light; though in both cases he erected stately buildings very pleasing to the eye when seen from without. Very different was the performance of the architect who constructed a Greek theatre. If the seats of the spectators did not run on the side of a hill they were surrounded by a wall without ornaments or windows, and resembling the tower of a fortress rather than a splendid edifice. And the front of the theatre was so devoid of all decorations that it would have suggested to a modern spectator the idea of a barrack or a manufactory, rather than of a place consecrated to the Muses<sup>2</sup>.

The *κοῖλον* or *cavea* (A) was divided into two or more flights of steps by the *διαζώματα* or *præcinctiones* (b b b), which were broad belts, concentric with the upper terrace and with the boundary line

<sup>1</sup> The angles of this square, and of two others inscribed in the orchestral circle as indicated in the accompanying plan, point out the divisions of the *cunei*, the commencements of the *iter* (at *hh*), and the width of the *eccyclema* (at *i*).

<sup>2</sup> Schönborn, *Scene der Hellenen*, p. 22, and compare the elevation of the theatre at Aspendus (Fig. 2).

of the orchestra, and served both as lobbies and landings<sup>1</sup>. The steps of the *κοῖλον* were again subdivided transversely into masses called *κερκίδες*, *cunei*, or “wedges” (*a a a*), by stairs, *κλίμακες* (*g g g*), running from one *διάζωμα* to another, and converging to the centre of the orchestra. These stairs were called *σελίδες*, or gangways, from their resemblance, *mutatis mutandis*, to the passage across the *σέλματα* or *ζυγά* of a trireme<sup>2</sup>, for they were flanked on both sides by spectators seated before and below one another, just as the *σελὶς* running fore and aft in a galley passed between the rowers, the highest of the three benches being always behind the middle tier, and this again being behind the lowest. As it seems that there were eleven tiers of seats between each *διάζωμα* in the theatre at Athens, the *diazoma* itself being counted as the twelfth row, we shall understand the allusion in Aristophanes (*Equites*, 546):

αἴρεσθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ῥόθιον, παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἑνδεκα κώπαις  
θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληναίτην—

“raise for him a splash of applause in good measure, and waft him a noble Lenæan cheer with eleven oars,” for each *κερκὶς* would suggest the idea of eleven benches of rowers, and the applause demanded by the chorus would come like the splash of eleven oars striking the water<sup>3</sup> at once.

Different parts of the theatre received different names from the class of the spectators to whom they were appropriated. Thus, the lower seats, nearest to the orchestra, which were assigned to the members of the council (*βουλὴ*), and others who had a right to reserved seats (*προεδρία*), were called *βουλευτικὸς τόπος*, and the young men sat together in the *ἐφηβικὸς τόπος*<sup>4</sup>. The spectators

<sup>1</sup> The view which has been given of the theatre at Aspendus shows the corresponding parts of these *præcinctiones*; but in the theatre at Herculaneum there is no proper *diazoma* to separate the rows of seats, which run above each other in distinct galleries.

<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that the primary sense is the nautical, as given by Hesychius: *σελίδες* τὰ μεταξὺ διαφράγματα τῶν διαστημάτων τῆς νεώς. Eustathius also and Julius Pollux connect *σελὶς* with *σέλμα*. Phrynichus says (*Anecd. Bekk.* 62, 27): *σελὶς βιβλίου*· λέγεται δὲ καὶ *σελὶς θεάτρου*; but the use of *σελὶς* to denote the intercolumnar space of a manuscript, and hence to signify the page of a book in general, is the latest use of the three, and is probably derived from the resemblance between the lines of seats in the theatre divided by gangways, and the lines of writing separated by intercolumnar spaces of blank paper.

<sup>3</sup> See our paper “On the Structure of the Athenian Trireme,” *Camb. Phil. Soc.* Vol. x. Part I.

<sup>4</sup> *ἰκᾶθ' ὁρᾶ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν βουλευτικῷ*. Aristoph. *Aves*, 794. On which the Scholiast remarks: *οὗτος τόπος τοῦ θεάτρου, ὃ ἀνειμένος τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὡς καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἐφήβοις Ἐφηβικός*.

entered either from the hill above by doorways in the upper portico (*uuu*), or by staircases in the wings of the lower façade (*ss*)<sup>1</sup>.

The orchestra (B) was a levelled space twelve feet lower than the front seats of the *κοῖλον*, by which it was bounded. Six feet above this was a boarded stage (E), which did not cover the whole area of the orchestra, but terminated where the line of view from the central *cunei* was intercepted by the boundary line. It ran, however, to the right and left of the spectators' benches (*et, et*), till it reached the sides of the scene. The main part of this platform, as well as an altar of Bacchus in the centre of the orchestral circle (*d*), was called the *θυμέλη*<sup>2</sup>. The segment of the orchestra not covered by this platform was termed the *κονίστρα*, *arena*, or "place of sand." In front of the elevated scene, and six feet higher than the platform in the orchestra (i.e. on the same level with the lowest range of seats), was the *προσκήνιον*, mentioned above (C), and called also the *λογεῖον*, or "speaking-stage." There was a double flight of steps (*κλιμακτῆρες*) from the *arena* (*κονίστρα*) to the platform in the orchestra (*p*), and another of a similar description from this orchestral platform to the *προσκήνιον* or real stage (*q*). There were also two other flights of steps leading to the orchestral platform from the chambers below the stage (*fh, fh*). These were called the *χαρώνιοι κλίμακες*, or "Charon's stairs," and were used for the entrance of spectres from the lower world, and for the ghostly apparitions of the departed. There was another entrance to the thymelic platform, which led to the outer

Allusion is made to these reserved seats, in the *Equites*, 669:

Κλέων. Ἀπολῶ σε νῆ τὴν προεδρίαν τὴν ἐκ Πύλου.  
Ἀλλαντοπώλης. Ἴδου προεδρίαν οἶον ὀψομαί σ' ἐγὼ  
Ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας ἔσχατον θεώμενον.

From whence and elsewhere we may infer, that eminent public services were rewarded by this highly-prized *προεδρία*. It is a great matter with the vain-glorious man in Theophrastus: τοῦ θεάτρου καθῆσθαι, ὅταν ᾖ θέα, πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν. *Char.* II.

<sup>1</sup> Kolster maintains (*Sophokleische Studien*, p. 25) that at Athens the only entrances for the spectators were those to the right and left of the orchestra, for that the stage lay to the south; and to the north, at the back of the theatre, where the rocks of the Acropolis rose, there could have been no entrance.

<sup>2</sup> The student should remark the successive extensions of meaning with which this word is used. At first it signified the *altar* of Bacchus, round which the cyclic chorus danced the dithyramb. Then it signified the *platform*, on which this altar stood, and which served for the limited evolutions of the chorus. Lastly it denoted any platform for musical or dramatic performances, so that in the later writers the *thymele* is identified with the *proscenium*, which extended as far as the centre of the orchestral circle in the Roman theatres (see *Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Pädag.* LI. 1, pp. 22—32). We believe that in the time of Euripides, at all events, the thymele signified the platform for the chorus, and not merely the altar which stood upon it: see Eurip. *Electr.* 712 sqq.

portico of the theatre by passing under the seats of the spectators (*hbr*). This may have been used when there was no regular *parodus* of the chorus (of which more presently), and when the choreutæ made their exit in an unusual manner, as in the last scene of the *Eumenides*. The regular entrances of the chorus were by the *πάροδοι* (*tn, tn*), and along the *δρόμος* or *iter* (*te, te*).

The scene itself was a façade of masonry consisting regularly of two stories (whence it is called *διστεύλα*<sup>1</sup>), divided by a *pluteum* or continuous balcony, either made throughout of a platform of stone, or consisting of a series of projections with balustrades, which might be made continuous by laying a flooring of planks from one to the other. If there was a third story, it was called the *episcenus*; but this was not essential. The scene was adorned by columns, and Vitruvius gives their regular dimensions; namely, those in the lower story, with their pedestals and capitals, were one-fourth of the diameter of the orchestra; over these the epistyles and entablatures were one-fifth of the columns below; in the second story we have the *pluteum* with its entablature or balcony half the height of the *pulpitum* or stage, which Vitruvius designates as "the lower balcony<sup>2</sup>," and above the *pluteum* we have the columns of the second story less by one-fourth than those of the lower story, the epistylum with the entablature being as before one-fifth of the columns below. If there is an *episcenos*, its *pluteum* is half the *pluteum* below it, and its columns less by one-fourth than the columns of the second story, the epistylum and entablature bearing the same proportion, namely, one-fifth, to the corresponding columns. These measurements of course varied with the tastes of different epochs, and the size of the theatre in the particular case. The distinctive and indispensable features of the scene were the *pluteum* or balcony, and the five doors by which the actors made their different entrances on the stage. On these particulars it will be necessary to make some remarks.

It seems more than probable that in the most flourishing period of the Greek drama, the mere front of the scene was never used to indicate by itself the place of the action, but that this was always depicted on a painted curtain or some similar representation. That these pictures were suspended from the *pluteum* seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Vitruv. v. 7: *pluteum insuper cum unda et corona inferioris plutei dimidia parte*. See Schönborn, p. 82; and below, part II.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux, iv. § 130.

the most natural supposition, and if the scene represented a mountain, as in the *Prometheus*, a watch-tower, as in the *Supplices*, or a palace, as in the *Agamemnon*, on the top of which an actor had to appear, it is obvious that the pluteum would furnish him with the necessary footing; and there can be no doubt that there were approaches to it by doors in the scene, as, in fact, we see in the theatre at Aspendus. It is also evident that the pluteum must have furnished a basis for certain machines, which were worked above the stage. For example, the *θεολογεῖον*<sup>1</sup>, which was apparently a platform surrounded by clouds, and contrived for the introduction of divine personages, was of course moved from the side of the scene along the pluteum. The whole of the action in the *Peace* of Aristophanes from v. 178, when Trygæus is raised on his monster beetle to the second story of the scene, by means of a machine (v. 174), to v. 728, when he returns to the stage,—having lost his beetle,—by means of the staircase behind the scene, must have taken place in sight of the spectators on the upper balcony of the pluteum.

Every one of the five doors in the scene had its appropriate destination. The centre door (*i*), or *valvæ regiae* of Vitruvius, was the regular entrance of the *protagonist*, and represented, according to the scenery hung before it, a palace, a cavern, or other abode of the chief actor for the time being; the door to the spectators' right of this (*k*) was the abode of the *deuteragonist*, and the door to the spectators' left (*l*) was appropriated to the *tritagonist*. Pollux says, perhaps referring to a particular play, the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, that the right door indicated the strangers' apartment (*ξενών*), and the left a prison (*εἰρκτή*). Vitruvius terms both of the doors near the centre *hospitalia*. In Comedy Pollux calls the adjacent space to the centre *κλίσιον*, "the out-buildings," with reference of course to some particular Comedy; and the scenery represented wide entrances called *κλισιάδες θύραι*, adapted for the ingress of cattle and wagons. Towards either side of the scene were two other doors, which Vitruvius calls *itineræ* and *aditus*, and these, with the *περί-ακτοι*, or triangular prisms moving on pivots, which were fixed beside or in them (*m, m*), indicated to the spectators whether the actors entering by these doors were to be supposed as coming from

<sup>1</sup> Pollux, IV. § 130: ἀπὸ δὲ θεολογείου οὗτος ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ὕψει ἐπιφαίνονται θεοί, ὡς ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Ψυχροστασίᾳ.

the city or the harbour in the immediate neighbourhood of the locality represented, or from a distance. The student will remember that these five entrances led to the stage, and belonged to the actors only. And the distinction between the two elements in the ancient drama, on which we have so often insisted, must be borne in mind here. For in addition to these five εἰσοδοὶ for the entrances of the actors, there were two πάροδοι, one on each side, for the chorus. These πάροδοι did not lead to the stage, but either opened at once from the wings into the orchestra, as we see in the theatre at Aspendus, or, to favour the idea that the side-entrances of the chorus and actors corresponded, the chorus passed under the stage, and came out by doors (*t, t*) on a line with the *periacti* (*m, m*), which are often mentioned in connexion with the *parodi*. If any one, who so entered the orchestra, had afterwards to mount the stage, as Agamemnon in the play of that name, he was obliged to ascend by a flight of steps<sup>1</sup>. Now we are told that while, with regard to the side-doors on the stage, the *right* door indicated that the actor so entering came from a distance, but the *left* that he came from the city or the harbour, and that if the *right-hand* περίακτος was turned, it indicated that the road leading to the distant object was different, but that if both περίακτοι were turned, with of course a change in the decorations of the scene itself, the place of action was different, or there was a total change of scene. But, on the other hand, it is said that, with regard to the πάροδοι or entrances of the chorus, that on the *right* was supposed to lead from the market-place (if we read ἀγορῆθεν for ἀγρόθεν) or from the harbour or from the city, but that those who came on foot (i. e. not floating in the air like the chorus of Oceanides in the *Prometheus*) from any other quarter entered by the *left* πάροδος<sup>2</sup>. As it is quite

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the doors on the stage were always used for the entrances and exits of the actors, except in the few cases in which they made their first appearance on horseback or in a chariot, like Ismene in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, and Agamemnon and Cassandra in the first play of the *Oresteia*. See Schönborn, *Scene der Hellenen*, pp. 17 sqq.; Kolster, *Sophokleische Studien*, Pref. p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> This is Schönborn's explanation of the difficulty (*Scene der Hellenen*, pp. 72 sqq.). Kolster, on the contrary (*Sophokleische Studien*, pp. 24 sqq.), understands the words of Pollux (iv. 126) of the actors, and reads them as follows: τῶν μέντοι παρόδων ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ ἀγρόθεν ἢ ἐκ λιμένος ἢ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει, οἱ δ' ἀλλαχόθεν πέζοι ἀφικνούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν εἰσίσιν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ [ἐφ' ἵππου ἢ ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν] εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνουνσι. He supposes that, as the theatre at Athens was on the south slope of the Acropolis, the city and the harbour would lie on the right and the country of Attica on the left; consequently, the spectators would imagine that the right-hand door, by which they had entered the theatre along with their foreign visitors, led to distant parts, and that the left-hand door, by which the countrymen



impossible that the entrances of the chorus and the actors should not have had the same reference to the quarters from which they were supposed to enter, this apparent inconsistency must be explained by the fact that the scene and the *θέατρον*, properly so called, were regarded as distinct buildings, the orchestra belonging to the latter; and while the entrances on the stage were designated according to the right and left hands of the actors, the entrances of the chorus, which faced the stage, were denoted according to the right and left hands of the spectators. Consequently, the spectators looked to their right when they expected a new entrance, whether of actor or chorus, from the neighbourhood of the scene of action, but to their left when they expected to see an arrival from a distance. Thus in the *Agamemnon*, the chorus enters by the right parodos; the herald, and the king with Cassandra come from the left of the audience; and Ægisthus, on the other hand, from the right side-door.

It seems clear, from the original meaning of the word *σκηνή*, i. e. covered building, that the scene had a roof of some kind. There are but few traces of this in the existing monuments. But as far as the evidence is available it may be concluded that the roof was flat, and that it had a coping with battlements.

The stage (*λογεῖον*, *ὀκρίβας*, *ἱκρία*, *pulpitum*) was a long narrow platform extending to the whole length of the scene, and elevated to a height of ten or twelve feet above the orchestra<sup>1</sup>. Its breadth, according to Vitruvius, was one seventh of the diameter of the orchestra, but its length was nearly double the orchestral diameter. It was therefore a mere ledge at the foot of the scene, and was appropriately called the *podium*, according to the original application of that term. As we have already mentioned<sup>2</sup>, the stage was a representative of the wooden table from which the *exarchon* spoke to his chorus, and to the end it seems to have a movable wooden

from Rhamnus, Marathon, &c., had made their way to the seats, led to the home-district. In order to reconcile this view with the text of Pollux, Kolster understands *ἀγρόθεν* as meaning *peregre*, though he owns that he cannot produce any example of such a meaning. He supports his view by the statement that the *ξενών* was on the right and the prison on the left of the centre door; for he argues that the prisoner was originally also the slave, who was connected with the labours of the field, and must therefore have his *ergastulum* on the home-side, on which also, as Kolster thinks, the *κλισίον*, or stall for the cattle, was placed. It does not appear to us that this interpretation is in accordance with the principles of sound criticism.

<sup>1</sup> In the Roman theatre the stage was at most five feet higher than the level of the orchestra.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 60.



structure, sometimes, however, resting on supports of masonry. In several of the ancient theatres, especially in that at Aspendus, we still see flights of steps leading from the stage-doors to the level of the orchestra; and this alone is sufficient to indicate the fact that the *λογεῖον* was taken down, whenever, as was frequently the case, the theatre was required for public meetings or other purposes not strictly theatrical<sup>1</sup>.

In its original meaning the word *προσκήνιον* was no doubt synonymous with *λογεῖον*, for it signified that which was before the scene, and it is used in this sense by Virgil and other writers<sup>2</sup>. It is equally clear, however, that the word was used improperly to denote the scene itself, or rather the face of the scene, which was turned towards the spectators<sup>3</sup>; and with a stricter reference to the form of the word, it denoted the curtain or hanging before the scene<sup>4</sup>.

There are two other derivatives from *σκηνή*, which have occasioned no little difficulty and misconception. These are *παρασκήνιον* and *ὑποσκήνιον*.

In the singular number, *παρασκήνιον* denotes what was sung by a member of the chorus instead of a fourth actor<sup>5</sup>. But in the plural, *παρασκήνια* undoubtedly means the lateral projections of the scene, by the sides of the *δρόμος* with the apartments which they contained, and the doors or openings by which the chorus entered the orchestra. Modern writers on the subject, with the exception

<sup>1</sup> Schönborn, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Virg. *Georg.* II. 382: *veteres ineunt proscenia ludi*. Where Servius says: *proscenia...sunt pulvita ante scenam, in quibus ludicra exercentur*. Plut. *Moral.* p. 1096 B: χαλκοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Πέλλῃ βουλόμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ προσκήνιον οὐκ εἴλασεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὡς διαφθεροῦν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν τὴν φωνήν. Polybius (!) *apud Suid.* s. v.: ἡ τύχη παρελκομένη τὴν πρόφασιν κάθ' ἅπερ ἐπὶ προσκήνιον, παρεγύμνωσε τὰς ἀληθεῖς ἐπινοίας.

<sup>3</sup> The *προσκήνιον* and *λογεῖον* are mentioned separately in the inscriptions at Patara (Böckh, *C. I.* No. 4283, Vol. III. p. 151): καθιέρωσεν τό τε προσκήνιον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς...καὶ τὴν τοῦ λογεῖου κατασκευὴν καὶ πλάκωσιν αὐτῇ (where *πλάκωσις* means "pargetting" or "rough-casting"). And the grammarian published by Cramer (*Anecd. Paris.* I. p. 19) must have meant the scene itself when he attributed to Æschylus the *προσκήνια καὶ διστεγίας*. Hence Vitruvius (v. 6) speaks of the *proscenii pulvritum*, and Suetonius (*Nero*, cc. 12, 26) of the *proscenii fastigium* and *pars proscenii superior*.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas s. v.: τὸ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς παραπέτασμα. Duris, *ap. Athen.* XII. p. 536 A: ἐγράφετο ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκηνίου ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀχοῦμενος. *Id.* XIII. p. 587, ἐν Ἡεροκράτ. s. v. Νάννιον: προσκήνιον ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Νάννιον, ὅτι πρόσωπόν τε ἀστείων εἶχε καὶ ἐχρήτο χρυσοῖς καὶ ἱματίοις πολυτέλεσι, ἐκδύσα δὲ ἦν αἰσχροτάτη. Cf. Synesius, p. 128 C.

<sup>5</sup> Pollux, IV. § 109: ὁπότε μὲν ἀντὶ τετάρτου ὑποκριτοῦ δέοι τινὰ τῶν χορευτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν ψδῇ, παρασκήνιον καλεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι Αἰσχύλου.

of C. O. Müller and Sommerbrodt<sup>1</sup>, have allowed themselves to be misled by the confused descriptions of the grammarians, who suppose that the *parascenia* were entrances to the stage rather than to the orchestra, and buildings behind the scene itself, and not those behind the lateral projections only<sup>2</sup>. That the *παρασκήνια* were separate from the scene and beside it, is clear from the form of the word<sup>3</sup>, from the definition given by Theophrastus<sup>4</sup>, and from the phraseology of Aristeides<sup>5</sup>. And that the doors from them led to the orchestra and not to the stage, and were used by the chorus and not by the actors, is proved by the passage in Demosthenes, where he charges Meidias with barricading and nailing up the *παρασκήνια*<sup>6</sup>; in order, as Ulpian justly remarks, that the chorus might be obliged to go round by the outer entrance, instead of passing at once through the *πάροδος* to the orchestra<sup>7</sup>.

The *ὑποσκήνιον* has generally been understood as indicating the front of the stage itself, and the chambers below the stage<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Müller (*Handb. d. Arch.* § 289, 5) understands the *παρασκήνια* as the *versuræ procurrentes*; and Sommerbrodt (*de Æsch. re Scen.* p. 23) says distinctly: "Demosthenis ætate *παρασκήνια* ædificia fuisse in utroque scenæ latere exstructa, per quæ chorus posset in orchestram intrare."

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted by Meineke, *Fragm. Com. Gr.* Vol. IV. Epimetrum VII. pp. 722 sqq.; Schönborn, *Scene d. Hellenen*, pp. 98, 99.

<sup>3</sup> This may be inferred from the proper sense of the preposition *παρά*, which we also find in the word *πάροδος*, and with a like signification. For the actors were said *εἰσιέναι*, and their entrances were called *εἰσοδοί*; but the entrance of the chorus was a *πάροδος* (Jul. Poll. IV. 108: *καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰσοδος τοῦ χοροῦ πάροδος καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ κατὰ χρεῖαν ἐξοδος, ὡς πάλιν εἰσιόντων μετὰστασις· ἡ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν εἰσοδος ἐπιπάροδος· ἡ δὲ τελεία ἐξοδος ἀφοδος*), and Ulpian calls the *παρασκήνια*—*τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς* (not *ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν*) *εἰσόδους*, which indicates that they were not *on* the stage, but only *towards* the stage (Donalds. *Gr. Gr.* 483).

<sup>4</sup> Harpocrat. s. v.: *ἔοικε παρασκήνια καλεῖσθαι, ὡς ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν εἰκοστῷ νόμῳ ὑποσημαίνει, ὁ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀποδεδειγμένος τόπος ταῖς ἐν τὸν ἀγῶνα παρασκευαῖς. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὀρχήστρας εἰσόδους οὕτω φησὶ καλεῖσθαι.*

<sup>5</sup> IL p. 397, 3: *σὺ τὴν σκηνὴν θαυμάζων τὰ παρασκήνια ἤτιδσω καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀφελὶς ἐτήρεις τὰ παραφθέγματα· οὕτω πόρρω τοῦ νόμου βαίνεις.*

<sup>6</sup> Mid. p. 520, 18: *τὰ παρασκήνια φράττων, προσηλῶν.*

<sup>7</sup> Schol. ad Dem. Tom. IX. p. 547, Dind.: *τούτεστιν ἀποφράττων τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς εἰσόδους, ἵνα ὁ χορὸς ἀναγκάζεται περιέμειναι διὰ τῆς ἐξωθον εἰσόδου, καὶ οὕτω βραδύνοντος ἐκείνου συμβαίνει καταγελαῖσθαι τὸν Δημοσθένην.* Kolster supposes that Meidias nailed up the *periacti*, and barricaded what remained of the space after the withdrawal of the height of the right-angled triangle in the circle, i.e. a quarter of the diameter (*Sophokleische Studien*, p. 37). This presumes, with Overbeck (*Pompeii*, pp. 119—130), that the *periacti* were the *versuræ* of Vitruvius. But he says distinctly, v. 7, after having mentioned the three middle doors: "Secundum autem ea (i.e. hospitalia) (sunt) spatia ad ornatus comparata (quæ loca Græci *περιάκτους* vocant;" and then follows an explanation of the *περιάκτοι*), "secundum ea loca *versuræ* sunt procurrentes, quæ efficiens una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scenam." From which it is quite clear that the *versuræ* were the *παρασκήνια* and not the *περιάκτοι*.

<sup>8</sup> This view is taken by Sommerbrodt, *de Æsch. re Scen.* p. 25; Geppert, *Altgr. Bühne*, p. 100; Strack, *Altgr. Theat.* p. 4; Streglitz, *Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Bank.* I.

This opinion has been derived from the words of Pollux<sup>1</sup>. But if this had been the case, the name would surely have been *ὑπολογεῖον*, not *ὑποσκήνιον*, and the analogy of *ἐπισκήνιον*, which denotes the third story of the scene, when there was one, would lead at once to the conclusion that *ὑποσκήνιον* must denote the lower story of the scene itself. Besides, Pollux is here speaking of the scene, for he immediately afterwards mentions the three doors; and, as he says that the *ὑποσκήνιον* was adorned with columns and images, he could hardly have been speaking of the temporary substructure of the *λογεῖον*. In the monuments which represent the *λογεῖον* during the performance of a piece, it seems to be ornamented with candelabra and fillets of wool, or such other decorations as might be painted on the wood (see Fig. 3)<sup>2</sup>. That the lower part of the

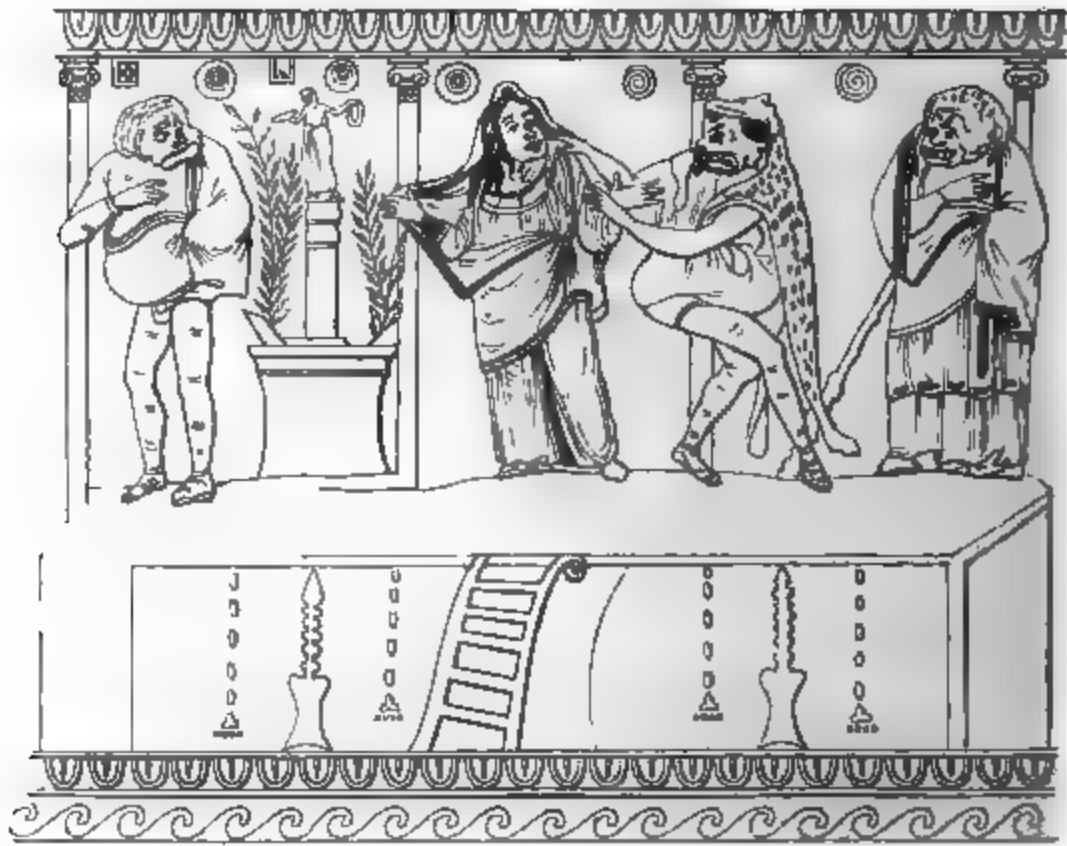


Fig. 3.

scene itself was adorned with images and columns we know from Vitruvius and from the inscription at Patara<sup>3</sup>. It is also clear that

p. 178; Genelli, *Theat. z. Ath.* p. 47. The right view is taken by Schönbauer, p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> IV. § 124: τὸ δὲ ὑποσκήνιον κίονι καὶ ἀγαλματίοις κεκόσμητο πρὸς τὸ θέατρον τετραμμένον, ὑπὸ δὲ λογεῖον κειμένον.

<sup>2</sup> Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* Taf. III. 18, IX. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Vitruv. v. 6; Böckh, *C. I.* No. 4283: τὴν τῶν ἀνδράντων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἐκστάσιν.

Pollux uses ὑπό with the accusative to signify "behind" rather than "under<sup>1</sup>," so that ὑπὸ λογιῶν κείμενον means "lying behind the stage." And for the same reason we must understand a chamber in the lower story of the scene, where we read that Asopodorus heard the applause given to one of the flute-players, being himself in the ὑποσκήνιον<sup>2</sup>, or that Phocion used to walk behind the scene when the audience was assembling<sup>3</sup>.

As a general rule the action in a Greek drama was supposed to take place in the open air. In the earliest and rudest exhibitions the hero came forth from a wooden tent or hut (σκηνή) to the stage before it, which was originally and properly termed "the space before the tent" (προσκήνιον), and there narrated his adventures or conversed with the chorus. This condition was imposed on the dramatist in the most perfect state of his art, and all the dialogue, in the regular development of an ancient play, is supposed to be carried on in some place more or less public. It might however be necessary to display to the eyes of the spectators some action which belonged to the interior or had just taken place behind the scene. For example, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the chorus on hearing the death-cry of the king proposes to rush in at once, and bring the matter to the proof while the sword is still wet (v. 1318). And immediately afterwards we see Clytæmnestra standing where she had slain her husband (v. 1346). This change of scene to the interior was not effected, as it is with us, and as other changes of scene were effected by the Greeks, namely, by substituting a fresh pictorial background, but by pushing forward the chamber itself to the stage. Had they merely removed the curtain and shown a recess, such as seems to have been constructed in the smaller Roman theatres<sup>4</sup>, the interior would have appeared dark in comparison with the day-light of the stage, and the spectators in the great theatres, especially those seated at the side, could not have seen what was going on. To obviate this difficulty

<sup>1</sup> IV. § 128: δέκνυνσι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπόρρητα πραχθέντα. Cf. Schol. Æsch. *Eumen.* 47: τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν, "what is going on behind the scene."

<sup>2</sup> Athen. XIV. p. 531 F: διατρέβων αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ὑποσκήνῳ.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *V. Phoc.* v.: τὸν Φωκίωνά φασι πληρουμένου τοῦ θεάτρου περιπατεῖν ὑπὸ σκηνῇ.

<sup>4</sup> This recess is clearly indicated in the remains of the theatre at Pompeii, as given in the subjoined illustration (Fig. 4).

Æschylus<sup>1</sup> contrived a movable chamber, corresponding to the size of the door in the scene which was opened to exhibit the interior, and this chamber, according as it was merely pushed out or rolled out on wheels, was called the *ἐξώστρα* or *ἐκκύκλημα*<sup>2</sup>. These words are often used as synonyms<sup>3</sup>. But as the word *ἐξώστρα*, in its military sense, denoted one of those boarding-bridges, which were thrust forth from the besiegers' tower to the battlements of the enemy<sup>4</sup>, and as the same word in later Greek denoted a balcony projecting from the upper story of a house<sup>5</sup>, it may be inferred that, as distinguished from the *ἐκκύκλημα*, the *ἐξώστρα* was generally used in those cases when the interior of an upper chamber was exhibited. It may however have been used also on the level of the stage, when a complete development of the interior was not required. With regard to the *ἐκκύκλημα* in particular, it is clear from the description in the grammarians, that it was a machine which moved on wheels<sup>6</sup>, and which might be rolled out through any one of the three principal doors on the

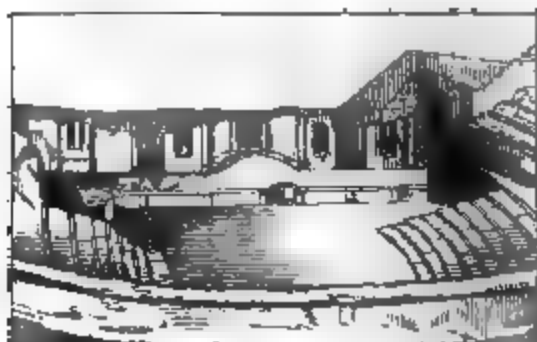


Fig. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Cramer, *Anecd. Paris.* I. p. 19: *εἰ μὲν δὲ πάντα τις Διοχίδῳ βούλεται τὰ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς εὐρήματα προσνέμειν, ἐκκύκληματα καὶ περιόκτους καὶ μηχανάς, ἐξώστρας τε καὶ προσκήνια καὶ διαστεγίας.*

<sup>2</sup> The most complete essay on these contrivances is that by C. O. Müller, *Brockhaus's Encyclop.* s. v. *Ekkyklema*, *Kleine Schriften*, I. p. 524.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, IV. § 122: *τὴν δὲ ἐξώστραν ταύτην τῷ ἐκκύκληματι νομίζουσιν.* Hesych.: *ἐξώστρα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ ἐκκύκλημα.* Schol. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 276: *ἰσθὲν ἄσπετον.* Schol. Ravenn. *ibid.*: *ἐκκυκεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξω τὸ Θεσμοφόριον.*

<sup>4</sup> Vegetius, *de re Militari*, IV. 21.

<sup>5</sup> “*Ἐξώστρα et Ἐξώστρης, Mœniorum Projectio.*” Vide Ducange and Schlegel.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 415: *ἐκκύκλημα λέγεται μηχανήμα ἐξόλινον τρέχον ἔχει.* Schol. Clem. Alex. p. 11, Potter: *ἐκκύκλημα ἐκάλουν σκεῦός τι ὑπὸ τροχῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς σκηνῆς, οὗ στρεφομένου ἐδόκει τὰ ἐσω τὰ ἐξω φανερά γίγνεσθαι.*

stage, according to the interior which it was intended to display<sup>1</sup>. It is said to have been lofty, i. e. as high as the doorway through which it moved, and to have had a seat upon it, in order, of course, that the actor, who was thus produced, might ride safely during the evolution<sup>2</sup>. It was probably a semicircular stage, the diameter being equal to the breadth of the door through which it moved, i. e. about sixteen feet in the case of the middle door, and it moved on hinges like that door, to which for the moment it corresponded. From various allusions, in which the action of the ἐκκύκλημα or ἐξώστρα is metaphorically applied to the revelation or unveiling of those things which generally are or ought to be hidden behind a curtain<sup>3</sup>, it may be inferred that the παραπέτασμα or hanging scene was always removed before this evolution was performed. The change of scene to the interior was supposed to affect the chorus as well as the actors, as we see from the passage in the *Agamemnon*, to which reference has been already made<sup>4</sup>.

With regard to the exterior, the changes of scene were effected, as we have already mentioned, by the περίακτοι (scil. θύραι) or revolving doors in the form of a triangular prism, which stood before the side-doors on the stage, and by turning round on a pivot (*m, m*), not only indicated the different regions supposed to lie in the neighbourhood of the scene, but were also made use of as ma-

<sup>1</sup> Pollux, IV. § 128: χρή τοῦτο νοεῖσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην θύραν, οἶονεῖ καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.*: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκκύκλημα ἐπὶ ξύλων ὑψηλὸν βαθρὸν, ᾧ ἐπικείται θρόνος· δείκνυσι δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπόρρητα πραχθέντα.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *de Provinciis Consularibus*, 6, § 14: quibuscum jam in exostra heluatur, antea post siparium solebat. Polyb. XI. 16, 18: τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξώστραν ἀναβιβαζούσης τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 11, Potter: τὴν γοητείαν τὴν ἐγκεκρυμμένην αὐτοῖς οἶον ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τοῦ βίου τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκκυκλήσω θεαταῖς. Id. *Strom.* VII. p. 886: οὐ γὰρ ἐκκυκλεῖν χρή τὸ μυστήριον. Cf. *Æsch. Agam.* 1145: ὁ χρησμός οὐκετ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων ἔσται δεδορκώς, where we have the same thought, with a different allusion.

<sup>4</sup> The Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 218, where Socrates is introduced as sitting or walking (225: ἀεροβατῶ) on a κρεμάθρα, or shelf, says in explanation: παρεγκύκλημα· δεῖ γὰρ κρεμᾶσθαι τὸν Σωκράτην ἐπὶ κρεμάθρας καθημένον καὶ τούτον εἰσελθόντα καὶ θεασάμενον αὐτὸν οὕτω πυθέσθαι. κρεμάθρα δὲ λέγεται, διὰ τὸ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἀεὶ μετέωρον εἶναι κρεμαμένην. νῦν μέντοι τὰ περιττεύοντα [δψα] εἰς αὐτὴν εἰώθαμεν ἀποτίθεσθαι (i. e. such as cheeses and other stores). And on v. 132, on the words ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κόπτω τὴν θύραν, he remarks: τοῦτο δὲ παρεγκύκλημα· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ κόψαι τὴν θύραν τοῦ Σωκράτους. From these passages it is concluded, and reasonably, as we think, by Schönborn (*Scene der Hellenen*, p. 347), that the παρεγκύκλημα was a practicable projection at the side of the stage. In a secondary application it meant any thing inserted in a play, as a mimic gesticulation between the speeches (Schol. *Nub.* 18, 22), or a person arbitrarily introduced (Heliodorus, *Æthiop.* p. 265, 5: ἕτερον ἐγίγνετο παρεγκύκλημα τοῦ δράματος ἢ Χαρίκλεια). But it cannot have denoted a simple ἐκκύκλημα, as Müller contends (*Kleine Schriften*, I. p. 538).

chines for introducing suddenly sea and river-gods, and other incidental apparitions<sup>1</sup>. As the right-hand *δρόμος* represented the country road, and the left-hand that which led to the city, the changes of scene effected by the revolutions of the right-hand *περίακτος* were distant views painted in perspective; while those on the left were pictures of single objects supposed to be close at hand. The scenery, which was regularly placed before the main scene, was apparently painted on canvas, the framework being of solid wood. In the *Œdipus Coloneus*, the grove of the Eumenides was thus represented, and perhaps some evergreens were actually placed on the stage. If the scene had to be changed, which was rarely the case in Tragedy, the operation was concealed by a curtain (*αὐλαία*), which was drawn up through a slit between the stage and the scene, and not, like ours, allowed to drop from above. This receptacle for the curtain and the cylinder, round which it was rolled, is plainly seen in the small theatre at Pompeii, as represented in the annexed illustration. This difference between the ancient practice

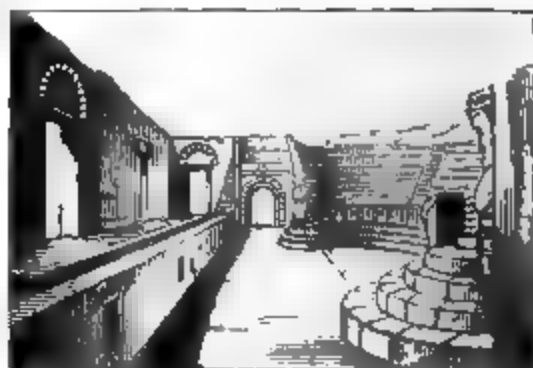


Fig 5.

and our own must be remembered by the student, who would

<sup>1</sup> The following are authorities respecting the *περίακτοι*. Vitruv. v. 7: "secundum ea spatia ad ornatus comparata (quæ loca Græci περιέκτους dicunt) ab eo, quæ machine sunt in iis locis, versatiles trigonos habentes." Jul. Pollux, iv. 126: τὰ ἐκάτερα δὲ τῶν δύο θυρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν μέσην, ἄλλαι δύο εἰεν δε, μία ἐκατέρωθεν, πρὸς ἃ αἱ περίακτοι συνεπλήγασιν· ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τὰ ἐξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἀριστερὰ τὰ ἐκ πόλεως· μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένων καὶ θεοὺς τε θαλαττίους ἐπάγει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαχθέτερα ὄντα ἡ μηχανὴ φέρειν ἄδυναται· εἰ δὲ ἐπιστρέφωιεν αἱ περίακτοι ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀνέβα τόπον· ἀμφότεραι δὲ χώραν ὑπαλλάττουσι. ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνει. From the use of the *periacti* as *side-scenes*, it seems most probable that they were not let into the wall (for it is *πρὸς δε*, not *πρὸς αἰς* or *ἐν αἰς*), and from the analogy between the employments of the *περίακτος* and the *μηχανή*, which was placed in the left *τέμενος*, it may be inferred that these triangular prisms stood as represented in the plan, between the side-entrances to the stage and the orchestra. Kolster suggests (*Sophokleische Studien*, Pref. p. viii) that the axis of the cylinder was fixed in the lintel and threshold of the side-door, so that the apex of the triangle stood within the wall. This would have prevented the audience from seeing the whole of the side-scene.



understand such passages as the following (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III. 111—114):

Sic, ubi tolluntur festis aulæa theatris,  
Surgere signa solent, primumque ostendere vultum,  
Cetera paullatim, placidoque educta tenore  
Tota patent, imoque pedes in margine ponunt.

Here the reference is to the drawing up of the curtain at the end of an act, when the figures, which were embroidered on it (Virgil, *Georg.* III. 25), were gradually displayed to the audience, the head rising first, just as the armed men rose from the ground when Cadmus sowed the serpent's teeth. Conversely, Horace says (2 *Epist.* I. 189):

Quattuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas,  
Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ peditumque catervæ:

that is, the curtain was down, as the play was going on for four hours or more, while the spectacle, as in one of Mr Charles Kean's revivals, went on as an episode in the play.

Scene-painting (σκηνογραφία, σκιαγραφία) in the days of Agatharchus became a distinct and highly-cultivated branch of art. When the scene exhibited its most usual representation,—that of a house,—the altar of Apollo Agyieus was invariably placed on the stage near the main entrance. There are many allusions to this both in Tragedy and Comedy<sup>1</sup>.

The theatre at Athens was well supplied with machinery calculated to produce startling effects. Besides the *periacti*, which were used occasionally to introduce a sea-deity on his fish-tailed steed, or a river-god with his urn, there was the *θεολογείον*, a platform surrounded by clouds, and suspended from the top of the central scene, whence the deities conversed with the actors or chorus. Sometimes they were introduced near the left *parodus*, close to the *periactos*, by means of a crane turning on a pivot, which was called the *μηχανή*<sup>2</sup>. The *γέρανος* was a contrivance for snatching up an actor from the stage and raising him to the *θεολογείον*; and by the *αἶωραι*, an arrangement of ropes and pulleys, Bellerophon or Trygæus could fly across the stage.

Then there was the *βροντείον*, a contrivance for imitating the sound of thunder. It seems to have consisted of bladders full of

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. *Æschyl. Agam.* 1051, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. Poll: iv. 128: ἡ μηχανή δὲ θεοὺς δείκνυσι καὶ Ἡρώας τοὺς ἐν ἀέρι, Βελλεροφόντας, ἢ Περσεῖς· καὶ κεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἀριστεράν πάροδον ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν τὸ ὕψος. Hence the phrase *Deus ex Machina*.

pebbles, which were rolled over sheets of copper laid out in the ὑποσκήνεια. Again, the appearance of lightning was produced by means of a *periactos* or triangular prism of mirrors placed in the θεολογείον. This was called the κεραυνοσκοπεῖον. It may be inferred too that either the orchestra or the stage was occasionally supposed to represent water. Thus in the *Frogs*, Bacchus rows either on or in front of the λογείον to the melodious croakings of the chorus which swims around his boat.

From the enormous size of the theatre at Athens, which is said to have contained 30,000 spectators<sup>1</sup>, it became necessary to employ the principles of acoustics to a considerable extent. All round the κοῖλον were placed bell-shaped vessels of bronze, called ἡχεῖα, placed in an inverted position, and resting on pedestals, which received and distributed the vibrations of sound.

The influence of the situation and peculiar construction of the Greek theatre upon the imagination of the dramatists has been fully shown by an accomplished scholar who visited Athens some years since<sup>2</sup>.

Our conceptions of the *manner* of representation also depend upon the twofold division of the Attic drama. We must recollect the military origin of the chorus<sup>3</sup>, its employment in the worship of Bacchus<sup>4</sup>, the successive adoption of the lyre and the flute as accompaniments<sup>5</sup>, the nature of the cyclic chorus<sup>6</sup>, and the improvements of Stesichorus<sup>7</sup>, in order to understand fully the peculiar and otherwise unaccountable evolutions of the dramatic chorus. We must remember also that the actor was originally a rhapsode who succeeded the Exarchus of the dithyramb<sup>8</sup>, that he was the representative of the poet<sup>9</sup>, who was the original Exarchus, that he acted in a huge theatre at a great distance from the spectators, and that he often had to sustain more than one part in the same piece; all this we must recollect, if we would not confound the functions of Polus with those of Macready.

The first remark with regard to the chorus will explain to us

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Sympos.* 175 E. See, however, Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, pp. 92 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, pp. 94 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 27 foll.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 37, note (5).

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 60, and elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> Above, p. 59.

the order and manner in which the choreutæ made their entry. The chorus was supposed to be a lochus of soldiers in battle-array<sup>1</sup>. In the dithyrambic or cyclic chorus of fifty, this military arrangement was not practicable; but when the original choral elements had become more deeply inrooted in the worship of Bacchus, and the three principal Apollonian dances were transferred to the worship of that god<sup>2</sup>, the dramatic choruses became like them quadrangular, and were arranged in military rank and file<sup>3</sup>. The number of the tragic chorus for the whole Trilogy appears to have been fifty; the comic chorus consisted of twenty-four. The chorus of the Tetralogy was broken into four sub-choruses, two of fifteen, one of twelve, and a satyric chorus of eight, as appears from the distribution in the remaining Trilogy<sup>4</sup>. When the chorus of fifteen entered in ranks three abreast, it was said to be divided *κατὰ ζυγά*: when it was distributed into three files of five, it was said to be *κατὰ στοίχους*. The same military origin explains the fact that the anapæstic metre was generally, if not always, adopted for the opening choral song; for this metre was also used in the Greek marching songs<sup>5</sup>. The muster of the chorus round the Thymele, shows that the chorus was Bacchic as well as military; the mixture of lyric and flute music points to the same union of two worships<sup>6</sup>; and in the strophic and antistrophic form of most of the choral odes, we discern the traces of the choral improvements of Stesichorus.

Again, with regard to the actor, when we remember that he was but the successor of the Exarchus, who in the improvements of Thespis spoke a *πρόλογος* before the chorus came on the stage, and held a *ῥῆσις*, or dialogue, with them after they had sung their choral song<sup>7</sup>, we shall see why there was always a soliloquy or a dialogue, in the first pieces of the more perfect Tragedies, before the chorus came on<sup>8</sup>. The actor's connexion with the rhapsode is also a reason for the narrative character of the speeches and dialogues, and for the general absence of the abrupt and vehement conversations which are so common in our own plays.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Eumeniden*, § 12.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Eumeniden*, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.* § 16.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 60, and p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> The *Supplikes* and *Persæ* of Æschylus, which are the only two plays that begin with an anapæstic march, were not the first plays of the Trilogies to which they belonged.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Id. *ibid.* § 1 foll.

<sup>8</sup> Id. *ibid.* § 18.

But, independently of any peculiarities of a literary nature, the great size of the theatre<sup>1</sup>, and the religious character of the festival, gave occasion for some very remarkable differences between the outward appearance and costume of the ancient actors, and those who sustain parts in the performances of the modern drama. These differences consisted mainly in the two following particulars: (*a*) the tragic actor was always raised on soles of enormous thickness, which gave additional height to his person, while his body and limbs were also stuffed and padded to a corresponding size, and his head was surmounted by a colossal mask suited to the character which he bore; and (*b*) every performer, whatever his character might be, was uniformly arrayed in the gay and gaudy attire of the Dionysian festival. We will consider these peculiarities separately, because they spring from distinct causes; for the thick soles and the mask were due to the size of the theatre, and the festal dress to the religious nature of the solemnities. With regard to both of these peculiarities we have abundant authorities in ancient works of art. Masks of every description are repeated in pictures and sculptures, and figures arrayed in the theatrical dress are to be met with everywhere. We have also representations of complete scenes from the different kinds of dramas, especially, however, from Comedies; and, by great good fortune, we have rescued from the ruins of time, in all the brightness of the original colouring, not only a series of twenty-two pairs of figures representing performers in Tragedies, followed by a similar pair from a Satyric Drama, but also the three actors accompanied by the chorus. The former are given in a number of hexagonal Mosaics, which were found at Lorium in Etruria, where Antoninus Pius was brought up and where he died, and which are now let into the modern Mosaic pavement of an octagonal room of the Pio-Clementine Museum at Rome called the Saloon of the Muses<sup>2</sup>. The latter representation was discovered in a grotto, on one side of the Necropolis of Cyrene, the four walls of which are covered with well-preserved paintings representing the dramatic and other entertainments, which the deceased had exhibited in his

<sup>1</sup> See Dr Wordsworth's remarks, *Athens and Attica*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> This mosaic is fully described by Millin, *Description d'une Mosaïque Antique du Musée Pio-Clementine à Rome représentant des Scènes de Tragédies*, Paris, 1829. See also Müller, *Gött. Gell. Anz.* 1831, pp. 1234 sqq.; Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* pp. 48 sqq. Some specimens of the figures are given in the accompanying plate (3).



Fig. 1. 1/2 m.



Fig. 2. 1/2 m.



Fig. 3. 1/2 m.



Fig. 4. 1/2 m.



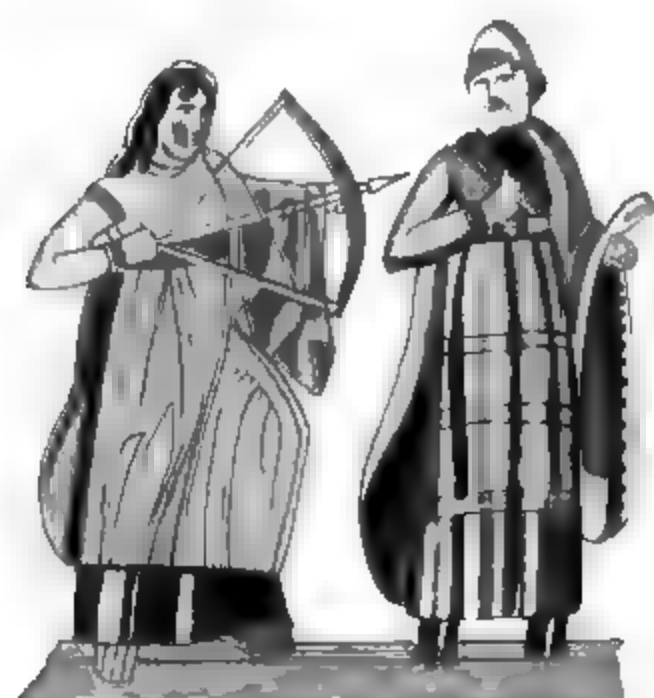
Fig. 5. 1/2 m.



Fig. 6. 1/2 m.

FIGURE 1. 1/2 m. 2. 1/2 m. 3. 1/2 m. 4. 1/2 m. 5. 1/2 m. 6. 1/2 m.



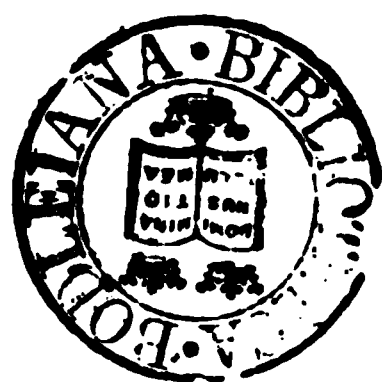




















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life-time, or which had been given on occasion of his funeral<sup>1</sup>. By the aid of these ancient authorities we can describe the attire of a Greek actor as accurately as if we were detailing the costume of a performer on the modern stage.

We shall first discuss (a) those peculiarities of the theatrical costume, which were designed to increase the stature of the actor and to give greater distinctness to his features when seen from a distance, and then (b) illustrate the festal attire in which he walked the stage.

(a) The thick-soled boot, worn by hunters, and others who had to walk over rough and tangled ground, was called the *cothurnus* (κόθορνος), and does not appear to have been different from the ἀρβύλη or *pero*. At least Agamemnon, who enters the orchestra in a mule-car, has his ἀρβύλαι taken off before he mounts the stage by the πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος, laid for him by Clytæmnestra<sup>2</sup>, and Hippolytus is said to have stepped into his chariot all booted as he was (αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν)<sup>3</sup>. The adoption of this form of boot was not primarily occasioned by the necessity of giving the actor a more elevated stature. The incident mentioned by Herodotus<sup>4</sup> shows that the cothurnus was an effeminate chaussure, and it is clear that it formed a part of the costume of the worshippers of Bacchus, who imitated the half-womanly character of their divinity. The upper leather was highly ornamented<sup>5</sup> and laced



Fig. 6.

<sup>1</sup> See J. R. Pacho, *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmorique, la Cyrenaique, &c.* Paris, 1827, Pl. XLIX. and L. cf. Müller, *Handbuch d. Arch.* § 425, 2; Creuzer, *Deutsch. Schrift. zur Archäol.* Vol. III. 499; Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* pp. 99 sqq. The figures are given with the colouring in the accompanying plate (4).

<sup>2</sup> Æsch. *Agam.* 917:

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ' ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας  
λύοι τάχος πρόδουλον ἐμβασιν ποδός.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. *Hippol.* 1188:

μάρπτει δὲ χερσὶν ἡνίας ἀπ' ἀντυγος,  
αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδας.

<sup>4</sup> I. 125. Hence Aristoph. *Ran.* 47: τί κόθορνος καὶ ῥόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην;

<sup>5</sup> See fig. 6; and compare fig. 15, p. 253.

down the front, but the thickness of the sole seems to have required that for ordinary purposes the buskin should not fit closely to the foot<sup>1</sup>, so that the name *κόθορνος* was adopted as a designation of Theramenes, who was regarded as a turn-coat or trimmer in politics<sup>2</sup>. But although the ordinary *κόθορνος* or *ἀρβύλη* had a very thick sole against which stones and other obstacles struck with a ringing sound as the passenger stumped along the road<sup>3</sup>, it bore no comparison in this respect to the tragic buskins. Their enormous and extravagant height may be seen in the accompanying figure of the Tragic Muse, and is singularly shown



Fig. 7.

in the two monuments which are our principal authorities for the costume of the Greek drama. In the Pio-Clementine Mosaic, as Millin well remarks<sup>4</sup>, the figures seem at first sight to have no

<sup>1</sup> See the story of Alcmaeon, who made his cothurni, like the jackboots of Huel-bras, serve as an additional pocket for his gold. Herod. vi. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. Hell. ii. 3, § 31: ὅθεν δῆπον καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττει μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

<sup>3</sup> Theocrit. vii. 25, 26:

ὥς τεῦ ποσὶ πεισσομένον  
πᾶσα λίθος πταίονσα ποτ' ἀρβυλίδεσσιν αἰδεῖ.

<sup>4</sup> P. 16: "On diroit qu'ils n'ont pas de pieds; ils ont l'air de ces marionnettes que l'on promène à travers les fentes des planches d'un théâtre, et dont les fils qui les font mouvoir sont dessous, au lieu d'être dessus."

feet, but resemble the marionettes which are worked from below. On a closer examination, however, we observe that the feet of the actors are covered by their long robes, and that we only see the high soles on which they are elevated. For in one of the figures (No. XVIII. see the accompanying plate, No. 3), where a woman in a state of great agitation is rushing in to announce some dreadful intelligence, one of her feet is lifted from the stage, so that we see the bottom of the sole: and in two others (also given in the accompanying plate), the toe of the buskin projects beyond the bottom of the robe. In the Cyrenaic picture the three figures of the actors are raised on little pedestals, if Pacho's copy is correctly drawn, and Müller has supposed<sup>1</sup> that the picture represents statues of actors and not the actors themselves, a supposition which is set aside by the whole composition. There can be little doubt that these basements merely depict the soles of their buskins, the square space in the middle being perhaps intended to indicate the division between the two soles in each case<sup>2</sup>. In a painting on a wall at Pompeii<sup>3</sup>, the peculiar shape of the soles conveyed to Sir W. Gell the idea that the figures were Scythian Hippopodæ! but a more exact copy, which has subsequently been made by Wieseler<sup>4</sup>, shows that the figures merely wear a sort of sabot or wooden shoe. That these soles of the cothurnus, which seem to have been called ἐμβάται or ἔμβαρα<sup>5</sup>, were made of wood, probably of some very light wood, if not occasionally of cork, is distinctly stated by the Scholiast on Lucian<sup>6</sup>; and the Pio-Clementine Mosaic shows us that they were generally painted so as to harmonize with the robe of the actor. On account, both of its connexion with the Dionysiac attire and of its special use in giving height and dignity to the tragic actor, the *cothurnus* was an emblem of Tragedy, as the *soccus* was of Comedy<sup>7</sup>; the Tragic Muse is

<sup>1</sup> *Handb. d. Arch.* § 425, 2.

<sup>2</sup> This is Wieseler's opinion, *Theatergeb.* p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Gell, *Pompeii*, Vol. II. Pl. LXXV.

<sup>4</sup> Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* p. 51, and Taf. A, No. 23.

<sup>5</sup> See Valckenaer, *Ammon.* p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad Jov. Trag.* p. 13: ἐμβάτας μὲν τὰ ξύλα ἃ βάλλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας οἱ τραγωδοί, ἵνα φανῶσι μακρότεροι.

<sup>7</sup> Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 80:

Hunc socci cepere pedem. grandesque cothurni.

equipped with this clumsy buskin<sup>1</sup>; and the word itself is used by the Latin poets as a synonym for *tragœdia*<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to the cothurnus, and the padded figure<sup>3</sup>, the tragedian was increased to a colossal stature by his mask (*προσωπεῖον*), which not only represented a set of features much larger than those of any ordinary man, but was raised to a great height above the brow by a sort of elevated frontlet or foretop (*δγκος*, *superficies*<sup>4</sup>), rising in the shape of the letter Λ<sup>5</sup>, which formed the frame of a tire or periwig (*πηνίλη*, *φενάλη*<sup>6</sup>), attached to the mask.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

When this head-piece was fitted on, there was only one outlet for the voice, sometimes represented as a square, but more generally as a round opening (*os rotundum*<sup>7</sup>), so that the voice might be said to sound through it—hence the Latin name for a mask

<sup>1</sup> Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* p. 52, Taf. IX. 2. See fig. 7, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, 2 *Carm.* 1. 13:

grande munus  
Cecropio repetes cothurno.

Virgil, *Eclog.* VIII. 10:

Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *Jupiter Tragedus*, II. 44; *de Gymnas.* 23; *de Saltat.* II. 27.

<sup>4</sup> The word *δγκος* (cf. *ἀγχι*, *ἀγκος*, *ἀγκυρα*, &c.) refers to the curve at the top; the Latin *superficies*, which also means a roof, indicates that it was over the face.

<sup>5</sup> Pollux, IV. § 133: λαβδοειδὲς τῷ σχήματι.

<sup>6</sup> Hence *φενακίζειν*, "to deceive." See Hemsterhuis on Julius Pollux, X. § 170.

<sup>7</sup> The mouth is square in the figures on the Pio-Clementine Mosaic, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, Plates II. III. IV. The size of the mouth is alluded to by Persius, V. 3: *fabulae non mæsto ponatur hianda tragædo*; and Juvenal, III. 175: *personæ pallentis hiatus*.

(*persona a personando*<sup>1</sup>); hence also the strong expressions (*βομβῶν, περιβομβῶν*) used by the grammarians in speaking of the voice of the tragic actor. As the holes for the eyes must have been opposite to those of the actor, the mouth would fall below his chin, and some contrivance must have been adopted, after the manner of a speaking-trumpet, to produce this striking effect. The *persona muta*, or dumb actor, was furnished with a mask in which the lips were closed, as in the accompanying illustration from a painting at Pompeii.



Fig. 10.

The greatest possible care was bestowed on the fabrication of masks; and the manufacturer of stage costume got his name from this part of the actor's equipment<sup>2</sup>. It is not certainly known of what material the mask was composed. The *ὄγκος* in the Cyrenaic picture seems, in the case of all the three actors, to be a metal plate, and it is not improbable that this connexion of the mask and wig, on which they both depended, was of some stiff and solid substance. Bötticher has supposed<sup>3</sup>, on the strength of a passage in Lucretius<sup>4</sup>, that the masks were made of clay; but a mask of *terracotta* would have been much too heavy, and it is more reasonable to infer that the poet refers to the coating of chalk with which the

<sup>1</sup> Gabius Bassus, apud Aul. Gell. v. 7. Barth derives the word from *περὶ σῶμα*, Voss from *πρόσωπον*, Döderlein from *παρασάλνω*, Mr Talbot from *Persephone*, and an English theologian from *περιζώνιον*!

<sup>2</sup> Pollux, iv. 115: *καὶ σκευὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν στολή (ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ σωμάτιον ἐκαλεῖτο), σκευοποιὸς δὲ ὁ προσωποποιός.*

<sup>3</sup> *Funemaske*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 296 sqq.:

Ut si quis, prius arida quam sit  
Cretea persona, adlidat pilæve trabive,  
Atque ea continuo rectam si fronte figuram  
Servet, et elisam retro sese exprimat ipsa,  
Fiet ita, ante oculos fuerit qui dexter, ut idem  
Nunc sit lævus, et e lævo sit mutua dexter.

It is quite clear from this that the mask was made of some substance fitted by maceration for receiving an impression and capable of being turned inside out, which would hardly be possible with a clay mould.

surface was overlaid in order to receive the colouring, or perhaps to the colours themselves<sup>1</sup>. The lighter the mask the more convenient it would be for the performer, and though the description in Lucretius seems to be inconsistent with Millin's conjecture that it was made of cork<sup>2</sup>, there is no reason why it should not have been moulded from the bark of some other tree<sup>3</sup> moistened in water, and then modelled in a bust. The *oscilla*, or heads of Bacchus, which were imitations of the tragic mask, and which were suspended from the pine-trees near a vineyard<sup>4</sup>, in order that the district might become fruitful, whereon the face of the god was directed by the wind<sup>5</sup>, were most probably made of bronze or copper; for the lighter substance would not have stood the effects of the weather. One of the *oscilla* preserved in the British Museum is of marble, and has a ring on the top for the purpose



Fig. 11.

of suspension. The masks in the Pio-Clementine Mosaic are mostly of a swarthy colour; those in the Cyrenaic picture are quite natural; and it is probable that a resemblance to nature was

<sup>1</sup> As in Petronius:

Dum sumit creteam faciem Sestoria, cretam  
Perdidit illa simul, perdidit et faciem.

<sup>2</sup> *Descr. d'un Mos.* p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Virgil, *Georg.* II. 387:

Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ibid.* 389:

Oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ibid.* 390:

Hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu  
Complentur vallesque cavæ saltusque profundi,  
Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit honestum.

Creuzer supposes (*Symbol.* IV. 93) that this practice referred to the purifying influence of the wind, indicated by the worship of Bacchus Lichnites.



preserved, though of course the colours were strongly pronounced and exaggerated. It is obvious, as Müller says<sup>1</sup>, that the masks were sometimes changed between the acts, and that a difference of complexion was introduced to mark the change in the condition of the character, as when Œdipus or Polymnestor returns to the stage after the loss of his eyes<sup>2</sup>. The masks of female characters were furnished with the *ὄγκος*, as in the figure of the Tragic Muse (fig. 7), in the parody of the *Antigone* (fig. 17), and in the Pompeian picture already cited<sup>3</sup>, but the features were less exaggerated, and they had sometimes caps of a peculiar colour, with hanging ribands kept down by a knob or tassel of gilded metal called *πότοκος*, i.e. "a little pomegranate"<sup>4</sup>.

There was a different kind of mask for almost every character. Julius Pollux divides the tragic masks alone into twenty-six classes<sup>5</sup>; and while he informs us that the comic masks were much more numerous<sup>6</sup>, he specifies only four kinds of satyric masks, two portraying satyrs with grey hair or a long beard, and two representing Sileni, as youthful or aged respectively<sup>7</sup>. The last of these is depicted in the Pio-Clementine Mosaic, as a bald-headed, grey-bearded mask, crowned with ivy (Pl. v. No. VII.), and the last group on that Mosaic (Pl. XXVIII.) represents the Silenus in full costume, bald-headed and crowned with ivy, though dressed in the tragic

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* I. p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> These were called *ἐκσκευα πρόσωπα*. Pollux, IV. § 141.

<sup>3</sup> Gell, *Pompeii*, Vol. II. Pl. LXXV., of which the following is a copy, as far as concerns the female head in question:



<sup>4</sup> Millin, *Mosaïque*, Pl. v. No. VIII.; *Monum. Antiq. inéd.* II. 249.

<sup>5</sup> IV. § 133 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Jul. Poll. IV. §§ 143—154.

<sup>7</sup> Id. § 142.

robe like the other figures. The accompanying groups show the tragic, comic, and satyric masks in contrast with one another.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

(b) It has been already remarked that the dress of the tragic actors was derived from the gay festal costume of the worshippers of Bacchus. The performers, says Müller<sup>1</sup>, wore "long striped garments reaching to the ground (*χιτώνες ποδήρεις, στολαί*), over which were thrown upper robes (*ιμάτια, χλαμύδες*) of purple or some other brilliant colour, with all sorts of gay trimmings and gold ornaments, the ordinary dress of Bacchic festal processions and choral dances. Nor was the Hercules of the stage represented as the sturdy athletic hero whose huge limbs were only concealed by a lion's hide; he appeared in the rich and gaudy dress we have described,

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* 1. p. 296. For the details and minutiae of the Greek theatrical costume, see also Müller's *Eumeniden*, § 32; Schön, *De Personarum in Euripidis Bacchabus Habitu scenico Commentatio*, Lips. 1831; and Millin's *Description of the Pio-Clementine Mosaic*. On the different styles of dress adopted by the different characters, see Jul. Pollux, iv. 18, and for examples, compare the Introduction to the *Antigone*, pp. xxxii sqq.

to which his distinctive attributes, the club and the bow, were merely added."

The accompanying illustration contains all the elements of this Dionysiac costume<sup>1</sup>. It represents an actor dressed in the



Fig. 15.

character of Bacchus. He does not wear the mask with its lofty fore-top, but he is shod with the cothurnus, which has the usual high sole, and the upper leather, which is visible, is adorned with the most elaborate lacing. He wears on his head a chaplet of ivy. The mutilated staff in his hand is undoubtedly a fragment of the thyrsus<sup>2</sup>. Over a syrrma, with sleeves reaching to his wrists, he wears the usual upper robe of Bacchus fastened by a girdle. The long garland of flowers, which hangs round his neck, is one of the regular Bacchic adornments. By his left side is a statuette, unfortunately mutilated, which probably represents Melpomene; and the female figure, also imperfect, to which he turns his head,

<sup>1</sup> It is taken from Buonarroti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni Medagli Antichi*, p. 447; Bellori, *Pictur. Ant. Crypt. Rom.* T. XV.; Panofka, *Cabinet de Pourtales-Gorgier*, Pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux, IV. 117: ὁ δὲ κροκωτὸς ἱμάτιον· Διόνυσος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐχρήτο καὶ μασχαλιστήρι ἀνθίνῃ καὶ θύρσῳ.

is probably a representation of Victory, who is about to place a crown on the head of the successful actor<sup>1</sup>. On the other side is a boy playing the *ἐπινίκιον*, and probably the same as the performer who accompanied him on the stage. The curtain in the background seems to indicate that the actor is receiving this public recognition as he sits enthroned on the proscenium.

As the general costume of the tragic performers was thus fixed by the conventions of the Bacchic festival, the discrimination of the character represented depended on the expression of the mask, on certain adjuncts, and partly on the colour of the dress. It was only Euripides who ventured to allow his tragic heroes to appear in rags, and he incurred, by this departure from Bacchic magnificence, the keenest ridicule of his comic contemporaries. The other dramatists contrived that every character should be consistent with the dignity and splendour of the festal occasion, with which the exhibition was connected. The adjuncts, which marked the different characters, were very simple, and might be recognized at once. Of the attributes of Hercules we have already spoken. He has both the club and the bow in the Pio-Clementine Mosaic (Pl. VI. Wieseler, VII. 2), but the club alone in the same Mosaic (Pl. VIII. Wieseler, No. 3), in the Cyrenaic picture, and in the following illustration from a bas-relief in the Villa Albani.



Fig. 16.

Mercury has simply a caduceus in the Pio-Clementine Mosaic (Pl. X.) and in the Cyrenaic picture. The figure in the act of shooting with a bow and arrow at a man bearing an unsheathed poignard (Millin, Pl. IX. Wieseler, VII. 4) probably represents

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Handb. d. Arch.* § 425, 2.

Hercules in the act of slaying Lycus<sup>1</sup>. The royal tragic costume is marked by the long sceptre borne in the left hand<sup>2</sup>, and by a sword with its *μύκη*<sup>3</sup> at the end of the scabbard (Millin, p. 21, Pl. XI. Wieseler, IV. 12). It is difficult to say what is the distinguishing object in some of the figures in the Mosaic<sup>4</sup>, but the first is obviously a young female figure with a torch<sup>5</sup> in each hand; and may fairly be identified with the Cassandra of the *Troades*. In one group (Millin, Pl. XXV. Wieseler, VIII. 3) a figure is introduced bearing a branch of olive as a suppliant, and it is not improbable, as Millin has suggested (p. 28), that the scene represented is that in the *Supplices* of Euripides, when Adrastus appeals to Æthra the mother of Theseus. In the picture from Pompeii, to which reference has been already made (Wieseler, VIII. 12), a heroine bearing a child in swaddling clothes, is addressing a female domestic, who carries a water-jug in her right hand. That Antigone, both in the prologue and when she is brought before Creon, carries in her hand the *prochus* or pitcher,



Fig. 17.

<sup>1</sup> The drawn dagger indicates the murderous purpose of the person about to be slain. See Eurip. *Herc. F.* 735, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Amorum*, III. 1. 11 sqq.:

Venit et ingenti violenta Tragedia passu:  
Fronte comæ torva; palla jacebat humi;  
Læva manus sceptrum late regale tenebat;  
Lydius alta pedum vincla cothurnus erat.

<sup>3</sup> Herod III. 64.

<sup>4</sup> In Pl. 15, Wieseler, VII. 10, the male figure seems to carry in his left hand the red sheath of the dagger which he bears in his right; and the female figure, who is bending her knee in the act of supplication, is perhaps Clytemnestra, at the moment when Orestes threatens her with death.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 308 sqq.:

ἀνεχε, πάρεχε, φῶς φέρε σέβω, φλέγω,  
ἰδοῦ, ἰδοῦ  
λαμπάδι τόδ' ἱερὸν.

with which she poured forth the triple libations round the dead body of her brother<sup>1</sup>, is most probable in itself, and is confirmed by a ludicrous parody of the latter scene, in which an old and bald-headed man, dressed up as Antigone, and bearing an exaggerated hydria, pulls off his female mask at the moment when Creon is about to sentence the supposed culprit to death<sup>2</sup>. (See fig. 17.) With regard to the colours of the tragic dress, the three figures in the Cyrenaic painting are mainly attired in blue and yellow. The protagonist, who represents Hercules, has his garments elaborately ornamented, the Mercury has his blue robe adorned with rings of gold and sprigs of olive, and the third figure, besides the admixture of blue and yellow in his dress, has some pink figures embroidered on it. They have all girdles in which pink is the prevailing colour. Both the female characters in the scene with the child *ἐν σπαργάνοις* have garments of a bluish green<sup>3</sup>. There is more variety in the colours on the Pio-Clementine Mosaic, but most of them have transversal bars of purple or gold (called *ράβδοι παρυφαί*<sup>4</sup>) on the sleeves and bodies of their upper garments. This band sometimes appears also as the *πεζίς*<sup>5</sup> or lower border of the *chiton*. In one of the groups, where a tyrant, with threatening mien, is addressing a prisoner, who stands before him with drooping head and his hands bound behind his back, the former has a bright red dress without any stripes, bound round his waist with a golden girdle<sup>6</sup>. The attire of mourning, when the character was represented as suffering under some special calamity, was for a woman a black gown with a pale green or quince-yellow upper robe<sup>7</sup>, and for a man, if he was an exile, soiled white robes, or

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Antigone*, p. xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard, *Ant. Bildwerke*, Taf. LXXIII.; Panofka, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* Vol. XIX. pp. 216 sqq.; Welcker, *Gerhard's Arch. Ztg.* N. F. 1848, pp. 333 sqq.; Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* p. 55, Pl. IX. No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Wieseler, *Theatergeb.* p. 52: "Beide Personen haben einen blaugrünlichen Chiton."

<sup>4</sup> Pollux, VII. § 53: αἱ μέντοι ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσι πορφυραὶ ῥάβδοι παρυφαὶ καλοῦνται. Hesych. παρυφή· ἡ ἐν τῷ χιτῶνι πορφύρα.

<sup>5</sup> Pollux, VII. § 62: ὥς δὲ τὸ ἐξωτάτω τοῦ χιτῶνος ἐκατέρωθεν,—αἱ δὲ παρὰ τὰς ὥας παρυφαὶ καλοῦνται πέζαι καὶ πεζίδες.

<sup>6</sup> Like the philosopher Lysias, who being elected crowned priest of Hercules, became ἐξ ἱματίου τύραννος, i. e. as soon as he laid aside his ordinary upper garment and assumed the tragic chlamys; for he is described as πορφυροῦν μὲν μεσόλευκον χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκώς, χλαμύδα δὲ ἐφ'εστρίδα περιβεβλημένος πολυτελεῖ (Athenaeus, v. p. 215 B, O).

<sup>7</sup> Pollux, IV. § 118: τῆς ἐν συμφορᾷ ὁ μὲν συρτὸς μέλας, τὸ δὲ ἐπίβλημα γλαυκὸν ἢ μήλινον.

generally garments of black or dark brown, or quince yellow, or with a shade of olive-green<sup>1</sup>. The black or at least a very dark robe is plainly seen in the Mosaic (Pl. XIX. Wieseler, VIII. 2), and the pale green upper robe in the figure, which Mercury is conducting to the grave (Pl. X. Wieseler, VII. 5). Pollux mentions especially a net-like woollen robe (*ἀγρηνόν*) as worn by Teiresias and other soothsayers<sup>2</sup>, and a bulging robe (*κόλπωμα*) as worn by kings over their variegated under-dress<sup>3</sup>, which from the word used must have been confined by the girdle<sup>4</sup>, and may have been the projections before the breast and the stomach mentioned by Lucian<sup>5</sup>. The upper garment was not properly an *ἱμάτιον* thrown over the left shoulder and brought back under the right arm according to the *ἐπὶ δέξια ἀναβολή*, but a sort of *χλαμύς*, *ἐφαπτίς*, *ἐφεστρίς*, or *ἐπιπόρπαμα*, fastened with a clasp on the shoulder like a soldier's cloak or wrapper. The general name for it was *ἐπίβλημα*, and



Fig. 18.

the clasp on the shoulder was one of its special marks<sup>6</sup>. There are many allusions in the classical Tragedies to this feature in the dramatic attire. When an actor divests himself of his upper

<sup>1</sup> § 117: οἱ δ' ἐν δυστυχίαις ὄντες ἢ λευκὰ δυσπινὴ εἶχον, μάλιστα οἱ φυγάδες, ἢ φαυὰ ἢ μέλανα ἢ μήλινα ἢ γλαυκὰ.

<sup>2</sup> § 116: τὸ δ' ἦν πλέγμα ἐξ ἐρίων διακτυώδες περὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, ὃ Τειρεσίας ἐπεβάλλετο ἢ τινὲς ἄλλοι μάντις.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: κόλπωμα δ' ὡπὲρ τὰ ποικίλα ἐνεδέδυντο οἱ Ἀτρεΐς καὶ οἱ Ἀγαμέμνονες καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι.

<sup>4</sup> As in the epithet βαθέκολπος.

<sup>5</sup> *De Saltat.* 27: ἐὼ λέγειν προστερνίδια καὶ προγαστρίδια. The whole of Lucian's description of the tragic actor is worth reading by the student.

<sup>6</sup> Athenæus, XII. p. 535 B: ὁ δὲ Σικελίας τύραννος Διονύσιος ξυστίδα καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐκὶ περόνῃ μετελάμβανε τραγικόν.

garment he is said to throw off his clasped robe<sup>1</sup>. It is with the tongues of the buckles from his wife's dress that Œdipus puts out his own eyes<sup>2</sup>, and with the same instrument Hecuba and her attendants blind Polymestor<sup>3</sup>.

The dress of the chorus was in accordance with the personages represented; and although it was different in kind from that of the actors, the choragus took care that it was equally splendid. But as the actors represented heroic characters, whereas the chorus was merely a deputation from the people at large, and in fact stood much nearer to the audience, the mask was omitted, and while the actors wore the *cothurnus*, the chorus appeared either bare-footed, as in the Cyrenaic picture, or in their usual sandals.

The comic actors for the same reason were content with the *soccus* or thin-soled buskin (Figs. 19, 20), and their mask had no



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

*dykos* (Figs. 21, 22); but the *προσωποποιός* made up for the lack of this exaggeration by an extravagant ugliness in the features of most of the characters, which set nature completely at defiance<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Herc. F.* 959: γυμνὸν σῶμα θεῖς πορπαμάτων. *Electr.* 820: μέγας ἐκ ὤμων εὐτρεπῇ πορπάματα.

<sup>2</sup> Sophocles, *Œd.* T. 1269.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. *Hec.* 1170:

ἐμῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων  
πόρπας λαβοῦσαι τὰς ταλαιπώρους κόρας  
κεντοῦσιν, αἰμάσσουσιν.

<sup>4</sup> The most accessible specimen of the old comic costume is furnished by the puppet "Punch." It has not been noticed that his name, as well as his form, may be traced to a classical origin. "Punch" and "Punchinello" are corruptions of the Italian *Pulcino* and *Pulcinello*, which are representatives of the contemptuous diminutive *pulchellus*. This epithet may be applied to little figures (Cic. *Fam.* VII. 23), and our own phrase "pretty Poll," addressed to the parrot, may show how easily such a *δυσκόρισμα* may be suggested by the pleasure which results from petty imitations. In the same way, the Greeks called the ape καλός, or καλλίας (Böckh ad *Pind.* P. II. v. 72), and it is not improbable that the same or a similar epithet was given to the masked and padded actors in the pantomimic shows of ancient Greece and Italy.



In the Old Comedy, as Pollux tells us<sup>1</sup>, the mask was for the most part a caricature of the person represented; but in the New Comedy there was a regular mask for every conventional character, the old man in particular having no less than ten types of countenance<sup>2</sup>. There is a superabundance of monuments representing the scenes of the New Comedy. Indeed, there is an illustrated manuscript of Terence<sup>3</sup>, which is probably at least as old as the sixth century, and may have been copied from one still more ancient, and statues, reliefs, and paintings exhibit the comic actors of the later stage in every character and in all varieties of posture. In a marble bas relief, supposed to represent the second scene of the fifth act of Terence's *Andria*<sup>4</sup>, an angry master, who is about to commit his slave to the tender mercies of a *lorarius*, is pacified by a friend of similar age. The figure of the supposed Simo is given in the annexed illustration.



Fig. 23.

The slave is always distinguished by a singular deformity in the mouth. The sitting figure, which is here subjoined, is frequently repeated in ancient statues<sup>5</sup>, and exhibits the peculiarity of the slave's mask, to which we refer. From the ring on the finger of one of the repetitions of this comic character, and from

<sup>1</sup> IV. § 143: τὰ δὲ κωμικὰ πρόσωπα, τὰ μὲν τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῆδος ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοῖς προσώποις ὡς ἐκωμῶδον ἀπεικάζετο ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ γελοϊότερον ἐσχημάτιστο.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux, IV. §§ 143 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See Wieseler, *Theateryeb.* pp. 63 sqq. Taf. x. Nos 2—7, from a MS. in the Vatican at Rome; No. 8, from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

<sup>4</sup> *Mus. Borb.* Vol. IV. T. xxiv.; Wieseler, Taf. xi. No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Wieseler, *Theateryeb.* Taf. xi. Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and Taf. xii. No. 5. The figure (24) given in the following page is in the British Museum, and is engraved in *Anc. Marb. in the Br. Mus.* Part x. Pl. XLIII.

the crown on his head, it is inferred that he represents a drunken slave, probably in the *Δακτύλιος* of Menander, or in the *Condalium*

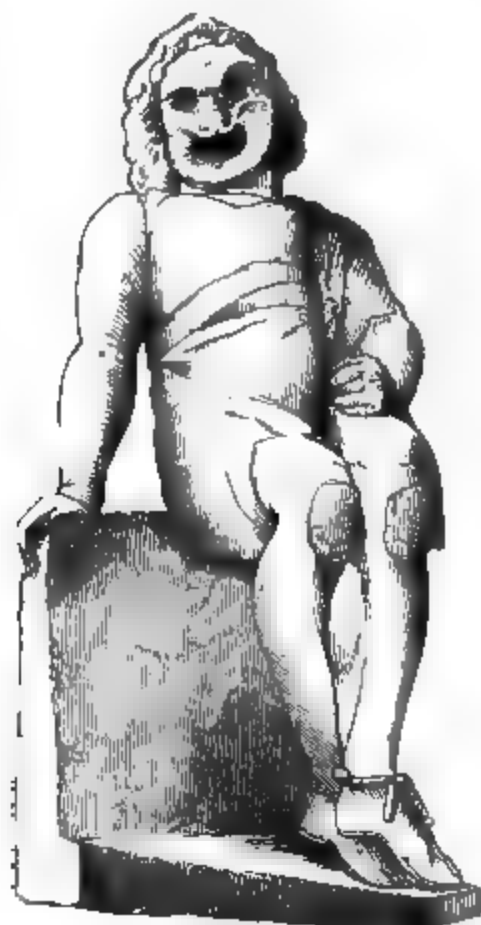


Fig. 24.

of Plautus<sup>1</sup>, which was borrowed from it; and this inference is strengthened by the appearance of a similar figure in a scene represented on a terra-cotta relief, which is found in two private collections at Rome. Here a bearded figure, in an attitude like that in the above illustration, is seated on an altar, and two other figures, resembling the conventional old man of the New Comedy, appear to have been in angry altercation with him. It is natural then to conclude that we have some such scene as that in the *Mostellaria* (v. 1. 45):

*Ego interim hinc aram occupabo,*

and (v. 54):

*Sic tamen hinc consilium dederō; nimio plus sapio sedens;  
Tum consilia firmiora sunt de divinis locis.*

And the ring, if it does not refer to the *Condalium*, on which the

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *L. L.* vii. § 77. Accius says it was not written by Plautus, *A. Gell. N. A.* iii. 3. The *condalium* seems to have been a kind of ring peculiar to slaves. *Plaut. Trin.* iv. 3. 7. The word is derived from *κόδινλος*.

play of Menander turned, may have been stolen like that in the *Curculio* of Plautus (II. 3. 81)<sup>1</sup>.

Of the dresses in the Old Comedy we have no monumental illustrations<sup>2</sup>, but the allusions in Aristophanes tell us how extravagant they must have been, and in what unrestrained obscenity the poet and his patrons indulged. The numerous scenes from the New Comedy, which are still preserved in ancient works of art, show that though the language became more reserved and better regulated, the eyes of the audience were not treated with much respect. The actors often wore harlequinade dresses, with trowsers fitting close to the leg, and with protuberances and indecent appendages, indicating clearly enough the phallic origin of Greek Comedy.

The most interesting examples of the costume of Comedy are furnished by two pictures representing scenes of a very similar character, one of which has been referred to a *φλύαξ τραγικός*, or tragic foolery of Rhinthon<sup>3</sup>; and the other to the *Althæa* of Theopompus, a poet of the Middle Comedy<sup>4</sup>. In the former of these, Jupiter, attended by Mercury, is about to climb to the chamber of Alcmena, who is looking out of a window in full dress as an *hetæra*<sup>5</sup>. Jupiter, who has a bearded mask with a modius on his head like Serapis, is bearing a ladder, with his head between the

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation is due to Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* Tom. III. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> The representation of the first scene of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, on a painted vase (Gerhard, *Denkm. n. Forsch.* 1849, Taf. III. No. 1; Wieseler, *Theateryeb.* A, 25),



Fig. 25.

is hardly an exception, for it does not correspond to the text, and is obviously a later production.

<sup>3</sup> Winckelmann, *Monum. ined.* P. I. No. 190; Müller, *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, II. Pl. III. No. 49; Wieseler, Taf. IX. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Panofka, *Cab. Pourtales*, Pl. x.; Wieseler, Taf. IX. 12.

<sup>5</sup> She wears an ornamented cap or *μίτρα*, which is referred to this character by Pollux, IV. § 154: ἡ δὲ διδμετρος (ἐταίρα) *μίτρα* ποικίλῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατείληπται. Cf. Servius *ad Verg. Æn.* IV. 216; Juvenal, *Sat.* III. 66: *ito quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra*.

steps. Mercury has his caduceus in his left hand, and bears a lamp in his right. He is also distinguished by his *petasos* and his *chlamys*. All the details of the picture point to circumstances of common occurrence in Greek comedies, with whom the *μοιχὸς Ζεὺς* was a favourite character<sup>1</sup>. The ladder is expressly mentioned by Xenarchus, a poet of the Middle Comedy<sup>2</sup>, and the window, which in correct drawing should be at a much greater height from the ground, represents the opening in the upper story of the stage from which the *hetæra* was frequently represented as looking down upon her lover<sup>3</sup>. It is worthy of remark that both Jupiter and Mercury are represented as bare-footed. In the other picture, which probably represents a similar nocturnal visit paid by Bacchus to Althæa in the Comedy of Theopompus<sup>4</sup>, a female dressed like the Alcmena of the other scene, is looking out of a window, while a comic figure with mask, socci, and other appendages, is climbing the ladder to reach her. He wears a chaplet on his head, and while he presents Althæa with "the apples of Dionysus<sup>5</sup>," i.e. quinces, as an offering of love, he carries in his other hand a red band for her hair<sup>6</sup>. His bare-footed attendant has in his left hand a flambeau and a crown of myrtle, and in his right a little box (*καδίσκος*), containing some present for the lady. Althæa was the wife of Æneus, and the chaplets of vine-leaves, which adorn the wall of the house, are very appropriate to his name as the man of the vineyard. The colours of the pictures are an interesting feature in the costume. The crowns on the heads of the figures are white<sup>7</sup>. The *σωμάτιον* of the man on the ladder is a brownish red, his sleeves and leggings are of a bright brown. The other

<sup>1</sup> Bergk, *de Reliq. Com. Att.* p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke, III. p. 617: *μη κλίμακα στησάμενον εἰσβῆναι λάθρα.*

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, IV. § 130: *ἐν δὲ κωμῳδίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς διστεγίας πορνόβοσκοί τι κατοπτέουσι ἢ γράδια ἢ γύναια καταβλέπει.* Cf. Vitruv. v. 6, 9.

<sup>4</sup> This Comedy is cited by Athen. XI. p. 501 F; Pollux, IX. § 180. That Bacchus used to go as comast or reveller to the house of Althæa is known from Eurip. *Cyclops*, 37 sqq.:

*μῶν κρότος σικωνίδων  
ὁμοῖος ὑμῖν νῦν τε χῶτε Βακχίῳ  
κώμοις συνασπίζοντες Ἀλθαίας δόμους  
προσῆτ' αἰοδαῖς βαρβίλων σαυλούμενοι;*

<sup>5</sup> Theocr. II. 120: *μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσω.* III. 10: *ἔπίδωκε δέκα μᾶλα φέρω.*

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *Handb. d. Arch.* § 340, 4.

<sup>7</sup> This was the proper colour for a loving serenader; Theocr. II. 121: *κρατὶ δ' ἔχων λεύκαν, Ἑρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔρνος.*

man is dressed entirely in yellow, and this is the colour of the robe in the picture, which represents a comic performer in the act of being masked and dressed by Bacchus<sup>1</sup>. The soccus as a general rule seems to have been yellow<sup>2</sup>.

The choruses of Aristophanes were arrayed in fantastic costumes more or less expressive of the allegorical caricature which they represented. Thus the *Birds* had masks with huge open beaks, and the *Wasps* flitted about the orchestra protruding enormous stings.

That the dresses of the actors in the satyrical drama did not differ in kind from those of the performers of the chief parts in the Tragedies, which they followed, is an obvious inference, and the fact is established by the last group in the Pio-Clementine Mosaic, which represents an actor accompanied by one of the chorus of satyrs, seen at a distance or in a diminutive form. There is also a painting on a vase in the Museo Borbonico at Naples<sup>3</sup>, which gives us not only the three actors in a satyrical drama, but a chorus of eleven, two musicians, one playing on the flute, the other a citharist, and the leader of the chorus, who is called Demetrius. In the midst Bacchus is reclining on a bed, with Kora-Ariadne in his arms; and the Muse, with a mask in her hand, is sitting at the end of the bed, attended by Himeros. Of the three actors, one is attired in the full tragic costume; another, who represents Hercules, has a highly decorated tunic, which, however, is shorter than the usual syrma; the third actor, who represents Silenus, has a closely-fitting, hairy dress, and bears a panther's skin on his left shoulder. The choreutæ, with the exception of one who is handsomely dressed, and another, who has ornamented drawers, like our mountebanks<sup>4</sup>, have goat-skins about their loins with phallic appendages, but are otherwise naked. The same fashion of dressing the choreutæ in nothing except shaggy aprons is observable in a very beautiful Mosaic found at Pompeii, a copy of which is subjoined<sup>5</sup>. This picture in-

<sup>1</sup> *Mus. Borbon.* Vol. III. Tav. IV.; Wieseler, Taf. x. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Handb. d. Arch.* § 388, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Monum. ined. dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Arch.* Vol. III. T. XXI.; Wieseler, Taf. VI. No. 2, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> These drawers are worn by the satyric choreutæ on Tischbein's vase (Wieseler, VI. 3), and by the satyric citharist on Laborde's vase (Wieseler, VI. 5).

<sup>5</sup> Gell, *Pompeii*, New Series, Vol. I. Pl. XLV.; *Mus. Borbon.* Vol. II. T. LVI.; Wieseler, Taf. VI. 1. The accompanying engraving (fig. 26, p. 264), which is taken from the *Museo Borbonico*, is not quite accurate; for there are only two masks before the teacher, the third being on the table behind him.

roduces us to the *χορήγιον* or *διδασκαλεῖον*, which was probably in one of the *parascenia* or green-rooms of the theatre<sup>1</sup>, just as the

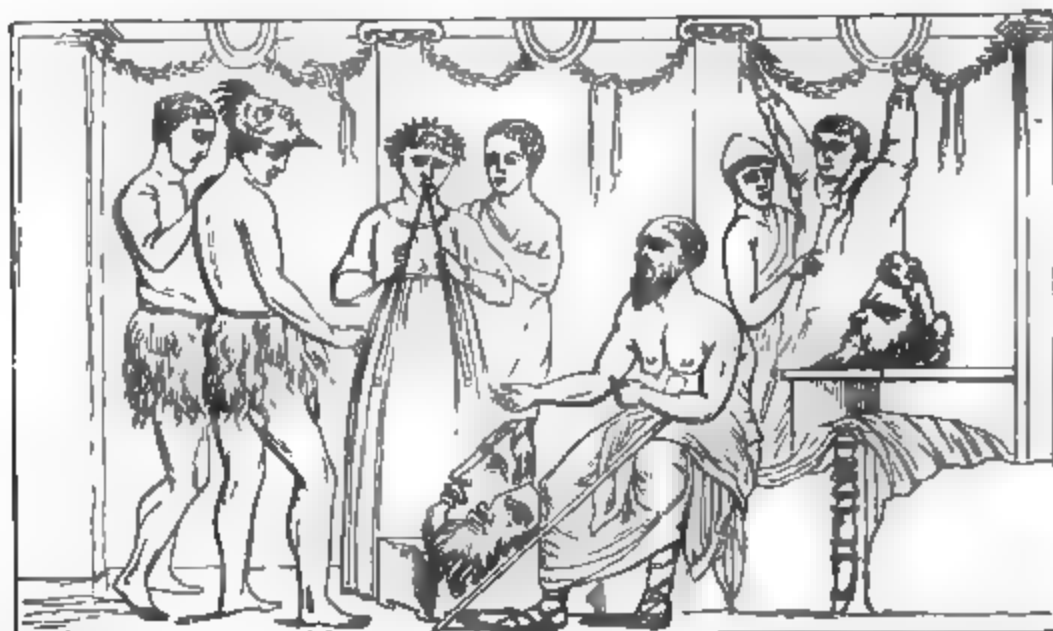


Fig. 26.

chorodidascalus is giving the last instructions to the choreutæ and actors, before the commencement of the satyric drama for which they are dressing. Seated on a chair he is addressing one of the two choreutæ before him, and apparently teaching him how to manage his hands. One of these choreutæ has not yet put on his mask, the other has raised it that he may the better observe his teacher. As the roll of paper, which the chorodidascalus holds in his left hand, is folded up, we infer that he has already gone through the text of the play. Near the center of the picture we have a flute-player tuning his double flute. He is probably the *χορῳδῆς*, who accompanied the chorus, and this name was inscribed on the base of the statue (fig. 27) found on the Appian way. This instrumental performer is crowned with green and yellow leaves, and his long gown is white, with blue stripes running from the top to the bottom. Over his breast and shoulders and down to his hips he has a trimming of violet with reddish crosses or stars. This trim-

<sup>1</sup> Pollux, iv. § 106: *χορήγιον ὁ τόπος οὗ ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ χοροῦ*. Cf. ix. §§ 41, 42. Bekk. Anecd. 72, 17: *χορηγεῖον: ὁ τόπος ἐνθα ὁ χορηγὸς τοὺς τε χοροὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς συνάγων συνεκρότει*. We learn from Antiphon (*de Choreut.* § 11, p. 143) that the *διδασκαλεῖον* was sometimes in the choragus' own house: *πρῶτον μὲν διδασκαλεῖον ἢ ἢν ἐπιτηδεύτατον τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας κατασκεύασα*. But we are disposed to agree with Magnin (*Revue d. d. Mond.* T. xxii. p. 257): quelque fût d'ailleurs le lieu où l'on commençait des exercices, on les terminait au théâtre, dans une pièce des *parascenia* ou du *postscenium* appelée *χορηγεῖον*.

ming is probably the *ὀχθοιβοί* mentioned by Photius<sup>1</sup>. By the side of the flute-player one of the actors is advancing probably to

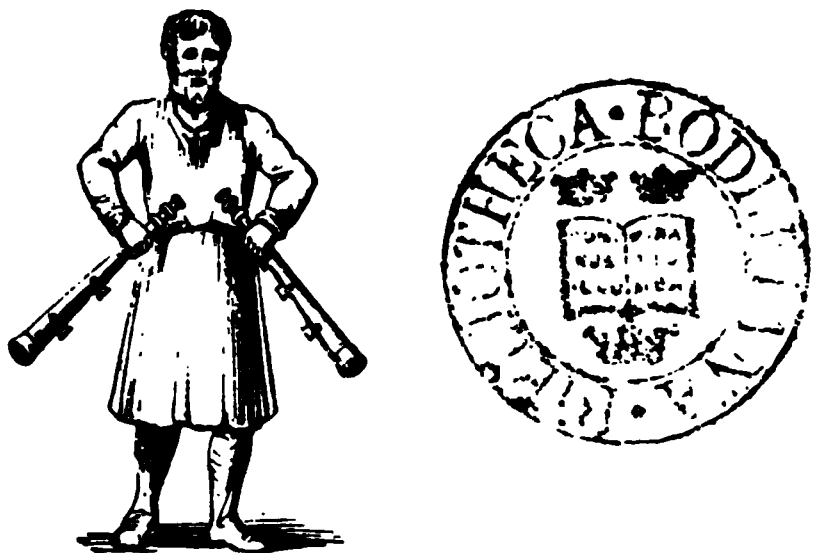


Fig. 27.

take the mask, which the teacher is raising with his right hand. Another actor, who has already received his mask which lies beside him on the table, is fitting on his chiton with the aid of a servant. The mask of the Silen, which lies at the foot of the teacher, indicates a third part; and unless we suppose that this part is to be undertaken by one of the two actors already present, we must conclude that, as only two of the choreutæ are still in the room, the third actor has not yet made his appearance. The gowns of both the actors are bright blue with stripes of some different colour, which is not very distinct. The red mantle, which is thrown over the chair with gilded legs immediately to the right of the chorodidascalus, is, no doubt, intended to form part of the costume of one of the actors. The wall of the apartment is adorned with Ionian pilasters, between which are suspended garlands and *tæniæ*. The latter are perhaps indications of success in the dramatic competition.

This examination of the details of the costume in the three great classes of the ancient drama will suffice to show how entirely conventional and unreal the performance of a Greek play must have been when contrasted with our modern notions. It is of course an open question, whether it is more in accordance with the principles of dramatic art to

let gorgeous Tragedy  
In sceptred pall come sweeping by,

<sup>1</sup> P. 366, 5, Porson: 'Ὀχθοιβοί: τὰ λώματα' ἔστι δὲ περὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ χιτῶνος ἀλουργές πρόσραμμα.

according to a fixed system of representation, or to ransack the stores of illuminated missals, monumental brasses, and even Assyrian monuments, in order to put on the stage an exact resemblance of the times to be exhibited: whether it is better to let Comedy revel in the grotesque exaggerations of our pantomimes, or to place on the stage a carpeted boudoir with all the details of modern comfort. It is at least certain that the present method of putting plays on the stage, which seems to have reached its ultimate development under the management of Mr Macready and Mr Charles Kean, is quite a modern innovation. It began with Le Kain and Talma in France, and has been fully perfected in this country under the Kembles. But Shakspeare was content to apologize for disgracing the name of Agincourt

With four or five most vile and ragged foils,  
Right ill-disposed in brawl ridiculous.

Garrick played ancient Romans in bag-wigs and ruffles; until the last few years Falstaff fought at Shrewsbury with a highlander's target, and a white coat with red and gold facings of the time of George the First; and it was at the beginning of the present century that the French performer, who was arrayed for the first time in an approximation to the classic costume of Agamemnon, demanded of Talma, with much indignation, where he was expected to carry his snuff-box.

Aristotle, or the grammarian by whom his treatise on Poetry has been interpolated, informs us<sup>1</sup> that every Greek Tragedy admitted of the following subdivisions; the *prologue*, the *episodes*, the *exode*, which applied to the performances of the actors, and the *parodus* and *stasima*, which belonged to the chorus. The songs from the stage (*τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς*) and the dirges (*κομμοί*) are peculiar to some Tragedies only. Besides these, it seems that there was occasionally a dancing song or canzonet of a peculiar nature<sup>2</sup>. The proper entrance of the chorus was from the *parascenia* by one of the *parodi* (*nte*). The *parodus* was the song which the choreutæ sang as they moved, probably in different parties, along these side-entrances of the orchestra<sup>3</sup>. It was generally either interspersed with anapæsts, as is the case in the *Antigone*; or preceded by a

<sup>1</sup> Chap. XII. below, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. to *Antigone*, p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. xxx.



long anapæstic march, as in the case of the *Supplices* and *Agamemnon*. Sometimes this anapæstic march was followed by a system of the cognate<sup>1</sup> Ionics a minore. This we find in the *Persæ*. In some Tragedies there was no *parodus*, but the opening of the play found the chorus already assembled on the Thymele, and prepared to sing the first *stasimon*. Such is the case in the *Ædipus Tyrannus*. It seems probable that they then entered by the passage under the seats (*rbh*). The *stasima* were always sung by the chorus when it was either stationary or moving on the same limited surface around the altar of Bacchus, and with its front to the stage. The places of the choreutæ were marked by lines on the stage (*διαγράμματα*). The two circles round the altar, indicated in the plan, give the maximum and minimum range of their evolutions. When those evolutions amounted to a dance<sup>2</sup>, it was of the nature of the *emmeleia*, which, as we have seen, was a staid and solemn form of the *gymnopædic* gesticulations. The satyric chorus danced the rapid *pyrrhic*, or some form derived from it, and we may infer that it involved a great deal of tramping backwards and forwards, with high steps and lively movements of the hands, like the morris-dance in England, or the tarantella in Italy. Although the *cordax*, derived from the *hyporcheme*, was the original form of dance adopted by the phallic comus, it was so grossly indecent, that Aristophanes claims credit for its omission in *The Clouds*<sup>3</sup>. The comic chorus sang its *parodus* and its *stasima* in the same manner as the tragic; but they were, as pieces of poetry, much less elaborate, and generally much shorter. The main performance of the chorus in Comedy was the *parabasis*. It was an address to the audience in the middle of the play, and was the most immediate representative of the old trochaic or anapæstic address by the leader of the phallic song, for which the personal lampoons of Archilochus furnished the model, and to which the Old Comedy of Athens was mainly indebted for its origin. This *parabasis*, or "counter-march," was so called, because the chorus, which had previously stood facing the stage, and on the other side of the central altar, wheeled about, and made a movement towards the spectators, who were then addressed by the coryphæus in a short system of anapæsts or trochees, called the *κομμάτιον*, and this was followed by a

<sup>1</sup> Donaldson's *Gr. Gr.* art. 650, p. 620.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh, *Antigone*, pp. 280 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See vv. 537 sqq.

long anapæstic system, termed *πνύγος* ("suffocation"), or *μακρόν* ("long"), from the effort which its delivery imposed upon the reciter. In the extant remains of Greek lyric poetry, those parts of the *epinikia* of Pindar, which allude to the professional rivalries and literary pretensions of the poet, are the nearest approximations to this function of the choral comus. The parabasis is often followed by a lyrical song in honour of some divinity, and this by a short system, properly of sixteen trochaic tetrameters, which is called the *epirrhema* or "supplement." The French would term it *l'envoi*. It contains some joking addition to the main purport of the *parabasis*. The lyric poem generally consisted of strophe and antistrophe; and the *epirrhema* had its *antepirrhema*. These divisions confirm the supposition that the lyric poem was derived from the mutual *λοιδορίαι* of the Phallic singers, and the *epirrhema* from the interchange of ribaldry in which the comus indulged.

There were regularly never more than three actors (*ὑποκριταί*, *ἀγωνισταί*), who, as we have seen, were designated as respectively the *first*, *second*, and *third* actor (*πρωταγωνιστής*, *δευτεραγωνιστής*, *τριταγωνιστής*<sup>1</sup>). The third actor in Tragedy was first added by Sophocles<sup>2</sup>; and it is said that Cratinus was the first to make this addition in Comedy<sup>3</sup>. Any number of mutes might appear on the stage. If children were introduced as speaking or singing on the stage, the part was undertaken by one of the chorus, who stood behind the scene, and it was therefore called a *παρασκήνιον*, from his position, or *παραχορήγημα*, from its being something beyond the proper functions of the chorus<sup>4</sup>. It has been concluded<sup>5</sup> that a fourth actor was indispensable to the proper performance of the *Œdipus Coloneus*. But we cannot admit that this innovation was necessary in the particular case<sup>6</sup>, and in all

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 54, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Anonym. de Comædia*, p. xxxii.

<sup>4</sup> Pollux, IV. § 109, says that it was *παρασκήνιον* if one of the chorus said anything in a song instead of a fourth actor (above, p. 234), but *παραχορήγημα* if *ἑτέρος ὑποκριτής τι παραφθέγγετο*; and he cites the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus for the former, and the *Memnon* of the same poet for the latter. See C. F. Hermann, *Dissert. de Distribut. Personarum in Trag. Græcis*, Marburg, 1840, pp. 39, 40, 64, 66.

<sup>5</sup> By Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 305.

<sup>6</sup> The difficulty raised by Müller, namely, that the part of Theseus must have been divided between two actors, if there were only three in all, does not seem to be a very formidable one. The mask and the uniformity of tragic declamation would make it as easy for two actors to represent one part, as for one actor to sustain several characters.

others it is tolerably easy to see how all the parts might have been sustained without inconvenience by three actors. The protagonist regularly undertook the character in which the interest of the piece was thought to center; and it was so arranged that he could also give those narratives of what was supposed to have taken place off the stage, which constituted to the last the most epic portion of the Tragedy, and which probably, in the days of Thespis and Phrynichus, comprised all the chief efforts of the original rhapsode or exarchus<sup>1</sup>. By a great stroke of comic humour Aristophanes makes Agoracritus, the hero of *The Knights*, appear as the narrator of his own adventures<sup>2</sup>, an office which a tragedian would have assigned to some messenger from the scene of action. The deuteragonist and tritagonist seem to have divided the other characters between them, less according to any fixed rule than in obedience to the directions of the poet, who was guided by the exigencies of his play<sup>3</sup>. The actors took rank according to their merits, and the tritagonist was always considered as inferior to the other two.

The narrowness and distance of the stage rendered any elaborate grouping unadvisable. The arrangement of the actors was that of a processional bas-relief<sup>4</sup>. Their movements were slow, their gesticulations abrupt and angular, and their delivery a sort of loud and deep-drawn sing-song, which resounded throughout the immense theatre<sup>5</sup>. They probably neglected every thing like *by-play*, and *making points*, which are so effective on the English stage. The distance at which the spectators were placed would prevent them from seeing those little movements, and hearing those low tones which have made the fortune of many a modern actor. The

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the *Antig.* p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 624 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Introd. to the *Antig.* pp. xx sqq.

<sup>4</sup> "As ancient sculpture," says Müller (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* i. p. 398), "delighted above all things in the long lines of figures which we see in the pediments and friezes, and as even the painting of antiquity placed single figures in perfect outline near each other, but clear and distinct, and rarely so closely grouped as that one intercepted the view of another; so also the persons on the stage, the heroes and their attendants (who were often numerous) stood in long rows on the long and narrow stage." It is to be remarked, however, that numerous retinues, especially if they appeared with horses or chariots, were often introduced into the orchestra.

<sup>5</sup> This is pretty evident from the epithets, which, as Pollux tells us, might be applied to the actor, IV. 114: *εἰποις δ' ἂν βαρύστονος ὑποκριτής, βομβῶν, περιβομβῶν, ληκυθίζων, λαρυγγίζων, φαρυγγίζων, κ. τ. λ.*

mask too precluded all attempts at varied expression, and it is probable that nothing more was expected from the performer than was looked for from his predecessor the rhapsode,—namely, good recitation<sup>1</sup>. The rhythmical systems of the tragic choruses were very simple, and we may conclude that the music to which they were set was equally so. The dochmiac metre, which is regularly found in the *κομμοί* and *τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς*, would admit of the most inartificial of plaintive melodies. The comic choral songs very frequently introduce the easy asynartete combinations<sup>2</sup>, which were so much used by Archilochus; and we find in Aristophanes a very curious form of the antispastic metre, the invention of which is attributed to Eupolis<sup>3</sup>.

We shall conclude with a few observations on the audience, and on the social position of the actors. For the first few years after the commencement of theatrical performances no money was paid for admission to them; but after a time (probably about the year 501 B.C.) it was found convenient to fix a price for admission, in order to prevent the crowds and disturbances occasioned by the gratuitous admission of every one who chose to come<sup>4</sup>. The charge was two obols<sup>5</sup>; but lest the poorer classes should be excluded, the entrance money was given to any person who might choose to apply for it, provided his name was registered in the book of the citizens (*ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*). The lowest and best seats were set apart for the magistrate, and for such persons as had acquired or

<sup>1</sup> Professor Blackie, after quoting these words (*The Lyrical Dramas of Æschylus translated from the Greek*, Lond. 1850, Vol. I. p. xlv), adds: "These observations, flowing from a realization of the known circumstances of the case, will sufficiently explain to the modern reader the extreme stiffness and formality which distinguish the tragic dialogue of the Greeks from that dexterous and various play of verbal interchange which delights us so much in Shakspeare and the other masters of English tragedy. Every view, in short, that we can take, tends to fix our attention on the musical and the religious elements, as on the life-blood and vital soul of the Hellenic *τραγωδία*; forces us to the conclusion, that, with a due regard to organic principle, its proper designation is *sacred opera*, and not *tragedy*, in the modern sense of the word, at all; and leads us to look on the dramatic art altogether in the hands of Æschylus, not as an infant Hercules strangling serpents, but as a Titan, like his own Prometheus chained to a rock, whom only after many ages a strong Saxon Shakspeare could unbind."

<sup>2</sup> Donaldson's *Gr. Gr.* 666, p. 628.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ibid.* 677, p. 633.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable that at Athens, as well as Rome, each person entitled to admission was furnished with a ticket indicating his place in the theatre. A ticket of admission to the *Casina* of Plautus has been found at Pompeii.

<sup>5</sup> This account of the Theoricon is taken from Böckh's *Publ. Econ.* I. pp. 289 foll. Engl. Tr.

inherited a right to front seats (*προεδρία*<sup>1</sup>). It is probable that those who were entitled to reserved places at the theatre had also tickets of admission provided for them. Foreigners on the contrary were obliged generally to be contented with the back seats<sup>2</sup>. The entrance-money was paid to the lessee of the theatre (*θεατρῶνης, θεατροπώλης, ἀρχιτέκτων*), who defrayed the rent and made the necessary repairs out of the proceeds. The distribution of the admission-money, or *θεωρικόν*, as it was called, out of the public funds, was set on foot by Pericles, at the suggestion of Demonides of Œa; its application was soon extended till it became a regular largess from the demagogues to the mob at all the great festivals; and well might the patriot Demosthenes lift up his voice against a practice which was in the end nothing but an instrument in the hands of the profligate orators, who pandered to the worst passions of the people. The lessee sometimes gave a gratis exhibition, in which cases tickets of admission were distributed<sup>3</sup>. Any citizen might buy tickets for a stranger residing at Athens<sup>4</sup>. We have no doubt that women were admitted to the dramatic exhibitions, at least to the Tragedies<sup>5</sup>; and boys as well as men were present at all performances of plays<sup>6</sup>, nor were slaves excluded<sup>7</sup>. It seems probable however that the women sat by themselves in a particular part of the theatre; for in the theatre at Syracuse there are still inscriptions on the nine different *κερκίδες*, or

<sup>1</sup> See Aristoph. *Equ.* 704; Demosth. *Mid.* p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> See Alexis *ap. Poll.* ix. 44:

· ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην δεῖ κερκίδα  
ὕμᾱς καθιζούσας θεωρεῖν, ὡς ξένας.

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν ἥνικα ἂν δέη πορεύεσθαι, οὐκ ἔᾶν τοὺς υἱεῖς, [ἀλλ'] ἥνικα προῖκα ἀφιᾶσιν οἱ θεατρῶναι. Theophrast. *Charact.* xi.

"Theophrastus mentions this as one of the marks of *ἀπὸνοια* in a person, Καὶ ἐν θεάμασι δὲ τοὺς χαλκοὺς ἐκλέγειν, καθ' ἑκάστον παριῶν· καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι, καὶ προῖκα θεωρεῖν ἀξιούσι. *Charact.* vi. Among the relicts from Pompeii and Herculaneum preserved in the Studii at Naples, is an oblong piece of metal about three inches in length, and one in breadth, inscribed *Αισχύλος*. This was perhaps the *σύμβολον* of Theophrastus." *Former Editor*.

<sup>4</sup> Καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσας, μὴ δοὺς τὸ μέρος, θεωρεῖν. Theophrast. *Charact.* ix.

<sup>5</sup> Pollux uses the same term *θεατρία* (ii. § 56, iv. § 121), which is alone some evidence of the fact. It is stated, however, expressly by Plato, *Gorgias*, 502 D; *Legg.* ii. 658 D; vii. 817 C; and by Aristoph. *Eccles.* 21—23; Satyrus *ap. Athen.* p. 534. See Bekker's *Charicles*, pp. 403 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> For their appearance at tragedies, see the passages of Plato quoted in note 3. That they were allowed to see comedies also is clear from Aristoph. *Nub.* 537; *Pax*, 50, 766; Eupolis *ap. Aristot. Eth. Nic.* iv. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* p. 502.

compartments, from which it would appear that the center and four western compartments (namely those to the left of the spectator) were assigned to the men, while the four eastern compartments were reserved for the female spectators<sup>1</sup>. The conduct of the audience was much the same as that of the spectators at our own theatres, and they seem to have had little scruple in expressing their approbation or disapprobation, as well of the poet<sup>2</sup> as of the actors<sup>3</sup>. Their mode of doing this was sometimes very violent, and even in the time of Machon it was customary to pelt a bad performer with stones<sup>4</sup>.

The Athenian performers were much esteemed all over Greece; they took great pains about their bodily exercises<sup>5</sup>, and dieted themselves in order to keep their voices clear and strong<sup>6</sup>. Their memory must have been cultivated with assiduous care, for they never had the assistance of a prompter, like the performers on the modern stage<sup>7</sup>. We believe that the protagonist at all events was generally paid by the state; in the country exhibitions, however, two actors would occasionally pay the wages of their *τριταγωνιστής*<sup>8</sup>. The salary was often very high<sup>9</sup>, and Polus, who generally acted with Tlepolemus in the plays of Sophocles<sup>10</sup>, sometimes earned a talent by two days' performances<sup>11</sup>. The histrionic profession was not thought to involve any degradation. The actors were of necessity free Athenian citizens, and by the nature of the case had received a good education. The actor was the representative of the dramatist, and often the dramatist himself. Sophocles, who sometimes performed in his own plays, was a person of

<sup>1</sup> This is inferred from the female names on the eastern *κερκίδες*; see Götting. *über die Inschriften im Theater zu Syrakus*, *Rhein. Mus.* 1834, pp. 103 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, XIII. p. 583 F.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. *De Coronâ* (p. 345 and 346, Bekker). Comp. Milton's imitation of the passage. (*Prose Works*, p. 80, in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*.)

<sup>4</sup> Athen. VI. p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *Orat.* c. IV.

<sup>6</sup> Plato, *Legg.* II.

<sup>7</sup> Hermann (*Opusc.* v. 304) says: "In theatro ὑποβολεύς dictus est, qui histrioni verba subiciebat, quem nos Gallico vocabulo *souffleur* appellamus. Sic Plutarchus in *Præc. ger. resp.* 17, p. 813 E: μιμῆσθαι τοὺς ὑποκριτάς, πάθος μὲν ἴδιον καὶ ἥθος καὶ ἀξίωμα τῷ ἀγῶνι προστιθέντας, τοῦ δὲ ὑποβολέως ἀκούοντας, καὶ μὴ παρεκβαίνοντες τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς διδομένης ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων. But, as Bernhardt remarks (*Griech. Litterat.* II. p. 648), we have here only a reference to the *φωνισκῆς*, who kept C. Gracchus within bounds by the tone of his instrument (Plut. *Tib. Gracchus*, c. 2; Aul. Gellius, *N. A.* I. 11).

<sup>8</sup> Demosth. *de Coronâ*, p. 345, Bekker.

<sup>9</sup> See Böckh, *Public Econ.* Book I. c. XXI. p. 120, Engl. Tr.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. Aul. Gell. VII. 5, with Schol. *Ar. Nub.* 1269.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Rhet. Vitæ*.



the highest consideration; the actor Aristodemus went on an embassy<sup>1</sup>, and many actors took a lead in the public assembly<sup>2</sup>. Theodorus, who was a contemporary of Aristodemus, and to whose mastery over his art both Aristotle, who had seen him on the stage<sup>3</sup>, and later writers, to whom his fame had descended<sup>4</sup>, bear ample testimony, was honoured by a monument, which was a conspicuous object on the sacred road to Eleusis even in the time of Pausanias<sup>5</sup>. It is true that Demosthenes, among the exaggerated contumelies which he heaps on his opponent Æschines, lays a particular stress on his connexion with the stage. But it must be remembered that in all this he does not attempt to depreciate the profession itself. He is at great pains to indicate not only that Æschines never rose beyond the rank of a *τριταγωνιστής*<sup>6</sup>, and that he was merely the subordinate partner of Theodorus and Aristodemus<sup>7</sup>, just as Ischander was the regular *δευτεραγωνιστής* of Neoptolemus<sup>8</sup>, but that he utterly failed even in that humble capacity. On one occasion, when Æschines was performing at Collytus the part of Ctenomachus in the play of Sophocles which bore that name, and was pursuing Ischander, who as deuteragonist took the part of Pelops, in the death-race for Hippodameia, which was probably represented in the orchestra, it is stated the future statesman fell in a very unseemly manner, had to be set on his feet again by Sannio, the teacher of the chorus, and was hissed off the stage by the offended spectators<sup>9</sup>. It is also intimated that at one time in his dramatic career, whether before or after this mishap does not appear, Æschines was content to be tritagonist to ranting actors named Simylus and Socrates, in whose company he was so pelted

<sup>1</sup> Æsch. *περί παραπρ.* p. 347, Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. *περί παραπρ.* p. 377; Bekker, *de Coronâ*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *Rhet.* III. 2, § 4: *οἶον ἢ Θεοδώρου φωνὴ πέπονθε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑποκριτῶν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λέγοντος ἔοικεν εἶναι· αἱ δ' ἄλλότριά.*

<sup>4</sup> It is said that he actually extorted tears from the savage tyrant, Alexander of Pheræ; Ælian, *V. H.* XIV. 14; cf. Plut. *Pelop.* 29.

<sup>5</sup> I. 37, § 3: *πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισόν, Θεοδώρου μνημὴ ἐστὶ τραγωδία ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀριστα.*

<sup>6</sup> *De Coronâ*, pp. 270, 11; 297, 25; 315, 9.

<sup>7</sup> *De Fals. Legat.* pp. 418, 420, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *De Fals. Legat.* p. 344, 7: *Ἰσχάνδρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου δευτεραγωνιστήν.*

<sup>9</sup> *De Coronâ*, p. 288, 19: *ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας. Απομνην. Vit. Æsch.* pp. 11 sq.: *Δημοχάρης φησὶν Ἰσχάνδρου τοῦ τραγωδοῦ τριταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Αἰσχίνην καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον Οἰνόμαον διώκοντα Πέλοπα αἰσχροῦς πεσεῖν καὶ ἀναστήναι ὑπὸ Σαννίωνος τοῦ χοροδιδασκάλου. Apoll. Vit. Æsch.* pp. 13 sq.: *Αἰσχίνης τριταγωνιστὴς ἐγένετο τραγωδιῶν καὶ ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον ὑποκρινόμενος κατέπεσεν.*

by the audience with figs, grapes, and olives, that it was worth his while to collect these missiles, and to find some compensation for the wounds which he had received in this way by living on the fruits of other men's orchards<sup>1</sup>. These insulting allusions, which were afterwards repeated in part by Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes<sup>2</sup>, had in all probability little more than a foundation on fact<sup>3</sup>. But if they were sustained in every respect by the dramatic history of Æschines, it is clear that they affect only his personal reputation as an actor, and do not derogate from the general respectability of the histrionic art. In some cases, the actors were not only recognized by the state, but controlled and directed by special enactments. Thus, according to the law brought forward by the orator Lycurgus, the actors were obliged to compare the acting copies of the plays of the three great tragedians, with the authentic manuscripts of their works, preserved in the state archives; and it was the duty of the public secretary to see that the texts were accurately collated<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *De Coronâ*, p. 314, 10. The true explanation of this passage is that given by Mr C. R. Kennedy, in the note to his translation, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Harpocrat. s. v. Ἰσχανδρος. *Anonym. Vit. Æsch.* p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The theatrical career of Æschines has been carefully examined by Arnold Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I. pp. 213—226. He falls into the old mistake of supposing that Æschines himself habitually imitated the manner of Solon (p. 225, note). More accurate scholarship would have led him to notice that Demosthenes uses the aorist ἐμίμησατο, and that an imperfect would have been employed had he meant to imply habitual imitation. We have shown elsewhere that the statue from Herulanum represents Solon, and not Æschines ("On the Statue of Solon mentioned by Æschines and Demosthenes," *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, Vol. x. Part 1). On the exaggerations or fabrications of Demosthenes in these attacks on Æschines, see *Hist. Lit. of Gr.* Vol. II. p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> *Vitæ X. Oratorum*, p. 841 D, p. 377 Wyttenb.: ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν, Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῇ γραφῇ μένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὰς [ἄλλως] ὑποκρίνεσθαι.



## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE REPRESENTATION OF CERTAIN TRAGEDIES AND COMEDIES IN PARTICULAR.

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*Veteres ineunt proscenia ludi.*

VERGILIUS.

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HAVING fully considered all the circumstances connected with the representation of a Greek play in general, we must now apply the results of this inquiry to an investigation of the manner in which these arrangements were practically applied in particular cases. And as our space will not allow us to examine with sufficient minuteness the details which probably attended the exhibition of every extant Tragedy and Comedy, it will be desirable to select those dramas which furnish the most decisive and distinctive examples of the scenic ingenuity of the Greeks. The most prominent peculiarity is undoubtedly the complete or partial change of the indications of locality. And this is of very rare occurrence. In the seven plays of Æschylus there is a complete change of scene only in the second and third plays of the extant Trilogy; and the left *periactos*, which, as we have seen, indicates the direction of the reign or distant regions from which the visitant is supposed to enter the stage, is not turned once in all the remains of the oldest dramatist. Sophocles has only one example of a complete change of scene, that in the *Ajax*; and only one of the turning of the left *periactos*, that in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, when the road to Corinth is substituted for that to Delphi, with, perhaps, a distant view of Arnessus. In the numerous plays of Euripides we have no example of a complete change of place, but several of his plays require a change of the left *periactos*. The scene is completely changed in five of the eleven plays of Aristophanes; but the left

*periactos* is turned only in the *Acharnians* and in the *Lysistrata*; and in the latter there are four or five of these indications of a different point of approach to the stage from a distance.

In making a selection from the extant Greek plays, we shall commence with the only complete Trilogv, the *Orestea*, or, as it may have been once called, the *Agamemnonia* of Æschylus, and shall then take those of the other plays which furnish the most various examples of a complete theatrical exhibition.

The scene of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus represents the palace of the Atreidæ, and the open space immediately before it. The front of the palace is adorned with altars of various gods, especially those to whom the herald addresses himself on entering the stage (vv. 503 sqq.), and that of Apollo *Agyieus* was of course one of them (v. 1085). The palace was represented as rising to a considerable height, for the watchman, who speaks the prologue to the Tragedy, is able to command from his elevated position a view of the surrounding country, as far at least as the Arachnæan mountains (v. 309). As Pollux mentions the *σκοπή* and *φρυκτέριον* among the parts of the theatre, the question has been raised whether the watchman is posted on the roof of the palace or on some detached elevation. But it is clear from the words of the poet that the sentinel must have been on the palace itself (v. 3: *στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν*. v. 301: *Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος*), and the balcony of the *διστεγία* would furnish the proper elevation. That a flat roof without battlements is intended is shown by the statement that he gazed lying down and leaning on his elbows like a dog (vv. 2, 3: *κοιμώμενος ἄγκαθεν κυνὸς δίκην*), i. e. in the attitude familiar to us from the posture of the sphinx, which is the conventional form of the watchful guardian. The right hand *periactos* represented the city of Argos, and the left the road to the coast.

The watchman, who introduces the play, speaks the prologue from his post on the roof and then makes his exit by a door supposed to lead into the palace, for he had already summoned the inmates of the royal house (v. 26).

The chorus then enters (v. 39) by the right-hand *parodos*, and the anapæsts are recited while they are moving to the thymele and taking their post around it. During these evolutions Clytemnestra with her attendants enters the stage by the center door (v. 83), and, after making her offerings at the altars before the palace, goes off

by the right-hand side-door (v. 103) to repeat these offerings at the temples in the city; and she does not reappear till the end of the first choral song (v. 254), when she comes forward to the front of the stage and enters into colloquy with the leaders of the chorus. She explains to the chorus why she has offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and after a vivid description of the manner in which the message of the capture of Troy was transmitted by a series of beacons, and of the contrast between the victors and the vanquished in the captured city, she again retires by the center door into her palace. Hereupon follows the first stasimon of the chorus (vv. 357—488). And a considerable lapse of time is supposed to intervene. In most of the editions it is supposed that Clytæmnestra returns to the stage at the commencement of the next episode, and that she speaks the words which indicate the approach of the herald (vv. 489—500); but it is generally the business of the chorus to announce the entrance of a new character, the herald addresses himself to the chorus down to v. 582, and the name of Clytæmnestra is mentioned first in v. 585; it seems therefore clear that Hermann is right in assigning the first words of the episode to the chorus, and whether Clytæmnestra re-enters from the house at v. 587, or a few verses before, it is obvious that she takes no part in the dialogue till she makes that speech, where the word *πάλαι* must be understood in its largest sense. The herald, who is probably the Homeric Talthybius, had entered of course by the side-door on the left, behind the *periactos* representing the road to Nauplia; and he withdraws by the same door, for the queen charges him with a message to her husband. After the second stasimon (vv. 681—781), a few anapæstic lines introduce the triumphal procession of Agamemnon, who drives into the orchestra in a mule-chariot, accompanied by the captive Casandra, and followed by a retinue of attendants. He does not mount the stage till v. 957, when he reluctantly sets his foot on the costly carpets and follows his treacherous wife into the palace. It is clear from v. 1054 (*πείθου λιπούσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη θρόνον*) that Casandra remains in the orchestra, seated still in the mule-chariot. It is probable that the armed attendants of Agamemnon also remain in the orchestra. The address in v. 1651, *εἶα δὴ ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω*, would hardly apply to the aged chorus consisting, as we shall see, of only twelve persons. After the gloomy strains of the third stasimon

(vv. 975—1032), Clytæmnestra comes forth from the palace and endeavours fruitlessly to induce Casandra to enter the royal apartments. Casandra, who had remained silent while the queen was on the stage, breaks forth, immediately after her exit, into the most impassioned strains, and the dialogue between her and the chorus constitutes one of the finest scenes in the whole body of the extant Tragedies of the Greeks. After having declared to the chorus, with increasing distinctness, the impending murder of Agamemnon and herself, she rushes into the house to meet her doom. We should infer from the conventional *καὶ μὴν* that she leaves the orchestra at the end of her interchange of songs with the chorus (v. 1178).

When Casandra leaves the stage (v. 1330), the chorus recites a few anapæsts, which probably indicate a movement of the whole body to take up a new position. The death-cry of Agamemnon is heard (v. 1343), and each of the twelve choreutæ expresses his opinion as to what ought to be done. The proposal to rush into the palace and convict the murderer while the fresh-dripping sword is still in his hand (v. 1350: *ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἔμπεσεῖν καὶ πρῶγμ' ἐλέγχειν ξὺν νεορῶντων ξίφει*) seems to be generally adopted, and as Clytæmnestra is immediately afterwards discovered on the spot where she had slain her husband (v. 1379: *ἔστηκα δ' ἐνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις*), it may fairly be concluded that the *eccyclema*, which exposes the interior of the palace, is supposed to include the chorus also, and the whole of the *κόμμος* which follows, down to the anapæsts (vv. 1567—1576), which indicate a movement of the parties, is to be understood as taking place within the palace.

The *eccyclema* is withdrawn, and the chorus is again in the open place before the house of the Atreidæ, when Ægisthus, attended by an armed escort (v. 1650), enters the stage by the right-hand side-door (v. 1577), as though he had come from the city on learning that Clytæmnestra had consummated his plot with her (vv. 1608—1611). A lively altercation ensues between Ægisthus and the chorus, assisted probably by the attendants of Agamemnon, and the two parties are about to come to blows, when they are parted by the hasty re-appearance of Clytæmnestra, and the play ends as the guilty pair enter the palace to assume the sovereign power, and the chorus leaves the orchestra by the right-hand *parodos*.

It will be observed that in this grand Tragedy there is no devia-

tion from the unity of place; for the eccyclema, which displays the interior of the palace, is only a partial change of scene. The unity of time, however, is conspicuously violated. For Clytæmnestra's speech before the first stasimon is supposed to be spoken on the day of the capture of Troy (v. 320: *Πόλιν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*), and the herald, who enters after the stasimon, details circumstances referring to a long passage from Troy, interrupted by a dreadful storm which dispersed the fleet. Several days must therefore be supposed to have elapsed between the two acts of the play.

The distribution of the parts among the three actors in the *Agamemnon* may be very easily arranged, so as to allow the same actor (i. e. the tritagonist) to perform the same part in all three plays of the Trilogy, and at the same time to retain the leading characters for the best performer<sup>1</sup>:

*Protagonist*, Agamemnon, the guard, the herald.

*Deuteragonist*, Casandra, Ægisthus.

*Tritagonist*, Clytæmnestra.

The middle play of the *Orestea*, which is known as the *Choëphoræ* or "bearers of funeral libations," is divided by a total change of scene into two distinct parts. The scene of the first act, which terminates at v. 651, is a desolate tract of country at some distance from the city, perhaps hilly, and certainly provided with brushwood for the concealment of Orestes and Pylades. The central object is the mound which indicates the tomb of Agamemnon. The play begins with the entrance of Orestes and his friend from the left side-door, and the former speaks the prologue, which has come down to us considerably mutilated. The chorus enters from the right parodos at v. 10. In the present state of the text we cannot say whether they sang any anapæsts as they advanced to the thymele, but the commencement of their first choral song (vv. 22 sqq.) seems to imply that they had previously been silent. Although Orestes is made to suppose (v. 16) that he sees Electra along with the chorus, it is clear that this is only intended to indicate a natural illusion on his part. For Electra must enter by the right-hand side-door, where the *periactos* perhaps represented a distant view of the royal palace, and her entrance is marked by her address to the chorus in vv. 84 sqq. The maidens of the chorus are sent to accompany Electra (v. 23: *χοᾶν πρόπομπος*. v. 85: *τῇσδε προστροπῆς ἐμοὶ πομπή*)

<sup>1</sup> See Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 406.

and to perform certain acts of public mourning (vv. 24, 423 sqq.), but they do not themselves make the offering; this is performed by Electra (v. 129), who is therefore alone on the stage. She is joined by Orestes (v. 212), who appears suddenly from his place of concealment, and although Pylades is not mentioned till v. 561, there is no reason to doubt that he re-enters with his friend. They both leave the stage by the right-hand door before the first stasimon (vv. 585 sqq.). For it seems absurd to refer *τούτῳ* in v. 583,

*τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτῳ δεῦρ' ἐποπτεύσαι λέγω  
ξίφηφόρους ἀγῶνας ὀρθώσαντί μοι,*

to Pylades. The very terms of the phraseology, compared with the address at the beginning of the play,

*Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, πατρῷ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη,*

show that the necropolis was adorned with a statue of the infernal Mercury, to whom there are frequent allusions in the course of the Tragedy. It is probable that Electra does not accompany her brother and his friend, but that she and the chorus make their exit at the end of the stasimon (v. 651).

Both the stage and the orchestra being now clear, the scene is entirely changed, and both the periacti are turned. That on the left represents a distant view of the grave of Agamemnon, that on the right the city of Argos; and the scene itself shows us the royal palace, with a lodging for strangers to the left. Orestes and Pylades enter by the left side-door. Clytæmnestra comes forth to greet them from the center door of the palace, and sends them into the strangers' lodgings. The re-entrance of the chorus by the left-hand parodos,—for they must be supposed to come directly from the grave to which they refer (v. 722),—is indicated by a few anapaests (vv. 719—733). As Clytæmnestra manifestly returns to the palace after her brief conversation with Orestes, and as she sends Cilissa to Ægisthus (v. 734), the old nurse must come forth from the center door, and make her exit by the right-hand side-door leading to the city. By the same door Ægisthus enters after the second stasimon (v. 838), and betakes himself to the strangers' apartments, where he is at once put to death by Orestes. From the words of the chorus in vv. 872, 873,

*ἀποσταθῶμεν πράγματος τελουμένου  
ὅπως δοκῶμεν τῶνδ' ἀνάττιαι κακῶν  
εἶναι. μάχης γὰρ δὴ κεκύρωται τέλος,*

it may fairly be inferred that the choreutæ take refuge and conceal themselves in the parodos until the end of the interview between Clytæmnestra and the matricide. The servant of course comes forth from the strangers' apartments, and knocks at the center door, and Clytæmnestra comes from the house at his summons, just as Orestes rushes out in pursuit of her (v. 892). After Orestes has dragged his mother into the strangers' lodging in order to slay her beside Ægisthus (vv. 894, 904), the chorus re-appears and sings the stasimon (vv. 931—972) at the thymele. It is clear that the corpses of the queen and her paramour are exhibited to the spectators, when Orestes re-appears, and says (v. 973),

Ἴδεσθε χώρας τὴν διπλὴν τυραννίδα—

but it is not so certain in what manner this is effected. As no mention is made of the chorus entering the guests' chambers, where the murders have been perpetrated, and as Orestes clearly intends a public display, we must infer that the eccyclema was not used; but that the bodies were brought out on a bier, as the bodies of Eteocles and Polyneices were paraded in the *Seven against Thebes*. It is not only clear from the question of the chorus (v. 1051) and from the words of Orestes (v. 1061) that the phantom forms of the Erinyes are visible to Orestes alone; but the care, which is taken in the following play, not to exhibit the Eumenides until the audience have been wound up to the highest point of expectation, precludes the supposition that the effects of that play would be anticipated by the premature introduction of the chorus, from which it bears its name. Orestes leaves the stage by the left side-door, and the chorus proceeds to the right-hand parodos, reciting the concluding anapæsts.

In the *Eumenides*, as in the *Choëphoræ*, there are two distinct acts, each with its appropriate scenery. The scene of the first act (vv. 1—234) is the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The center door on the stage represents the main entrance of the temple, the interior of which is displayed by the eccyclema after v. 93. The right-hand door is marked by a sacred grove, through which Apollo retires after dismissing Orestes. On the other side there may have been the dwelling of the Pythia, from which she enters at the beginning of the play, and to which she returns after the prologue. It is probable that the neighbourhood of Delphi, to which the Pythia alludes in her opening address, is depicted in the scenery.



And there is every reason to conclude that the altars or statues of the deities mentioned by her also adorned the stage. The time intended is the morning after the arrival of Orestes, who has come straight from Argos (cf. v. 282: *ποταίνιον γὰρ ὅν κ.τ.λ.*), followed by the Furies, and whom Apollo has purified while his persecutors slept. After the prologue, the eccyclema rolls out the chorus who are sleeping round the altar<sup>1</sup>, the hero appears on the stage between Apollo and Hermes, and the latter accompanies him, as he sets forth on a long journey by sea and land, before he reaches Athens the object of his wishes (vv. 75 sqq.). While Orestes and Hermes leave the stage by the left-hand side-door, Apollo retires into the grove, for of course he cannot appear in his temple till v. 179, when he expels the intruders. After the stage is cleared (v. 94), the *ἀναπίεσμα* immediately exhibits the apparition of Clytemnestra's ghost. That the sleeping chorus had been visible while Apollo was speaking is clear from the words of the god (v. 67: *τάσδε τὰς μαργοὺς ὀρᾶς*); and that the interior was shown by the eccyclema, perhaps by a two-fold evolution, is distinctly stated by the Scholiast, who says: *δευτέρα γίνεται φαντασία στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἐνδηλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει*. The words of Apollo, v. 201: *τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου*, show that they were still in the temple in spite of his order to quit it, and it is plain that they do not depart until they have said (229, 230):

*ἐγὼ δ', ἄγει γὰρ αἷμα μητρῶν δίκας,  
μέτειμι τόνδε φῶτα κακκυνηγέτις.*

And they immediately leave the stage in single file by the left-hand door by which Orestes and Hermes had made their exit. Apollo, after reciting his three lines (232—234), returns to his temple, the eccyclema is withdrawn, and the whole scene is changed.

Between the first and second acts we must suppose a considerable interval of time, during which Orestes has traversed many a region by land and sea (v. 240: *ὅμοια χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπε-*

<sup>1</sup> Bötticher has made the costume of the chorus in this play the subject of a special dissertation (*die Furienmaske im Trauerspiel und auf den Bildwerken der alten Griechen*, Weimar, 1801, *Kleine Schriften*, I. pp. 189—277), and he has given two pictures of the theatrical Fury, one representing all the repulsive and loathsome features which seem to have belonged to the Æschylean chorus, and the other exhibiting the usual type of theatrical beauty and splendid costume, but indicated as a minister of vengeance by the serpent-locks, and by the serpent and torch which she carries in her hands. He believes (p. 138 [271]) that the latter was the only personification of the Fury admitted on the stage after the time of Pericles and Phidias.



ρῶν, cf. v. 77), and has visited many nations as a purified suppliant (vv. 284—286). It has generally been supposed that the scene represents the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens<sup>1</sup>. But it is manifest that during the latter part of the act the scene is the Areopagus, and there is no indication of another change of scene. There must, however, have been a temple and statue of Minerva in the Areopagus. For Minerva is made to say to Orestes (v. 474): *ικέτης προσῆλθες καθαρὸς ἀβλαβῆς δόμοις*, Apollo's injunction to the fugitive is (v. 80): *μολὼν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν Ἴζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας*, and he is described by the goddess (v. 409) as *βρέτας τοῦμὸν τῷδ' ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ*. The most probable solution is that the poet supposes Orestes to have reached the temple of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρείᾳ, to whom he was said to have consecrated an altar in the Areopagus on his acquittal<sup>2</sup>. The scene then represents the Areopagus, with a distant view of Athens, certainly with a statue, and probably with a temple of Minerva. As Orestes says (v. 256) *ἤκω*, "I am come," it is reasonable to conclude that he is seen near the statue of the goddess as soon as the scene is shifted, and the chorus re-enters by the left-hand parodos as soon as he has uttered his short prayer (v. 244). After the stasimon, preceded by a few anapaests, as the chorus pass from the part of the orchestra immediately below the stage to the thymele (vv. 307—396), Minerva appears on the balcony of the stage, as though borne through the air on a chariot of clouds. This is shown by her own words (vv. 403—405):

*ἦλθον ἀτρυτον πόδα  
πτερῶν ἄτερ ροιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος  
κώλοισ ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζεύξασ' ὄχον.*

If she had come in an ordinary chariot it would have been needless to say that she came without wings, or that she used her ægis to make a flapping as birds do with their wings (cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1004: *πτερῶν γὰρ ροιβδος οὐκ ἄσημος ἦν*). She clearly means that she rode upon the wings of the wind. After the explanation with the chorus and Orestes, Minerva, who had descended to the stage, proceeds on foot by the right-hand door to summon the judges for the trial (v. 489). The stasimon follows (vv. 490—505). And then Minerva returns from the right with the twelve judges, who

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Droysen, Donner, Genelli, Müller, Schömann and Hermann. Geppert and Schönborn maintain the view adopted in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. I. 28, § 5: *καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀρείας ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην*.

take their seats either on the steps of her temple, or on seats before the center door, while Apollo appears from the left to support his suppliant. The judges give their votes separately in the twelve intervals of the couplets spoken by the chorus and Apollo (vv. 711—733). Orestes is acquitted, and departs by the left-hand door, as soon as he has expressed his gratitude and bound his countrymen by a promise of future friendliness (vv. 754—777). As he takes no notice of Apollo, that divinity must have departed after the declaration of the verdict in vv. 752, 753. It may be presumed that the Areopagites retain their places till the procession at the end of the play. When Minerva has succeeded in allaying the wrath of the Eumenides, she takes leave of the chorus (v. 1003: *χαίρετε χῦμείς*), and says that she must go before to prepare their abode for them; and she leaves the stage by the right-hand door after making her concluding speech (vv. 1021—1031). The *πρόπομποι* then make their appearance through the right-hand parodos, and lead the chorus from the orchestra by the same door. As they depart the Areopagites leave the stage in solemn procession.

The distribution of the parts in the second and third plays of the Trilogy must have been as follows:

*Choëphoræ.*

*Protagonist*, Orestes.

*Deuteragonist*, Electra, Ægisthus, Pylades.

*Tritagonist*, Clytæmnestra.

*Eumenides.*

*Protagonist*, Orestes.

*Deuteragonist*, Apollo.

*Tritagonist*, Pythia, Clytæmnestra, Minerva.

The Trilogy was succeeded by a satyrical drama, the *Proteus*, which had some reference to the adventures of Menelaus alluded to in the *Agamemnon* (vv. 674 sqq.). The manner, in which the complete chorus of forty-eight was made available for the separate choruses of the four plays, is thus stated by C. O. Müller<sup>1</sup>. The *Agamemnon* had a chorus of twelve senators, as appears from their conference in vv. 1319—1342; the *Eumenides* had a chorus of fifteen, as appears from the most probable arrangement of the *μὴ μὸς διπλοῦς* of v. 125, as seven repetitions of the word *λαβέ*, each

<sup>1</sup> *Eumeniden*, pp. 75 sqq.

spoken by a pair of choreutæ, the imperative *φράζου* being uttered by the coryphæus; the chorus of the *Choëphoræ* had probably this larger number; and this would leave two *ζυγά*, or ranks of three each, for the satyric drama. It is probable that the chorus of old men from the *Agamemnon* appeared as the Areopagites in the *Eumenides*, and the chorus of the *Choëphoræ* constituted the festive procession at the end of the last play in the Trilogy.

We have examined the details of the representation of these three plays at some length, because, taken together, they furnish the most complete specimen of a Greek dramatic entertainment which has come down to us. Indeed, with the exception of the satyric drama, which served as an after-piece to the Trilogy, we have here before us a perfect sample of the elaborate theatrical exhibitions, which were provided for the amusement of the Athenians at their Bacchic festivals. It will be seen that no regard was paid to the unities of time and place. The second and third plays are respectively broken into two distinct parts by the change of scene, and the first play, which has no change of scene, supposes, like the third, a considerable interval of time between the first and second acts. And while Æschylus has thus allowed himself a full latitude in dealing with space and time, he exhibits in this, the last of his dramatic works, a full acquaintance with all the improvements of the stage. The three actors are all put in requisition, and the chorus, originally one and undivided, is broken up into sections for the sake of the separate plays.

Of the other Tragedies of Æschylus, the *Prometheus* alone requires a special notice of its mode of representation. It differs from all other plays by making no use of the stage. The action proceeds entirely on the balconies above the first story. The scene represents a desolate and rocky region, not far from the shore of Ocean at the extremity of the world. The center door is blocked up by the representation of a craggy mountain. To the summit of this (v. 142: *τῇσδε φάραγγος σκοπέλοις ἐν ἄκροις*) Vulcan, attended by Strength and Force, is engaged in fastening the form of Prometheus. On the right-hand *periactos* there is a representation of the sea, and a more distant part of the coast is represented on the left. There can be little doubt<sup>1</sup> that Prometheus himself was represented by a lay figure, so contrived that an actor standing behind the pic-

<sup>1</sup> See Hermann's note, p. 55.

torial mountain could speak through the mask. No protagonist could have been expected to submit to the restraint of such an attitude throughout the whole of the play, to say nothing of the catastrophe at the end, when the rocks fall asunder, and Prometheus is dashed down into Tartarus<sup>1</sup>.

Vulcan and his attendants leave the balcony by one of the doors in the *διστεγία* which lead to it (v. 87), and Prometheus is left alone till the entrance of the chorus indicated by the anapæsts recited by him (vv. 120 sqq.). A question arises, whether the chorus, which comes through the air, borne on clouds, like Minerva in the *Eumenides* (cf. v. 135 with *Eumen.* 405), and which must have appeared at first on the balcony, remains there throughout the play<sup>2</sup>, or descends to its proper place in the orchestra at v. 277, where their anapæsts indicate a movement on their part. We have no hesitation in adopting the latter view of the case, for the following reasons. (1) The balcony would not suffice for the regular evolutions of a chorus, which in this, as in other plays, has to perform antistrophic songs. (2) As Oceanus appears in the same way and from the same side as the chorus, there would be no room for both of the machines on the balcony. (3) A Greek play in which the chorus never entered the orchestra would be an unparalleled solocism. If it is urged on the contrary that Prometheus on the top of the rock would be too distant to converse with the chorus at the thymele, it may be answered that the audience are still more distant, and yet they are supposed to hear all his words. And if reference is made to the warning of Mercury (v. 1060),

μετά που χωρεῖτ' ἐκ τῶνδε τόπων  
μὴ φρένας ὑμῶν ἡλιθιώσῃ  
βροτῆς μύκημ' ἀτέραμον,

as showing that they must have been near Prometheus, we reply that it indicates, on the contrary, that they were not within the immediate sphere of the danger, for he would not have used the plural τόπων in that case, and he would have indicated even a worse risk than that of losing their senses owing to the crash of the thunder.

But although the chorus must be placed in the orchestra, all the

<sup>1</sup> Schömann, *des Æschylos gefesselter Prometheus*, p. 87, believes that Prometheus was represented by an actor throughout the play.

<sup>2</sup> This is Schönborn's opinion, p. 292.

actors speak from the upper platform. Oceanus remains seated on his courser in the clouds, and rides away upon it when his selfish fears are excited (v. 396). Io, who had been wandering on the sea-shore near the mountain (v. 575: *πλανᾷ τε νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν παραλίαν ψάμμον*), enters from the left on the balcony which represents the summit of these rugged rocks; for she speaks of casting herself down from them in her despair (vv. 747 sqq.):

τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει  
ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτὴν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στύφλου πέτρας;

In the same manner Mercury enters from the same side; for there is no reference whatever, as in the case of Oceanus and the chorus, to his having flown thither through the air, and he is expressly called "the running-footman of Jove" (v. 941: *τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν*); and as Prometheus sees him at once, he cannot be on the stage below. It is clear that the chorus leaves the orchestra by the right-hand parodos, just as Mercury quits the balcony by a side-door to the left, probably veiled by a peak of the mountain, and Prometheus is left alone to describe the coming storm in the splendid anapæsts which conclude the play and accompany the exodus of the chorus. Then, it may be presumed, the scenic rocks fall asunder, and the figure representing Prometheus descends with them below the stage.

As a specimen of the manner in which Sophocles, the perfecter of the Greek drama, placed his Tragedies on the stage, it will be sufficient to examine the latest of his plays, the *Œdipus at Colonus*.

The scene, which remains the same throughout the play, is minutely described in the opening verses. Œdipus entering from behind the left-hand *periactos*, which represents the road to Thebes, asks his guide Antigone (vv. 1, 2):

τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνη, τίνας  
χώρους ἀφίγμεθ', ἢ τίνων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν;  
"Child of a blind old man, Antigone,  
What lands, what city are we come unto?"

and she replies (vv. 14—20):

πάτερ ταλαίπωρ' Οἰδίπου, πύργοι μὲν, οἱ  
πόλιν στέγουσιν, ὡς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων, πρόσω·  
χώρος δ' ὀδὸς ἱρός, ὡς σάφ' εἰκάσαι, βρύων  
δάφνης, ἐλαίας, ἀμπέλου· πυκνόπτεροι δ'  
εἴσω κατ' αὐτὸν εὐστομοῦσ' ἀηδόνες·  
οὐ κῶλα κάμψον τοῦδ' ἐπ' ἀξέστου πέτρου.  
μακρὰν γάρ, ὡς γέροντι, προὔστάλῃς ὁδόν.

“O woe-worn father Œdipus, the towers  
 That girt the city, as mine eyes inform me,  
 Are still far off: but where we stand the while  
 A consecrated grove displays itself,  
 Thick set with bay-trees, olive-trees, and vines;  
 And from within, with closely ruffled plumes,  
 The nightingales make sweetest melody.  
 Then sit thee down on this rough stone: thine age  
 May hardly brook such lengthened pilgrimage.”

From this it is clear, that the center of the stage represents this grove of the Eumenides as surrounded by a low dry-stone dyke, on which the blind wanderer takes his seat (v. 19). The entrance to the grove substitutes brazen steps for the stones of the wall (v. 57: ὃν δ' ἐπιστείβεις τόπον χθονὸς καλεῖται τῆσδε χαλκόπους ὁδός. v. 192: αὐτοῦ μηκέτι τοῦδ' ἀντιπέτρου βήματος ἔξω πόδα κλίνης). In the immediate neighbourhood of the grove was seen the pool, against which Œdipus is warned by the chorus (vv. 155, sqq.). The right-hand *periactos* exhibited a view of Colonos, and near it was seen, probably as a picture, the statue of the hero of the place (v. 59: τόνδ' ἱππότην Κολωνόν). In the interval between this and the grove the scenery gave a distant view of Athens. To the left of the grove we may presume that there was a perspective representation of the country of Attica between Colonos and the Theban borders, from which Œdipus and his daughter have travelled. All five doors of the stage must have been used in the course of the piece.

After Œdipus has taken his seat on the fence of the sacred inclosure, a man of Colonos enters from the right and informs him that he has violated holy ground. The stranger, however, does not venture to remove him, but departs by the door by which he had entered to summon the chorus, and to bear the tidings to Theseus (v. 298). When he has made his exit, Antigone leads her father quite within the grove (v. 113: καί μ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα κρύψον κατ' ἄλσος). The chorus then enters by the right-hand parodos, and though in search of Œdipus, it does not mount the stage. For when the blind king comes forth from the grove (v. 138), the chorus is engaged in spying round the outside of the enclosure (v. 55: λεύσσων περὶ πᾶν τέμενος), and it addresses him as still at a distance, though he is standing on the narrow stage (v. 162: μετάσταθ', ἀπόβαθι· πολλὰ κέλευθ' ἐρατύει· κλύεις, ὦ πολύμοχθ' ἀλᾶτα). The conference between

Œdipus and the chorus is interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Ismene (v. 310), who comes mounted on horseback (v. 312), and accompanied by a faithful domestic (v. 334). It may be considered doubtful whether the horse is seen by the audience<sup>1</sup>. The mention of the servant seems to be introduced because he is there to hold the horse after she has dismounted, and the interval between v. 310 when she is first seen, and v. 324 when she first speaks, together with the momentary difficulty in recognizing her (v. 315 sqq.), may be best explained by the supposition that she rides into the orchestra, leaves her horse with the servant, (who leads it out,) and then mounts the stage. It may fairly be inferred that, when Ismene retires from the stage to pour forth the libations on the other side of the grove (v. 505: τοῦκειθεν ἄλσος τοῦδε), she makes her exit by the middle door on the left. For she is seized by Creon on his way from Thebes, though the ordinary route to Boeotia is not that which Ismene is supposed to have taken, otherwise she would not have needed the guidance of the chorus. Now it is expressly intimated that the road from Thebes branched off in two directions not far from Colonus (v. 900). And it is to be understood that Creon had diverged from the straight road on his approach to the sacred grove in search of Œdipus, so as to pass through the spot where Ismene was occupied in her pious offices.

As Theseus leaves Œdipus to the care of the chorus (v. 653), it is quite clear that the old men of Colonus cannot be passive spectators of Creon's outrage, and the text shows that some at least of the choreutæ mount the stage and lay hands on the Theban prince; for he says to them (v. 855), μὴ ψάύειν λέγω, and the choir-leader replies, οὗτοι σ' ἀφήσω<sup>2</sup>. The main body

<sup>1</sup> Schönborn says (p. 280): "Den Anblick des Rosses den Zuschauern zu gewähren, dazu liegt kein Motiv vor." Kolster, on the other hand, justly remarks (*Pref.* p. xi): "Schönborn musste wenigstens sagen warum der Dichter denn Ismene von der Schwester zu Ross *sehen* lässt, wenn sie nicht so auftreten soll; Sophokles wirft doch dergleichen Worte nicht umsonst hin."

<sup>2</sup> Kolster maintains that the struggle takes place on the steps leading to the orchestra, through which Creon had to return. He says (p. 60): "If any one denies his appearance in the orchestra because he does not come on horseback or in a chariot, he ought to remark, first, that he comes not alone, but accompanied by numerous attendants, v. 723, οὐκ ἄνευ πομπῶν; and then, that though he comes expressly to carry off Œdipus, he does not at once address him, whom he would have been close to, if he had appeared on the stage, but speaks to the chorus in twelve long trimeters, and obviously opens a safe way to the stage by his conciliatory expressions. It is not till v. 740 that he directs his speech to Œdipus; and when his overtures are rejected, he changes his tone, and Œdipus learns with horror that Creon has already got possession



of the chorus, remaining in the orchestra, call loudly for Theseus, and he comes in hastily from sacrificing in the neighbouring temple of Neptune, and therefore through the middle door on the right. The armed attendants of Creon have already left the stage with Antigone, probably by the door by which they had entered. And while Theseus enters into angry conversation with Creon, who had been detained by the choreutæ, he sends word to his followers to march off to the meeting of the roads to Thebes and there to intercept the runaways. There is no reason to suppose that the horsemen and foot-soldiers of Theseus (v. 899) pass over the stage. It would be more natural to imagine them as pursuing their march on the other side of the sacred grove which forms the center of the scene. As Creon is to be the guide of Theseus (v. 1025), they must leave the stage by the middle door on the left by which the former had entered, and of course Theseus re-enters (v. 1099) by the same opening.

It is stated (v. 1158) that Polyneices was a suppliant at the altar of Neptune, where Theseus was sacrificing when he was interrupted by the outrage of Creon. He therefore enters (v. 1249) by the middle door on the right, and makes his exit by the same way (v. 1447).

The three peals of thunder (vv. 1456, 1462, 1479) accompanied

of Ismene and is intending to carry off his other daughter also. Hereupon Œdipus implores the aid of the chorus, which at once forbids the meditated violence; Creon however beckons to his attendants to carry off the maiden, whom he has obviously seized with his own hands; these followers, who had been left in the orchestra, mount the steps and compel the chorus to give way, in spite of their protestations against a wrong which they are unable to prevent (v. 839: *μὴ 'πίτασσ' α μὴ κραεῖς*). It is therefore a case in which the chorus and actors come into personal contact (Geppert, *Ueb. d. Eingänge*, p. 30). It is possible to explain particular expressions of the chorus by the supposition that different choreutæ are speaking; but the only way to conceive the character of the separate words is to consider them as induced by the course of the action. How could we explain the decided expressions of v. 824,

*χώρει, ξέν', ἔξω θάσσον· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ νῦν  
δίκαια πράσσεις, οὔθ' ἄ πρόσθεν εἰργασαι,*

immediately followed by the helpless *τί δρᾶς, ξένε*; of v. 829, and by the feeble declaration of v. 831, *ὦ ξέν' οὐ δίκαια δρᾶς*? How incongruous would be the threat of v. 839,

*τί δρᾶς, ὦ ξέν'; οὐκ ἀφήσεις; τάχ' εἰς βόσσαν εἰ χερῶν,*

if Antigone had not been conducted through the orchestra. The silence of the chorus during the act of violence, vv. 844—847, is the consequence of their flight before Creon's myrmidons. After these have withdrawn (v. 856) Creon is left alone face to face with the chorus, and the words *ἐπίσχεσ αὐτοῦ, ξένε*, are easily explained, if the chorus thinks it can cut off his retreat (v. 857: *οὔτοι σ' ἀφήσω*). At this point the chorus must either be on the stage, of which I can find no trace, or by occupying the steps from the orchestra is cutting off Creon's retreat, in which case he must be intending to depart by way of the orchestra."



by lightning, which presage the death of Œdipus, must have been audible and visible to the spectators, and the *βροντεῖον* and *κεραυνοσκοπεῖον* could not have been used with greater effect. The mirrors of the latter may have been so arranged as to throw a glare of light on the chorus (v. 1477).

It is obvious that, with Œdipus leading the way, the two princesses, Theseus, and his attendants enter the sacred grove by the main doorway (v. 1555). Some little time is supposed to elapse before the messenger returns with his account of all that had happened (v. 1579). When his speech is ended, Theseus returns to the stage with the two princesses (v. 1670). And though Theseus promises (v. 1773) to comply with the request of Antigone to send her to Thebes, in order, if possible, to prevent the fratricidal strife of his two brothers, it does not follow that she and her sister leave the stage by the left-hand side-door, as though they departed immediately for their native city. It is more reasonable to suppose that they go with Theseus to Athens, and therefore make their exit in his company, by the middle door on the right.

It has been already mentioned that the remaining plays of Sophocles furnish only one example of a complete change of scenery, and only one of a partial change by the revolution of the left-hand *periactos*. The former case is that of the *Ajax*. In the first act of this play, the scene is laid in that part of the Greek encampment, which lies between the tent of Ajax and the shore (v. 192: *ἐφάλους κλισίας*). The interior of the tent of Ajax is displayed by means of the *eccyclema*, and he is seen surrounded by the cattle which he had slain in his delusion (vv. 346 sqq.). He is rolled off the stage by the same means, for he says (v. 579), *δῶμα πάκτου*, and (v. 581), *πύκαζε θᾶσσον*. After the stasimon of the chorus (596—645), Ajax comes forth from his tent, and then departs by the right-hand side-door as though he was going to the sea (v. 654: *πρὸς τε λουτρὰ καὶ παρακτίους λειμῶνας*). The messenger enters (v. 719) by the left-hand side-door as coming from the distant camp of the Greeks. Tecmessa goes forth to meet him with Eurysaces (v. 787) from the right-hand middle door, representing her own tent, and the child re-enters by the same door, when Tecmessa leaves the stage in pursuit of Ajax by the right-hand side-door. The messenger of course returns through the left side-door, and the chorus breaking

up into the two hemichoria, in which they reappear in the second act, leave the orchestra by both parodi. The stage being cleared, the scenery is completely changed. And we have now an unfrequented spot partially covered with trees, which renders the search for the body of Ajax more difficult. Tecmessa stumbles upon it (v. 891) immediately on her re-entrance, and it may be presumed therefore that Ajax falls before the centre door, probably behind a tree which masked that entrance. The other persons who enter in the second act, Teucer, Menelaus, Agamemnon, and Ulysses, come and return by the left-hand side-door. It is clear from v. 1115 that Menelaus is accompanied by at least one herald, and this functionary attends Agamemnon, whom he goes to fetch. This appears from vv. 1116 and 1319, and justifies Martin's conjectures of σοῦ τοῦδ' ὁμαίμονος for τοῦ σοῦ θ' ὁμαίμονος, in v. 1312. With regard to the only change of the left-hand *periactos*, of which Sophocles furnishes an example, and which occurs in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, it is obvious that in the first part of the play the left-hand entrance must indicate the road to Delphi, and probably the left-hand *periactos* gave a distant view of Parnassus, to which the chorus alludes (vv. 463 sqq.). But as the messenger from Corinth enters by the same door on the left (v. 924), it is clear that the *periactos* must be turned, so as to exhibit a view of Cithæron or some other indications of the road to the Isthmus.

It has been already mentioned that, in the extant plays of Euripides, there is no instance of a complete change of scene, and it would almost seem as though he had wished to make up for that complication of incident, that succession of plots, to which reference has been made in a former chapter, by a more rigid adherence to the unity of place than his great contemporaries had thought necessary. There are, however, several examples of a change of the left-hand *periactos*, which indicated the region from which the actor, coming from a distance, was supposed to enter the stage. For instance, in the *Orestes*, the left-hand *periactos* must, in the first instance, represent generally the road to foreign parts by which Menelaus enters on his return from Troy (v. 356); but it must be turned so as to exhibit a view of part of the city, when Pylades enters (v. 729), for he says:

θᾶσσον ἢ μ' ἐχρήν προβαλὼν ἰκόμην δι' ἄστεως.

In the *Andromache* the left-hand *periactos* must have represented

at the beginning of the play the road to Pharsalus, for Peleus is supposed to dwell there (v. 22); it must have represented a different direction, the road to Lacedæmon, in 746, 879, 1000, for Menelaus departs for Sparta, Orestes is on his way from the south to the shrine of Dodona, and Hermione departs in the same direction; and in 1069 the messenger comes from Delphi, so that there must have been an exhibition of all three faces of the *periactos*. In the *Supplices* the left *periactos* indicates the road to Thêbes from which the herald comes and to which he returns (v. 584); thither Theseus goes (v. 597 cf. 637); from thence come the messenger (v. 639), and the seven corpses; also Theseus on his return (cf. 838). This *periactos*, however, is turned to indicate the road to Argos by which Iphis comes in search of Evadne (v. 1034). In the *Electra*, the left-hand *periactos* at first represents the road to Delphi by which Orestes and Pylades make their appearance; but as Electra's husband makes his exit by the same side in order to go to Lacedæmon, there must be a change of the side-scene for that purpose.

As a sample of the manner in which Euripides put his Tragedies on the stage, it will be sufficient to examine the *Bacchæ*, which is not only the most Dionysiac, but also one of the latest and most elaborate of his plays. Euripides, however, has left us, in addition to his Tragedies, a regular Satyric drama, and two tragi-comedies, which served the same purpose in a Tetralogy; and we must consider also the mode of representation in these two cases.

The scene in the *Bacchæ* represents the palace of Pentheus (vv. 60, 646) in the citadel at Thebes (653). Although there may have been some indications of towers and other fortifications as this last passage shows (cf. v. 172: ἐπύργωσ' ἄστυ Θηβαίων τόδε), it is clear that the center of the scene representing the palace itself exhibited a Doric façade with columns (591) and a frieze (1214). On the right of the palace, i. e. on the side leading to the city, there may have been a distant view of the oracular seat of Teiresias (347: ἐλθὼν δὲ θάκους τοῦδ' ἵν' οἶωνοσκόπει), and on the other side was seen the sacred memorial of Semele, namely, the spot where the smouldering ruins of her house stood, which Cadmus had surrounded with a fence and made sacred, and which Bacchus had enveloped in clusters of the mantling vine:

v. 6: ὁρῶ δὲ μητρὸς μνῆμα τῆς κεραυνίας  
τόδ' ἐγγὺς οἴκων καὶ δόμων ἐρείπια

τυφόμενα Δίου πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα  
 ἀθάνατον Ἦρας μητέρ' εἰς ἐμὴν ὕβριν.  
 αἰνῶ δὲ Κάδμον, ἄβατον δὲ πέδον τόδε  
 τίθησι, θυγατρὸς σηκόν· ἀμπέλου δέ νιν  
 πέριξ ἐγὼ 'κάλυψα βοτρυνώδει χλόη.  
 596: πῦρ οὐ λεύσσεις οὐδ' αὐγάσεις  
 Σεμέλας ἱερὸν ἀμφὶ τάφον.

On the left of the palace, but in close contiguity to it (Jul. Poll. iv. § 125: εἶρκτὴ δὲ ἡ λαιά), and between it and a κλίσιον representing the stable (v. 509: ἵππικαῖς πέλας φάτναισιν), was seen the entrance to a dark and gloomy dungeon (v. 550: σκοτίαις ἐν εἶρκταῖς. v. 611: ἐς σκοτεινὰς ὀρκάνας). On the extreme left the *periactos* indicated the road to foreign and distant parts, and on the right the *periactos* showed a view of Cithæron. If the city of Thebes was at all indicated it must have been between the right-hand *periactos* and the palace, in the same part of the scene where the auspicial abode of Teiresias was represented. That the road to Cithæron did not pass through the city is clear from v. 840, where Pentheus asks,

καὶ πῶς δι' ἀστέως εἶμι Καδμείους λαθών;

and Dionysus answers,

ὁδοὺς ἐρήμους ἔμεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι.

If the city was seen at all it must have been that part of Thebes which lay in the direction of the gate called *Electra* (v. 781: στεῖχ' ἐπ' Ἡλέκτρας ἰὼν πύλας). The only change in this scenery which is required by the action of the play is the downfall and conflagration of the εἶρκτὴ in which Dionysus is imprisoned. It has been mentioned already that this εἶρκτὴ and the adjoining κλίσιον stood immediately to the left of the palace, and therefore between it and the monument of Semele. According to the description in the play, the architrave of this building falls asunder, and the columns are thrown down by the god as he rushes forth (590: ἴδετε λάινε κλίσιν ἔμβολα διάδρομα τάδε). At the same time a flame rises from the sacred tomb of Semele and seems to consume the adjoining edifice (vv. 596 sqq., and cf. 623: καὶ μητρὸς τάφῳ πῦρ ἀνῆψεν). How this was managed does not appear. Probably some light woodwork was allowed to fall, and a smoke was raised at the same time. We are not to conclude from the expectations of the chorus (v. 588: τάχα τὰ Πενθέως μέλαθρα διατινάξεται πεσήμασιν), that the central building, the palace of Pentheus himself, is involved in

this ruin and conflagration. On the contrary, we must conclude that, though shaken, it remains standing. For Dionysus summons Pentheus to come forth from his palace (v. 914: ἔξιθι πάροιθε δωμάτων), and, at the end of the play, distinct reference is made to the triglyphs of the frieze to which the head of the supposed lion is to be affixed according to the oldest mode of adorning the Zophorus (v. 1212 sqq.):

αἰρέσθω λαβὼν  
πηκτῶν πρὸς οἴκους κλιμάκων προσαμβάσεις  
ὥς πασσαλεύση κρᾶτα τριγλύφοις τόδε  
λέοντος, ὃν πάρειμι θηρεύσας ἐγώ.

Cf. 1238 sqq.:

φέρω δ' ἐν ὠλέναισιν, ὥς ὄρᾱς, τᾶδε  
λαβοῦσα τᾶριστεῖα σοῖσι πρὸς δόμοις  
ὥς ἂν κρεμάσθῃ.

When therefore Dionysus says (v. 633), δώματ' ἔρρηξεν χαμᾶζε συντεθράνεται δ' ἅπαν, he refers only to the prison, for at the very time he makes this statement he says that he has come forth from the house (636: ἦσυχος δ' ἐκβὰς ἐγὼ δωμάτων ἦκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς); that he hears the foot-fall of Pentheus within his palace (638: ψοφεῖ γοῦν ἀρβύλῃ δόμων ἔσω); and that he will soon come forth to the vestibule (ἐς προνώπι' αὐτίχ' ἦκει).

The progress of the action and the entrances and exits of the performers are easily described. At the opening of the play Dionysus is supposed to come from distant regions; he enters by the left-hand *periactos*, and the chorus, who came from Asia with him, appear after the prologue, by the corresponding *parodos* (v. 65). As the god says that he is going to Cithæron to join his worshippers there, he must cross the stage and make his exit (64) by the right-hand *periactos*. After the first choral song (170) Teiresias enters from the city, i. e. by the right side-door, and summons Cadmus, who comes forth from the middle door, or from the palace (178). As Pentheus has been abroad, he must make his first entrance, like Dionysus, from the left *periactos* (215). Cadmus and Teiresias leave the stage by the right *periactos* (369), and by the same entrance the satellites of Pentheus, who had remained on the stage during the chorus, appear (434), bringing Dionysus with them. At the end of the act (518) the god is conveyed to the prison, which, as has been mentioned, was to the left of the palace. And it appears from v. 616 that Pentheus accompanies him, for the purpose of putting on the chains with his own hands.

There was obviously a passage from the prison to the palace, and Dionysus (603, cf. 635), and afterwards Pentheus (652), come forth from the center door. By the same door the king (846), and afterwards the god (861, cf. 929), leave the stage to equip Pentheus in his bacchic attire. Of course they reappear by the center door (912), and depart by the right-hand *periactos* (976) on their way to Cithæron. The messenger naturally enters (1025) by the same *periactos*, and it may be concluded that he goes into the palace (1152). From the right *periactos* we have the successive entrances of Agave with the head of her son (1166), and of Cadmus with the corpse of Pentheus borne after him by his attendants (1216). As Dionysus declares himself at the end of the play in his divine character, it is obvious that he must appear surrounded by clouds on the balcony of the scene (1332). There is a lacuna in the text at this part, but there can be no doubt as to the nature of the theophany. The god vanishes as he appeared; Agave flees from the stage in the opposite direction to Cithæron (v. 1383); and the rest of the actors enter the palace by the middle door. The chorus, consisting of the Asiatic followers of Dionysus, leave the orchestra as they had entered it, by the *parodos* on the left.

The following was obviously the distribution of the parts among the three actors:

*Protagonist*: Dionysus, Teiresias, and the second messenger.

*Deuteragonist*: Cadmus, servant, first messenger.

*Tritagonist*: Pentheus, Agave.

The chorus, which consisted of fifteen women, was perhaps intended to represent the fourteen *γεραιπαί* of the Anthesteria, with the King-Archon's wife at their head<sup>1</sup>. They were dressed in Asiatic style<sup>2</sup>, with bare feet<sup>3</sup>, and the Lydian head-tire<sup>4</sup>; and they performed their dances, which, according to the metres of the choruses, had a peculiarly martial character, to the accompaniment of some flute-players, and probably beat time with timbrels and cymbals which they carried in their hands<sup>5</sup>.

As the *Cyclops* of Euripides is the only complete satyrical

<sup>1</sup> F. G. Schoen, *de Person. Habitu in Eurip. Bacch.* p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Bacch.* 860: ἀρ' ἐν παννυχίοις χοροῖς θήσω ποτὲ λευκὸν πόδ' ἀναβακχεύουσα. Cf. *Cyclops*, 72: λευκόποδας Βάκχας; see Schoen, pp. 155, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Schoen, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Id. p. 121.

drama which has come down to us, we must briefly consider the distinctive features of its representation. The scene of the play is the coast of Sicily near mount Ætna, which was probably shown in the background. The middle door was the entrance to the cavern in the rock, which served as the dwelling of Polyphemus. The right-hand *periactos* indicated a road leading to the interior of the island, and that to the left showed the approach from the coast. Between the latter and the cavern was the *κλίσιον*, in this case representing the stable for the cattle and sheep of the Cyclops—the *αὐλὶς* (v. 363), from which Ulysses and his companions were about to furnish themselves with provisions (v. 222, cf. 188). It does not appear that any doors were used except the center door and the two *periacti*; in all probability a large portion of the centre of the stage was occupied by the rocky abode of the Cyclops; and it is clear that at the end Polyphemus climbs to the top of the rock, i. e. to the balcony, by a narrow passage between his own cavern and the left of the stage, so as to make his exit by the left-hand door on the balcony, while Ulysses and his friends leave the stage as they had entered it by the left-hand *periactos*. For Ulysses says, v. 702, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἀκτὰς εἶμι, and the Cyclops, threatening to smash his ship with a fragment of the rock on which he was (v. 704: τῆσδ' ἀπορρήξας πέτρας), adds (706):

ἀνω δ' ἐπ' ὄχθον εἶμι καί περ ὦν τυφλός,  
δι' ἀμφιτρήτος τῆσδε προσβαίνων ποδί.

At the beginning of the piece Silenus comes forth from the middle door to which he returns (in 174), to make his second entry from the same place (188). Ulysses and his sailors come in from the left, where the *periactos* gave a view of the coast and of their ship (v. 85). The Cyclops enters from the extreme right, and is sometime in reaching the center of the stage, for he is seen at v. 193, and does not speak till v. 203. The chorus of satyrs had of course entered by the right-hand *parodos*, but the concluding words show that they follow Ulysses by the left-hand exit from the orchestra. The center door serves for the exits of the Cyclops (346), and Ulysses (355). The latter (375) and the Cyclops with Silenus (503) come forth from the middle door, and leave the stage by it at 607 and 590 respectively. By the same door Ulysses returns (624), goes in (653), and reappears with the Cyclops and his sailors (663).

The chorus of satyrs, although it seems to take an active part



in the progress of the plot, manifestly does not leave the orchestra, its proper place. The allusions in the *parodos* to the pastoral employments of the satyrs, who had left the service of Bacchus for that of the Cyclops, are probably connected with the mimic action introduced into their *sicinnis*. It is clear, however, that living sheep were introduced on the stage (vv. 188, 224), and certain supernumeraries, who acted as servants of the chorus and were perhaps also in part at least attired as satyrs, drive the cattle into the side-cavern or *κλίσιον* after the entrance of the chorus, for Silenus says to the satyrs (v. 82),

σιγήσατ', ὦ τέκν', ἄντρα δ' εἰς πετρηρεφῇ  
ποίμνας ἀθροῖσαι προσπόλοις κελεύσατε,

and these mutes are dismissed from the stage with the order *χωρεῖτε*. As only two or three of such attendants would be required for the purpose of driving the sheep, it is unnecessary to suppose with Schönborn that the same supernumeraries reappeared as the sailors of Ulysses. There would certainly not have been time for the complete change of costume required, during the four lines spoken by Silenus before he directly addresses the new-comers, who appear with *κρωσσοί* suspended from their necks immediately after the departure of the shepherds. The words of Ulysses (100), *Σατύρων πρὸς οἴκοις τόνδ' ὄμιλον εἰσορῶ*, are quite intelligible on the supposition that the chorus was in the orchestra near the front of the stage. And although he says in the plural *ἐκφέρετε* (137, 162), it is clear that Silenus alone enters the cavern, for he promises in his own person (163: *δράσω τὰδ', ὀλίγον φροντίσας γε δεσποτῶν*), and claims the reward for himself (192). The Cyclops on entering from the right addresses the chorus, because Silenus has slunk away to the left with the Greek sailors. It is true that the chorus offers to take a part in the good work of blinding Polyphemus (471: *φόνου γὰρ τοῦδε κοινωνεῖν θέλω*), but it is clear that they do not leave the orchestra (635: *ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐσμεν μακρότερον πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστώτες*); they excuse themselves with undisguised pusillanimity; and Ulysses is obliged to rely on his own companions (650: *τοῖσι δ' οἰκείοις φίλοις χρῆσθαι μ' ἀνάγκη*). When the deed is done, the chorus, at a safe distance, gives ludicrous misdirections to the blinded Cyclops, who knocks his head against the rock as he turns suddenly to the right at their bidding (v. 683)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nauck reads *οὐκέτι* for *οὐκ ἐμέ*, in v. 564; but even without this alteration there is no necessity for supposing that one of the satyrs is on the stage.



That Polyphemus appeared as a giant is necessary to the plot of the piece, and something more than a cothurnus was required to give him such a height as would justify him in addressing Ulysses as *ἀνθρωπίσκε* (316). How the exaggeration of stature was managed does not appear, but the experience of our own pantomimes shows that a very little ingenuity would produce all the necessary results. One thing seems quite clear—that his enormous mask was rather of the comic than of the tragic pattern, and that he was represented with a ludicrously extravagant mouth, like an ogre as he was. The chorus says to him (356), *εὐρείας φάρυγγος, ὦ Κύκλωψ, ἀναστόμου τὸ χεῖλος*, and the comic masks show that no limits were imposed on the dramatic artist in this respect.

The gluttony of Hercules in the *Alcestis*, which, as we have seen, took the place of the satyric drama in the Tetralogy to which it belonged, places that hero on a footing not altogether unlike that of Polyphemus in the *Cyclops*, and it is not improbable that his mask also partook of the comic character. A Hercules in this capacity is represented on a vase with a great loaf in one hand and a club in the other, and in full pursuit of a handmaiden who is running from him with a pitcher of wine<sup>1</sup>. Without being quite so ridiculous as this picture makes him, the Hercules of the *Alcestis* is represented as a wine-bibber and a gourmand in the house of mourning (747 sqq.), and must have reminded the spectators of the same demi-god as he had appeared in many Comedies. For the rest, the *Alcestis* is tragic enough, and the representation did not differ essentially from that of a regular Tragedy. The scene represents the palace of Admetus at Pheræ, which occupies the centre. The guest-chambers stand by themselves to the left of the palace (543: *χωρὶς ξενῶνές εἰσιν*, cf. 546 sqq.). The corresponding door to the right indicates the road to Larissa and the tomb of Alcestis (835: *ὀρθὴν παρ' οἶμον, ἣ 'πὶ Λάρισσαν φέρει, τύμβον κατόψει ξεστὸν ἐκ προαστίου*). And while the left hand *periactos* represents the approach from distant parts, the other side-scene shows us the neighbouring city of Pheræ, from which the chorus, which enters the orchestra by the corresponding *parodos*, is supposed to come.

Apollo comes forth from the middle door (23: *λείπω μελάρων τῶνδε φιλτάτην στέγην*), and probably leaves the stage by the left *periactos* (76), from whence also Thanatos had entered sword in

<sup>1</sup> Panofka, *Mus. Blacas*, Pl. xxvi. B; Wieseler, *Supplement*, Taf. A, No. 26.

hand (28); for as his functions were confined to the earth, there is no reason for the supposition that he ascended by the Charonian steps. From the middle door the handmaiden comes forth (137: ἀλλ' ἡδ' ὁπαδῶν ἐκ δόμων τις ἔρχεται), and returns by the same opening (see v. 209), to announce that the chorus is at hand. This is of course the entrance for Admetus, Alcestis, and their children (244, cf. 410), who retire as they came (434). The same door is used for the entrances of Admetus (509) and the dead Alcestis (606), and for the exit of the former. Pheres comes and retires by the right-hand *periactos* (614, 733). By the same way the funeral procession leaves the stage, for it is supposed to be accompanied by the chorus, who depart of course by the corresponding *parodos* (740, 746). Hercules enters by the left-hand *periactos* (476), and is conducted to the ξενῶνες at the left of the middle door (550). From this the servant (747) and he (773) reappear; and Hercules goes straight to the tomb by the right-hand door (860), by which he returns with the veiled figure of Alcestis (1006). He does not meet the funeral procession, which re-enters the stage, as it had left it, by the *periactos* on the right (861). At the end of the play, Admetus returns to his palace; Hercules goes forth by the left *periactos* to encounter his Thracian adventure; and the chorus departs by the right-hand *parodos*. Although the chorus undoubtedly takes a part in the obsequies of Alcestis, there is no reason to suppose that it joins the procession by mounting the stage. A departure by the right *parodos*, which was close to the right *periactos*, would suffice to indicate the junction of the choreutæ with the actors and their attendants.

We now pass on to the representation of the ancient Comedies.

The most opposite opinions have been entertained respecting the scenery of the *Acharnians*; for while one critic considers it necessary to suppose a total change of scenery from the Pnyx at Athens to the farm of Dicæopolis, from this to the house of Euripides, and then again to the farm in the country<sup>1</sup>; while another writer suggests that the Pnyx is represented by the orchestra, and that the curtain is not dropt till the assembly breaks up and the chorus enters (v. 204), so that the scenery is entirely confined to the country<sup>2</sup>; while a third concludes that the country place of Dicæopolis was so near to Athens that it

<sup>1</sup> Geppert, pp. 161 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Genelli, pp. 257 sqq.

and the city might both be represented on the stage<sup>1</sup>; it is held by the most recent authority that the scene is from first to last confined to Athens<sup>2</sup>. This view of the matter seems to us to be supported by the words of the poet himself. At the point where the scene must change, if it changes at all, from Athens to the country, Dicæopolis says distinctly that he will *go within* (εἰσιών) and celebrate the rural festival of Bacchus (v. 22). This can only mean that he enters the house already seen on the stage. Then it is clear that he is at Athens (ἐν Ἀθηναίοις, v. 492), and at the Lenæa (v. 504), when he makes his final defence in answer to the chorus. Finally, it is expressly intimated that the market, which Dicæopolis opens, is in the city itself, for the Megarian says on entering (v. 730): ἀγορὰ ὕψι Ἀθάναις χαῖρε, Μεγαρεῦσιν φίλα, "All hail! Market of Athens, dear to the Megarians." We have no doubt then that the scene is from first to last at Athens. The centre represents the house of Dicæopolis, whose part is played by the *protagonist*, and the balcony above the center door serves for the flat roof of the house from which his wife views the festive procession (v. 262: σὺ δ', ὦ γύναι, θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους). Dicæopolis performs the ceremonies of the rural Dionysia at Athens, because, like the other country proprietors, he has been obliged to take up his abode in the city, and to acquiesce in the utter ruin of his farm, as he expressly says (v. 512: κάμοι γάρ ἐστιν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα). Of the two other main doors, that on the right represents the house of Euripides, that on the left the house of Lamachus, who must be a near neighbour of Dicæopolis (see vv. 1071 sqq). The right-hand *periactos* gave a view of Athens in the neighbourhood of the Pnyx, and the benches (ξύλα) are placed on that side of the stage for the committee-men and the other representatives of the assembly (see v. 25). The left-hand *periactos* represents first the road to Lacedæmon (v. 175) and Megara (v. 728), and it is turned to represent the road to Thebes (v. 860). At the beginning of the play, Dicæopolis enters from the center door and proceeds towards the right where he takes his place in the Pnyx. The herald, with the committee-men (πρυτάνεις), Amphitheus and the other citizens, enter (v. 40) from the door behind the right-hand *periactos*. From the same side the ambassadors appear

<sup>1</sup> Böckh, *über die Lenäen*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Schönborn, pp. 307 sqq.

(v. 61), and after them the ridiculous figure of Pseudartabas (v. 94), who, as "the king's eye," has a monstrous orifice in his mask, resembling the port-hole of an Athenian trireme with the leather-bag below to prevent it from shipping water (v. 97: ἄσχωμ' ἔχεις που περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κάτω). These are followed by the Thracian mercenaries (v. 155), who steal the garlick of Dicæopolis; and Amphitheus, who had been ejected by the Prytanes (v. 58), reappears from the right (v. 129), in order to cross the stage to the left (v. 132) with the commission to buy eight shillings' worth of peace for Dicæopolis. From the left *periactos* he returns (175), pursued by the Acharnians, who of course enter by the left-hand *parodos* (v. 204); Amphitheus continues his flight into the city, and Dicæopolis retires to his own house, from whence he reappears with his family (237). The chorus interrupt the festivities by actually throwing stones on the stage (284). The Acharnians are brought to terms by the production of the basket of charcoal, made to resemble a child ἐν σπαργάνοις, which Dicæopolis fetches from his house (v. 331); and he also goes in to procure the chopping-block on which he is to plead his cause (v. 359: ἐπίξηνον ἐξευεγκῶν θύραζε). A question arises as to the scene with Euripides. Many commentators, and even the latest writers on this play<sup>1</sup>, supposes that Euripides and his servant appear on the balcony or second story of the scene. But in this, as we think, they have been misled by the Scholiast, who has not understood the Greek of his author, and we conceive that the direct reference to the ἐκκύκλημα must be accepted as a proof of the fact that Euripides is shown in the interior of his house, but on the level of the stage. The words of the original run thus (vv. 394 sqq.):

ΔΙΚ. παῖ παῖ. ΚΗΦ. τίς οὗτος; ΔΙΚ. ἐνδον ἔστ' Εὐριπίδης;

ΚΗΦ. οὐκ ἐνδον ἐνδον ἔστιν, εἰ γνώμην ἔχεις.

ΔΙΚ. πῶς ἐνδον, εἴτ' οὐκ ἐνδον; ΚΗΦ. ὀρθῶς, ὦ γέρον.

ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω συλλέγων ἐπύλλια

οὐκ ἐνδον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ

τραγωδίαν. ΔΙΚ. ὦ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδη,

ὅθ' ὁ δοῦλος οὕτως σοφῶς ὑποκρίνεται.

ἐκκάλεσον αὐτόν. ΚΗΦ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ' ὁμῶς.

οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμ', ἀλλὰ κόψω τὴν θύραν.

Εὐριπίδη, Εὐριπίδιον,

<sup>1</sup> See Brunck on v. 411, and Schönborn, p. 311.

ὑπάκουσον εἴπερ· πώποτ' ἀνθρώπων τινί.

Δικαιοπολις καλεῖ σε, Χολλείδης, ἐγώ.

ΕΤΡ. ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητ'. ΕΤΡ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.

ΔΙΚ.

ἀλλ' ὁμως.

ΕΤΡ. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήσομαι· καταβαίνειν δ' οὐ σχολή.

ΔΙΚ. Εὐριπίδη. ΕΤΡ. τί λέλακας. ΔΙΚ. ἀναβάδην ποιεῖς,

ἐξὸν καταβάδην; οὐκ ἔτος χωλοὺς ποιεῖς.

The meaning of this must be as follows :

ΔΙΟ. What ho! CΕΡΗ. Who's there? ΔΙΟ. Euripides within?

CΕΡΗ. Within and not within, if you can think.

ΔΙΟ. How can he be within and not within?

CΕΡΗ. Rightly, old man. His mind collecting scraps,

Is all abroad, and so is not within;

But he himself is making tragedy

With feet reposed upon his couch at home.

ΔΙΟ. Thrice-blest Euripides, whose very slave

Can act so well his master's character!

But call him out.

CΕΡΗ.

It cannot be.

ΔΙΟ.

It must;

For I will not depart, but go on knocking.

Euripides! Euripides, my boy!

List to my words, if ever mortal man

Secured your ear. 'Tis Dicæopolis

By deme Cholleides, who is calling you.

ΕΥΡ. But I've no time.

ΔΙΟ.

Well, let them wheel you round.

ΕΥΡ. It cannot be.

ΔΙΟ.

It must.

ΕΥΡ.

Well, I'll allow them

To wheel me round, but I can't leave my couch.

ΔΙΟ. Euripides!

ΕΥΡ.

What say'st thou?

ΔΙΟ.

Do you write

With feet laid up, when you might set them down?

You're just the man to be the cripples' poet.

This passage is plain enough to any one, who knows Greek; but the Scholiast, who did not see that *καταβαίνειν* is to be explained by *καταβάδην* opposed to *ἀναβάδην*, and means merely to get off the couch or sofa, on which the tragedian was reclining, substitutes *κατελθεῖν*, and adds that Euripides *φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς μετέωρος*. Independently of the plain construction of the Greek, the context shows that this was not the case. For first, the *eccyclema* was not and could not be used on the balcony or

second story of the stage; secondly, Dicæopolis knocks at the door until the interior is opened by the *eccyclema*; thirdly, Euripides gives the rags to his visitor, who must have been on a level with him to take them from his hands; and fourthly, when he wishes to relieve himself from the intruder he says (479), *κλείε πηκτὰ δωμάτων*, which is the same sort of order as that by which Ajax in Sophocles (*Ajax*, 581: *πύκαζε θᾶσσον*. 593: *οὐ ξυνέρξεθ' ὡς τάχος*;) directs the closing of the inner view of his tent by wheeling round the *eccyclema*. We have no doubt therefore that the interior is similarly displayed on the level of the stage in the *Acharnians*. After his apologetic speech and the scene with Lamachus, Dicæopolis retires into his house (625), and the *Parabasis* follows. He then returns by the centre door and sets up the boundaries of his market (*ὄροι ἀγορᾶς*—probably ropes or poles) in the centre of the stage. The Megarian (729), the Boeotian (860), and the Attic farmer (1018) enter from the left: the sycophant (818), Nicarchus (908), the herald (1000), bridesman (1048) and the herald (1071) enter from the right. Lamachus and his servant (1179, 1190) of course return to the stage from the left. There seems to be no reason to suppose<sup>1</sup> that there is another use of the *eccyclema* in order to exhibit the culinary preparations of Dicæopolis. It is clear that he is outside, for he says (v. 1098), *φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο*, and (v. 1102), *ὀπτήσω δ' ἐκεῖ*, so that his directions about the fire (v. 1014) are addressed to his servants within, who are not necessarily visible. As Dicæopolis is to sup with the Priest of Bacchus (v. 1887), he goes off to the city, i.e. by the right-hand door (v. 1142), and returns by the same way, supported by the dancing-girls (1198), having won the prize in the *ἄμιλλα τοῦ χοός* (1202). Lamachus is carried off to the right to the house of Pittacus, the surgeon, (1226); and shortly after Dicæopolis makes his exit by the same door, for he is going to the King-Archon to receive his prize; and at the same time the chorus, whom he invites to follow him, go off by the right-hand parodos.

After this specimen of the manner in which a Comedy was put on the stage, it is not necessary to discuss the performance of all the plays of Aristophanes. It is only necessary to mention that the upper story of the scene, or the balcony, is freely used in

<sup>1</sup> This is Schönborn's opinion, p. 311.

some of the plays, especially in the *Birds* and the *Peace*, and that there is a complete change of scenery in the following Comedies—in the *Birds* at v. 1565, where the city of *Nephelococcygia* is seen for the first time; in the *Ecclesiazusæ* at v. 877, where it is clear that we are no longer in the neighbourhood of the house of Praxagora (see vv. 1125, 1128), which had formed the center of the scene in the previous part of the play; in the *Frogs*, where the first act represents the house of Hercules and the Acherusian lake (1—270), and the second act the subterraneous regions with the palace of Pluto; in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, where the first act gives us the house of Agathon (1—279), and the second act the Thesmophorion; and in the *Lysistrata*, where the first act gives us a street in Athens with the heroine's house in the center (1—253), and the second act exhibits the Acropolis with its propylæa. In the last-mentioned play, as has been already intimated, there are four or five changes of the left-hand *periactos*. There is no change of scene in the *Clouds*; but Strepsiades and his son are shown in their beds at the beginning of the Comedy by means of an *eccyclema*, and it is expressly stated that the phrontisterion of Socrates is managed by a *parencyclema*, that is, by a practicable building projected at the side of the stage<sup>1</sup>, which admits of being destroyed at the end of the play. The *κρεμάθρα*, on which Sophocles is first seen (v. 218), was not a basket, for he says (225), *ἀποβατῶ*, but a sort of shelf, connected no doubt with the balcony of the scene.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 239.





## APPENDIX TO PART I.

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### ON THE ROMAN THEATRE.

*(From Schlegel's Eighth Lecture.)*

Roman Theatre. Native varieties. Atellane Fables, Mimes, Comœdia Togata. Greek Tragedy transplanted to Rome. Tragedians of the more ancient epoch, and of the Augustan age. Idea of a kind of Tragedy peculiarly Roman, but which never was realized. Why the Romans were never particularly happy in Tragic Art. Seneca.

IN treating of the Dramatic Literature of the Romans, whose Theatre is every way immediately attached to that of the Greeks, we have only to remark, properly speaking, one vast chasm, partly arising from the want of proper creative genius in this department, partly from the loss of almost all their written performances, with the exception only of a few fragments. The only extant works of the good classical age are those of Plautus and Terence, of whom I have already spoken as imitators of the Greeks.

Poetry in general had no native growth in Rome. It was not till those later times, in which the original Rome, by aping foreign manners, was drawing nigh to her dissolution, that poetry came to be artificially cultivated among the other devices of luxurious living. In the Latin we have an instance of a language modelled into poetical expression, altogether after foreign forms of grammar and metre. This approximation to the Greek was at first effected with much violence: the Græcism extended even to rude interpolation of foreign words and phrases. Gradually the poetic style was softened: of its former harshness we may perceive in Catullus the last vestiges, which however are not without a certain rugged charm. The language rejected those syntactical constructions, and especially the compounds, which were too much at variance with its own interior structure, and could not be lastingly agreeable to Roman ears; and at last the poets of the Augustan age succeeded in effecting the happiest possible incorporation between the native and the borrowed elements. But scarcely was the desired equipoise obtained, when a pause ensued: all free development was impeded, and the poetical style, notwithstanding its apparent elevation into a bolder and more learned character, had irretrievably imprisoned itself within the round of the phraseology it had once adopted. Thus the Latin language in poetry enjoyed but a brief interval of bloom between its unfashioned state and its second death. With the spirit also of their poetry it fared no better.

It was not by the desire to enliven their holiday leisure by exhibitions, which bear away one's thoughts from the real world, that the Romans were led to the invention of theatrical amusements; but in the disconsolateness of a dreary pestilence, against

which all remedies seemed unavailing, they first caught at the theatrical spectacle, as an experiment to propitiate the wrath of the gods, the exercises and games of the circus having till then been their only public exhibitions. But the *Histriones*, whom for this purpose they called in from Etruria, were only dancers, and probably not mimetic dancers, but merely such as endeavoured to amuse by the adroitness of their movements. Their oldest spoken dramas, those which were called the *Atellane Fables*<sup>1</sup>, the Romans borrowed from the Oscans, the original inhabitants of Italy. With these *Saturæ* (so called because they were at first improvisatory farces, without dramatic coherence, for *Satura* means a *medley*) they rested satisfied till Livius Andronicus, more than five hundred years after the building of Rome, began to imitate the Greeks, and introduced the regular kinds of drama, namely, Tragedy, and New Comedy, for the Old was from its nature incapable of being transplanted.

Thus the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for the first notion of the stage-spectacle, to the Oscans for the effusions of sportive humour, to the Greeks for a higher cultivation. In the comic department, however, they showed more original genius than in Tragedy. The Oscans, whose language, early extinct, survived only in those farces, were at least so near akin to the Romans, that their dialect was immediately intelligible to Latin hearers: for how else could the *Atellane Fables* have afforded them any entertainment? So completely indeed did they naturalize this diversion among themselves, that noble Roman youths exhibited the like performances at the festivals: on which account the actors, whose regular profession it was to exhibit the *Atellane Fables*, stood exempt, as privileged persons, from the infamy attached to other theatrical artists, namely, exclusion from the tribes, and likewise enjoyed an immunity from military service.

Moreover the Romans had their own *Mimes*. The unlatin name of these little pieces certainly seems to imply an affinity to the Greek *Mimes*; but in their form they differed considerably from these, and doubtless they had local truth of manners, and the matter was not borrowed from Greek exhibitions.

It is singular, that Italy has possessed from of old the gift of a very amusing though somewhat rude buffoonery, in extemporaneous speeches and songs with accompanying antics, though it has seldom been coupled with genuine dramatic taste. The latter assertion might easily be justified by examination of what has been achieved in that country in the higher departments of the drama down to the most recent times. The former might be substantiated by many characteristic traits, which at present would carry us too far from our subject into the Saturnalia and the like. Even of the wit which prevails in the speeches of Pasquino and Marforio, and the well-aimed popular satire on events of the day, many vestiges may be found even in the times of the emperors, who were not generally favourable to such liberties. More to our present purpose is the conjecture, that in the *Mimes* and *Atellane Fables* we perhaps have the earliest germ of the *Commedia dell' Arte*, of the improvisatory farce with standing masks. A striking affinity between these and the *Atellanes* appears in the employment of dialects to produce a droll effect. But how would Harlequin and Pulcinello be astonished to learn that they descend in a straight line from the buffoons of the old Romans, nay, of the Oscans<sup>2</sup>! How merrily would they thank the antiquarian who should trace their glorious genealogical tree to such a root! From the Greek vase-paintings, we know that there belonged to the grotesque masks of the

<sup>1</sup> [On the *Atellanae*, see *Varronianus*, pp. 156 foll. ed. III.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Varronian*. p. 163; above, p. 258.]

Old Comedy a garb very much resembling theirs: long trousers, and a doublet with sleeves, articles of dress otherwise strange both to Greeks and Romans. To this day, *Zanni* is one of Harlequin's names; and *Sannio* in the Latin farces was the name of a buffoon, who, as ancient writers testify, had his head shorn, and wore a dress pieced together out of gay party-coloured patches. The very image and likeness of Pulcinello is said to have been found among the fresco-paintings of Pompeii. If he derives his extraction originally from Atella, he has his local habitation still pretty much in the old land of his nativity. As for the objection, how these characters could be traditionally kept up notwithstanding a suspension of all theatrical amusements for many centuries together, a sufficient answer may be found in the yearly licences of the carnival, and the fools'-holidays of the middle ages.

The Greek mimes were dialogues written in prose, and not intended for the stage. Those of the Romans were composed in verse, were acted, and often delivered extempore. The most famous authors in this department were *Laberius* and *Syrus*, contemporaries of Julius Cæsar. He, as dictator, by his courtly request compelled Laberius, a Roman knight, to exhibit himself publicly in his mimes, though the scenic profession was branded with the loss of civil rights. Laberius made his complaint of this in a prologue which is still extant, and in which the painful feeling of annihilated self-respect is nobly and touchingly expressed. It is not easy to conceive how in such a state of mind he could be capable of cracking ludicrous jokes, and how the audience, with so bitter an example of a despotic act of degradation before their eyes, could find pleasure in them. Cæsar kept his word: he gave Laberius a considerable sum of money, and invested him anew with the equestrian rank, which however could not reinstate him in the opinion of his fellow-citizens. But he took his revenge for the prologue and other allusions<sup>1</sup>, by awarding the prize against Laberius to Syrus, once the slave, and afterwards the freedman and pupil of Laberius in the art of composing mimes. Of Syrus's mimes there are still extant a number of sentences, which in matter and terse conciseness of expression deserve to be ranked with Menander's. Some of them even transcend the moral horizon of serious Comedy itself, and assume an almost stoic sublimity. How could the transition be effected from vulgar jokes to such sentiments as these? And how could such maxims be at all introduced, without a development of human relations as considerable as that exhibited in the perfect Comedy? At all events, they are calculated to give one a very favourable idea of the mimes. Horace indeed speaks disparagingly of Laberius' mimes, considered as works of art, either on account of the arbitrary manner in which they were put together, or their carelessness of execution. Yet this ought not of itself to determine our judgment against them, for this critical poet, for reasons which it is easy to conceive, lays much greater stress upon the diligent use of the file, than upon original boldness and fertility of invention. A single entire mime, which time however has unfortunately denied us, would clear up the matter much better than the confused notices of grammarians, and the conjectures of modern scholars.

The regular Comedy of the Romans was mostly *palliata*, that is, exhibited in the Grecian costume, and representing Grecian manners. This is the case with all the Comedies of Plautus and Terence. But they had also a *Comædia togata*, so called from the Roman garb, usually worn in it. *Afranius* is mentioned as the most famous

<sup>1</sup> What an inward humiliation for Cæsar, could he have foreseen, that after a few generations, his successor in the despotism, Nero, out of a lust for self-dishonour, would expose himself repeatedly to infamy in the same manner as he, the first despot, had exposed a Roman of the middle order, not without exciting general indignation!

author in this way. Of these Comedies we have nothing whatever remaining, and find so few notices on the subject, that we cannot even decide with certainty, whether the *togatae* were original Comedies of home growth, or only Grecian Comedies recast with Roman manners. The last is more probable, as Afranius lived in the older epoch, when Roman genius had not even begun to stir its wings towards original invention; and yet on the other hand it is not easy to conceive how the Attic Comedies could have been adapted, without great violence, to a locality so entirely different. The tenour of Roman life was in general earnest and grave, though in personal intercourse they had no small turn for wit and joviality. The difference of ranks among the Romans had its political boundaries very strongly marked, the wealth of private persons was often almost regal; their women lived much more in society, and played a much more important part there than the Grecian women did; by virtue of which independence they also took their full share in the profligacy which went hand-in-hand with exterior refinement. The differences being so essential, an original Roman Comedy would be a remarkable phenomenon, and one that would exhibit this sovereign nation in quite a new point of view. That this was not effected in the *Comœdia togata*, is proved by the indifference with which the ancients express themselves on the subject. Quintilian does not scruple to say, that Latin literature limps worst in Comedy. This is his expression, word for word.

To come to Tragedy; we must remark in the first place, that in Rome, the acting of the borrowed Greek Tragedy was considerably dislocated by the circumstance, that there was no place for the Chorus in the Orchestra, where the principal spectators, the Knights and Senators, had their seats: the Chorus therefore appeared on the stage. Here then was the very incongruity, which we alleged as an objection to the modern attempts to introduce the Chorus. Other deviations also, scarcely for the better, from the Greek style of acting, were favourably received. At the very first introduction of regular plays, Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth and Rome's first tragic poet and actor, in his monodies (viz. those lyric parts which were to be sung by a single person and not by the Chorus) separated the song from the mimetic dance, only the latter being left to the actor, while the singing part was performed by a boy stationed beside the flute-player. Among the Greeks in their better times, both the tragic song and the rhythmical gesticulation which accompanied it were certainly so simple, that a single individual might do ample justice to both. But the Romans, it seems, preferred isolated excellence to harmonious union. Hence, at a later period, their avidity for the pantomimes, which attained to great perfection in the times of Augustus. To judge from the names of the most famous performers in this kind, *e. g.* Pylades and Bathyllus, it was by Greeks that this dumb eloquence was exercised in Rome, and the lyric parts, which were expressed by their gesticulative dance, were delivered in Greek. Lastly, Roscius, and probably not he alone, frequently played without a mask: of which procedure there never was an instance, so far as we know, among the Greeks. It might further the display of his art; and here again, the satisfaction which this gave the Romans proves, that they had more taste for the disproportionately conspicuous talent of a virtuoso, than for the harmonious impression of a work of art considered as a whole.

In the Tragic Literature of the Romans, two epochs may be distinguished; the older epoch of Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, also of Pacuvius and Attius, both which last flourished awhile later than Plautus and Terence; and the polished epoch of the Augustan age. The former produced none but translators and remodellers of Greek works, yet probably succeeded better and with more fidelity in the tragic than

in the comic department. Sublimity of expression is apt to turn out somewhat awkwardly in an untutored language; it may be reached, however, by an effort; but to hit off the careless gracefulness of social wit requires natural humour and fine cultivation. We do not possess (any more than in the case of Plautus and Terence) even a fragment of a version from an *extant* Greek original, to help us to a judgment of the accuracy and general success of the copy; but a speech of some length from Attius' *Prometheus Unbound* is nowise unworthy of Æschylus; its metre<sup>1</sup> also is much more careful than that of the Latin comedians usually is. This earlier style was brought to great perfection by Pacuvius and Attius, whose pieces seem to have stood their ground alone on the tragic stage in Cicero's times and even later, and to have had many admirers. Horace directs his jealous criticism against these, as he does against all the other more ancient poets.

The contemporaries of Augustus made it their ambition to compete with the Greeks in a more original manner; not with equal success, however, in all departments. The rage for attempts at Tragedy was particularly great; works of this kind by the Emperor himself are mentioned. There is therefore much to favour the conjecture, that Horace wrote his *Epistle to the Pisos*, principally with a view of deterring these young men, who, perhaps without any true call to such a task, were bitten by the mania of the day, from so critical an undertaking. One of the chief tragedians of this age was the famous *Asinius Pollio*, a man of a violently impassioned character, as Pliny says, and who was partial to the same character in works of fine art. He it was who brought with him from Rhodes and set up in Rome the well-known group of the Farnese Bull. If his Tragedies bore but about the same relation to those of Sophocles, as this bold, wild, but somewhat overwrought group does to the still sublimity of the Niobe, their loss is still very much to be lamented. But Pollio's political greatness might easily dazzle the eyes of his contemporaries as to the true value of his poetical works. Ovid tried his hand upon Tragedy, as he did upon so many other kinds of poetry, and composed a *Medea*. To judge from the drivelling common-places of passion in his *Heroides*, one would expect of him, in Tragedy, at best an overdrawn Euripides. Yet Quintilian asserts, that here he showed for once what he might have accomplished, if he had but kept himself within bounds, rather than give way to his propensity to extravagance.

These and all the other tragic attempts of the Augustan age have perished. We cannot exactly estimate the extent of our loss, but to all appearance it is not extraordinarily great. In the first place, the Greek Tragedy laboured there under the disadvantage of all transplanted exotics: the Roman worship indeed was in some measure allied to that of the Greeks (though not nearly so identical with it as many suppose), but the heroic mythology of the Greeks was altogether indebted to the poets for its introduction into Rome, and was in no respect interwoven with the national recollections, as it was in such a multitude of ways among the Greeks. There hovers before my mind's eye the Ideal of a genuine Roman form of Tragedy, dimly indeed and in the back-ground of ages, as one would figure to one's-self a being, that never issued into reality from the womb of possibility. In significance and form, it would

<sup>1</sup> But in what metres may we suppose these tragedians to have translated the Greek Choral Odes? Pindar's lyric metres, which have so much resemblance to the tragic, Horace declares to be *inimitable* in Latin. Probably the labyrinthine structure of the Choral Strophes was never attempted: indeed neither Roman language nor Roman ears were calculated for it. Seneca's Tragedies never take a higher flight from the anapests, than to a Sapphic or choriambic verse, the monotonous reiteration of which is very disagreeable.

be altogether distinct from that of the Greeks, and religious and patriotic in the old-Roman sense of the words. Truly creative poetry can only issue from the interior life of a people, and from religion, which is the root of that life. But the Roman religion was originally, and before they endeavoured to conceal the loss of its intrinsic substance by varnishing its outside with borrowed finery, of quite a different spirit from the religion of the Greeks. The latter had all the plastic flexibility of Art, the other the unchangeable fixity of the Priesthood. The Roman Faith, and the ceremonies established on it, were more earnest, more moral, and pious,—more penetrating in their insight into Nature, more magical and mysterious than the Grecian Religion—than that part of it at least which was exoteric to the mysteries. As the Grecian Tragedy exhibits the free man struggling with destiny, so the spirit of a Roman Tragedy would be the prostration of all human motives beneath that hallowing binding force, *Religio*<sup>1</sup>, and its revealed omnipresence in all things earthly. But when the craving for poetry of a cultivated character awoke in them, this spirit had long been extinct. The Patricians, originally an Etruscan school of priesthood, had become merely secular statesmen and warriors, who retained their hereditary sacerdotal character only as a political form. Their sacred books, their Vedas, were become unintelligible to them, not so much by reason of the obsolete letter, as because they no longer possessed that higher science which was the key to the sanctuary. What the heroic legends of the Latins might have become under an earlier development, and what the colouring was that properly belonged to them, we may still see from some traces in Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, though even these poets handled them only as matters of antiquarian interest.

Moreover, though the Romans now at last were for hellenizing in all things, they wanted that milder spirit of humanity which may be traced in Grecian History, Poetry, and Art, from the Homeric age downwards. From the severest virtue, which, Curtius-like, buried all personal inclinations in the bosom of native land, they passed with fearful rapidity to an equally unexampled profligacy of rapacity and lust. Never were they able to belie in their character the story of their first founder, suckled, not at the mother's breast, but by a ravening she-wolf. They were the Tragedians of the World's History, and many a drama of deep woe did they exhibit with kings led in fetters and pining in the dungeon: they were the iron necessity of all other nations; the universal destroyers for the sake of piling up at last from the ruins the mausoleum of their own dignity and freedom, amid the monotonous solitude of an obedient world. To them it was not given to touch the heart by the tempered accents of mental anguish, and to run with a light and forbearing hand through the scale of the feelings. In Tragedy, too, they naturally aimed at extremes, by overleaping all intermediate gradations, both in the stoicism of heroic courage, and in the monstrous rage of abandoned lusts. Of all their ancient greatness nothing remained to them save only the defiance of pain and death, if need were that they should exchange for these a life of unbridled enjoyment. This seal, accordingly, of their own former nobility they stamped upon their tragic heroes with a self-complacent and vain-glorious profusion.

Lastly, in the age of cultivated Literature, the dramatic poets, in the midst of a people fond of spectacle, even to madness, nevertheless wanted a public for Poetry. In their triumphal processions, their gladiatorial games and beast-fights, all the magnificence in the world, all the marvels of foreign climes were led before the eye of

<sup>1</sup> [Schlegel adopts the old, but incorrect derivation of *relligio* from *reliigare*; see *Varron*, p. 482.]



the spectator; he was glutted with the most violent scenes of blood. On nerves thus steeled what effect could be produced by the finer gradations of tragic pathos? It was the ambition of the grandees to display to the people, in a single day, the enormous spoil of foreign or civil wars, on stages which were generally destroyed immediately after the use so made of them. What Pliny relates of the architectural decorations of that erected by Scaurus borders on the incredible. When pomp could be carried no further, they tried to stimulate by novelty of mechanic contrivance. Thus a Roman at his father's funeral solemnity had two theatres built with their backs resting on each other, each moveable on a single pivot in the middle, in such a manner, that at the end of the play they were wheeled round with all the spectators sitting in them, and formed into a circus, in which games of gladiators were exhibited. In the gratification of the eyes that of the ears was wholly swallowed up: rope-dances and white elephants were preferred to every kind of dramatic entertainment; the embroidered purple robe of the actor, Horace tells us, was received with a general clapping, and so far from attentive and quiet was the great mass of the people, that he compares their noise to the roar of the ocean or of a forest-covered mountain in a storm.

Only one specimen of the talents of the Romans for Tragedy has come down to us; but it would be unfair to form a judgment from this of the lost works of better times: I mean, the ten Tragedies which pass under the name of *Seneca*. Their claim to his name seems to be very ambiguous: perhaps it is grounded only on a circumstance which ought rather to have led to a contrary conclusion, viz. that Seneca himself is one of the dramatis personæ in one of them, the *Octavia*. The learned are divided in their opinions on the subject. Some assign them partly to the philosopher, partly to his father the rhetorician: others assume the existence of a poet Seneca distinct from both. In this point all are agreed, that the plays are not all from one hand, but belong to different ages even. For the honour of Roman taste, one would fain hold them to be after-births of a very late æra of antiquity: but Quintilian quotes a verse from the *Medea*<sup>1</sup>, which we actually find in the extant piece of that name, so that the plea will not hold good for this play, which seems, however, to be no great deal better than the rest. We find also in Lucan, a contemporary of Nero, the very same style of bombast, which distorts every thing great into nonsense. The state of constant outrage in which Rome was kept by a series of blood-thirsty tyrants, led to similar outrages upon nature in rhetoric and poetry. The same phenomenon has been observed in similar epochs of modern history. Under the wise and mild government of a Vespasian and a Titus, and still more of a Trajan, the Romans returned to a purer taste. But to whatever age these Tragedies of Seneca may belong, they are beyond all description bombastic and frigid, utterly devoid of nature in character and action, full of the most revolting violations of propriety, and so barren of all theatrical effect, that I verily believe they were never meant to leave the schools of the rhetoricians for the stage. With the old Tragedies, those highest of the creations of Grecian poetical genius, these have nothing in common but the name, the exterior form, and the mythological matter: and yet they set themselves up beside them in the evident intention of surpassing them, in which attempt they come off like a hollow hyperbole

<sup>1</sup> The author of this *Medea* makes his heroine strangle her children *coram populo*, in spite of Horace's warning, who probably when he uttered it had a Roman example before his eyes, for a Greek would hardly have committed this error. The Roman tragedians must have had a particular lust for novelty and effect to seek them in such atrocities.



contrasted with a most heartfelt truth. Every common-place of Tragedy is worried out to the last gasp; all is phrase, among which even the simplest is forced and stilted. An utter poverty of mind is tricked out with wit and acuteness. They have fancy too, or at least a phantom of it; of the abuse of that faculty, one may look to these plays for a speaking example. Their persons are neither ideal nor real men, but misshapen giants of puppets; and the wire that sets them a-going is at one time an unnatural heroism, at another a passion alike unnatural, which no atrocity of guilt can appal.

In a history, therefore, of Dramatic Art, I might have wholly passed by the Tragedies of Seneca, but that the blind prejudice in favour of all that remains to us from antiquity has attracted many imitators to these compositions. They were earlier and more generally known than the Greek Tragedies. Not merely scholars destitute of poetical taste have judged favourably of them, nay, have preferred them to the Greek Tragedies, but even poets have deemed them worth studying. The influence of Seneca on Corneille's notion of Tragedy is too plain to be overlooked; Racine has deigned to borrow a good deal from him in his *Phædra* (as may be seen in Brumoy's enumeration), and nearly the whole of the scene in which the heroine declares her passion.

And here we close our disquisitions on the productions of Classical Antiquity.

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A LIST of some of the Works, relating, in part at least,  
to the Greek Drama, which have been referred to in  
the preceding pages.

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R. Bentley.	Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris . . . . .	<i>London,</i>	1699
A. Böckh.	Stattshaushaltung der Athener. . . . .	<i>Berlin,</i>	1817
—————	translated by G. C. Lewis . . . . .	<i>London,</i>	1828, and 1842
—————	Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum . . . . .	<i>Berolini,</i>	1828
—————	De Græcæ Tragœdiæ Principibus . . . . .	<i>Heidelberg,</i>	1817
H. F. Clinton.	Fasti Hellenici . . . . .	<i>Oxford,</i>	1827-34
O. F. Gruppe.	Ariadne . . . . .	<i>Berlin,</i>	1834
K. O. Müller.	Eumeniden . . . . .	<i>Göttingen,</i>	1833-6
Museum Criticum . . . . .		<i>Cambridge,</i>	1826
Philological Museum . . . . .		<i>Ibid.</i>	1832-3
Schneider.	De Originibus Tragœdiæ et Comœdiæ . . . . .	<i>Vratislaviæ,</i>	1817
Rötscher.	Aristophanes und sein Zeitalter . . . . .	<i>Berlin,</i>	1827
J. W. Süvern.	Über Aristophanes Wolken . . . . .	<i>Ibid.</i>	1826
—————	Über Aristophanes Alter . . . . .	<i>Ibid.</i>	1827
—————	On the Birds of Aristophanes, translated by W. R. Hamilton . . . . .	<i>London,</i>	1835
F. G. Welcker.	Die Æschylische Trilogie . . . . .	<i>Darmstadt,</i>	1824
—————	Nachtrag zu demselben . . . . .	<i>Frankfurt am Main,</i>	1826
—————	Der Epische Cyclus . . . . .	<i>Bonn,</i>	1835
A. Meineke.	Historia Critica Comicorum Græcorum, cum Fragmentis . . . . .	<i>Berolini,</i>	1839-41
K. O. Müller.	History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, translated by G. C. Lewis and J. W. Donaldson. . . . .	<i>London,</i>	1840-2;
	new and complete edition . . . . .	<i>London,</i>	1858 <sup>1</sup>
G. Bernhardt.	Grundriss der Griechischen Literatur, zweiter Theil . . . . .	<i>Halle,</i>	1845
A. Schönborn.	Die Skene der Hellenen . . . . .	<i>Leipsig,</i>	1858
W. H. Kolster.	Sophokleische Studien . . . . .	<i>Hamburg,</i>	1859
F. Wieseler.	Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern . . . . .	<i>Göttingen,</i>	1851

<sup>1</sup> The paging of both editions of Müller's own part of the book is given for the convenience of those who do not possess the complete work in three volumes.

## **PART II.**

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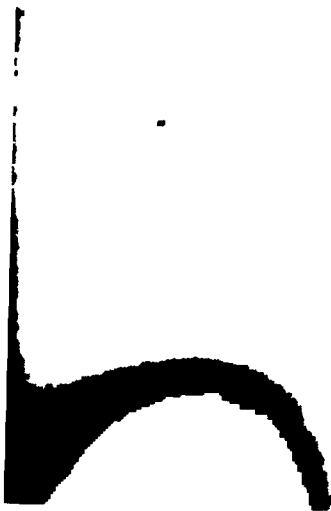
**EXTRACTS FROM ARISTOTLE, VITRUVIUS,  
AND JULIUS POLLUX.**

**(I.)**

**ARISTOTLE'S TREATISE ON POETRY.**

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**TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.**



## . INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THERE can be no doubt that this celebrated treatise on poetry, which, as I have elsewhere remarked<sup>1</sup>, was accepted as a sort of critical gospel at the very time when Aristotle's philosophical reputation was at its lowest point, is both incomplete and interpolated in the existing text<sup>2</sup>. With regard to its incompleteness, this might be inferred from the description of the work given by the author himself, at the very beginning; for he leads us to expect (1) a discussion of poetry in general, which we find in the first five chapters of the existing text; (2) a complete theory of Tragedy, which we find in chapters 6—22; (3) the doctrine of epic poetry, which occupies the conclusion of the fragment which has come down to us; and we ought then to have a discussion of comic and lyric poetry, which are both missing. If it is supposed that Aristotle never fulfilled his intentions, but left the work unfinished, it is sufficient to answer that the treatise on poetry is not one of the latest of Aristotle's works, for he refers to it in the third book of his *Rhetoric* (III. 18, § 7), and that too with respect to the nature of the ludicrous (*περὶ τῶν γελοίων*), which must have been discussed in the last part of the work where he treated of Comedy. In the lists of Aristotle's works given by Diogenes (v. 21—27), and the anonymous writer quoted by Menage (pp. 65—67, Buhle), there is a distinct reference to two books of the *Poetic*, and it would not be unreasonable to conclude that only the first has been preserved. That the book, as we have it, is not only a fragment, but is also corrupted by interpolations or scholia which have crept into the text,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Greek Literature*, Vol. II. p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> See Spengel, *Munich Transactions*, 1837, II. pp. 209 sqq.; and F. Ritter's edition of the tract, *Coloniæ*, 1839.

can hardly be doubted by any reader who is acquainted with Aristotle's style and method. For example, it is obvious that the grammatical details in chapters XX. and XXI. are not in the style of Aristotle, and with regard to the former, where eight parts of speech are enumerated, we have the express statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Compositione Verborum*, c. 2, init.; *de Præstantia Demosthenis*, p. 1101), and of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* I. 4, § 18), that Aristotle and Theodectes reckoned only three parts of speech. In the following translation I have indicated by brackets those passages which Ritter regards as interpolations, but I do not think that there is in every case an equally good reason for the ejection of the clause.

J. W. D.

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(I.)

# ARISTOTLE'S TREATISE ON POETRY.

VINING'S TRANSLATION; WITH OCCASIONAL CORRECTIONS AND NOTES ON  
THE ORIGINAL TEXT.)

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## A. General Introduction.

The design is to treat of Poetry in general, and of its several species; to inquire what is the proper *effect* of each; what construction of a *plot*, is essential to a good poem; of *what*, and *how many* parts, a species consists; with whatever else belongs to the same subject; I shall consider in the order that most naturally presents itself

Cap. i.  
Bekker.  
Design of  
the work.  
Different  
kinds of  
poetry.

ἐν οἷς κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων).

As to epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambics, as also, for the most part, the music of the flute and of the lyre; all these are, in the most general view of them, *Imitations* (οὔσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον): differing, however, from each other in *three* respects, according to the different objects, or the different *manner*, of their imitation. As men, some through art, and some through habit, imitate objects, by means of *colour* and *figure* [and others again by *sound*; so with respect to the arts above-mentioned, *rhythm*, *words*, and *melody* (ῥυθμός, λόγος, ἀρμονία), are the different *means* by which, single or variously combined, they all produce their imitation. For example: in the imitations of the flute and the lyre, and of any instruments capable of producing a similar effect, as the *syrinx* or *melody* and *rhythm* only are employed. In those of dance, *rhythm* without *melody*, for there are dancers who, by rhythm applied to the body, express manners, passions and actions.

1. Means of  
imitation.

The Epopœia imitates by *words alone*, or by *verse*, and that verse is either composed of various metres, or confined, according to the

usages inclosed within brackets are supposed to be interpolations.—J. W. D.



practice hitherto established, to a single species. For we should otherwise have no *general* name, which would comprehend the *Mimes* of Sophron and Xenarchus, and the *Socratic Dialogues*; or poems in iambic, elegiac, or other metres, in which the *epic* species of imitation may be conveyed. Custom, indeed, connecting the word ποιῆν, "to make," with the *name* of the *metre* employed, has denominated some *elegiac poets*, i. e. *makers of elegiac verse*; others, *epic poets*, i. e. *makers of hexameter verse*: thus distinguishing poets, not according to the nature of their *imitation*, but according to that of their *metre* only. For even they who compose treatises on medicine, or natural philosophy, in *verse*, are denominated *Poets*: yet Homer and Empedocles have nothing in common, except their metre; the former, therefore, justly merits the name of *Poet*; while the other should rather be called a *Physiologist* than a *Poet*.

So also, though any one should choose to convey his imitation in every kind of metre, promiscuously, as Chærêmon has done in his *Centaure*, which is a medley of all sorts of verse, it would not immediately follow, that on *that* account merely he was entitled to the name of *Poet*. —But of this enough.

There are, again, other species of poetry, which make use of *all* the means of imitation, *rhythm*, *melody*, and *verse*. Such are the *dithyrambic*, that of *nomes*, *tragedy*, and *comedy*: with this difference, however, that in some of these they are employed *all together*, in others, *separately*. And such are the differences of these arts with respect to the *means* by which they imitate.

Cap. II.

2. Objects of Imitation.

But, as the *objects* of imitation are the actions of *men* (ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας), and these men must of necessity be either good or bad (for on this does *character* principally depend; the *manners* being in *all* men most strongly marked by virtue and vice), it follows that we can only represent men either as *better* than they actually are, or *worse*, or exactly *as* they are: just as, in *painting*, the pictures of *Polygnotus* were above the common level of nature; those of *Pausan*, below it; those of *Dionysius*, faithful *likenesses*.

Now it is evident that each of the imitations above-mentioned will admit of these differences, and become a different kind of imitation, as it imitates *objects* that differ in this respect. This may be the case with *dancing*; with the music of the flute, and of the lyre; and, also, with the poetry which employs *words*, or *verse*, only, without *melody* or *rhythm*: thus, *Homer* has drawn men *superior* to what they are; *Cleophon*, as they are; *Hegemon* the Thasian, the inventor of parodies, and *Nicochares*, the author of the *Deiade*, *worse* than they are.

So, again, with respect to *dithyrambics* and *nomes*: in these, too, the imitation may be as different as that of the Persians by *Timotheus*, and the Cyclops by *Philoxenus*.

*Tragedy* also, and *Comedy*, are distinguished in the same manner; the aim of Comedy being to exhibit men *worse* than we find them, that of Tragedy, *better*.

There remains the *third* difference, that of the *manner* in which each of these objects may be imitated. For the poet, imitating the *same* object, and by the *same means*, may do it either in *narration*; and that, again, either personating other characters [as Homer does], or in his own person throughout, without change: or he may imitate by representing all his characters as real, and employed in the very *action* itself. Cap. III.  
3. Manner of imitation.

These, then, are the three differences by which all imitation is distinguished; those of the *means*, the *object*, and the *manner* (ἐν οἷς τε, καὶ ᾧ, καὶ ὡς): so that *Sophocles* is, in one respect, an imitator of the same kind with *Homer*, as elevated characters are the *objects* of both; in another respect, of the same kind with *Aristophanes*, as both imitate in the *way* of action. [Whence, according to some, the application of the term *Drama*, i. e. *action*, to such poems. Upon this it is that the *Dorians* ground their claim to the invention both of Tragedy and Comedy. For Comedy is claimed by the Megarians, both by those of Greece, who contend that it took its rise in their popular government; and by those of Sicily, among whom the poet *Epicharmus* flourished long before *Chionides* and *Mugnes*; and Tragedy, also, is claimed by some of the Dorians of the Peloponnese.—In support of these claims, they argue from the *words* themselves. They allege that the Doric word for a *village* is Κῶμη, the Attic Δῆμος; and that *Comedians* were so called, not from κωμάζειν, *to revel*, but from their strolling about the κῶμαι, or *villages*, before they were tolerated in the city. They say, further, that *to do*, or *act*, they express by the word δράν: the Athenians, by πράττειν.]

And thus much as to the differences of imitation (μίμησις), how *many*, and *what* they are.

Poetry, in general, seems to have derived its origin from two *causes*, each of them *natural*. Cap. IV.  
Origin of poetry in general and of Tragedy in particular.

1. To *Imitate* is instinctive in man from his infancy. By this he is distinguished from other animals, that he is, of all, the most imitative, and through this instinct receives his earliest education. All men, likewise, naturally receive pleasure from imitation. This is evident from what we experience in viewing the works of imitative art; for in

them we contemplate with pleasure, and with the more pleasure the more exactly they are imitated, such objects as, if real, we could not see without pain, as the figures of the meanest and most disgusting animals, dead bodies, and the like. And the reason of this is, that to *learn* is a very great pleasure, not confined to philosophers, but common to all men; with this difference only, that the multitude partake of it in a more transient and compendious manner. Hence the pleasure they receive from a picture; in viewing it, they *learn*, they *infer*, they *discover*, what every object is; that *this*, for instance, is such a particular man, &c. For if we suppose the object represented to be something which the spectator had never seen, in that case his pleasure will not arise from the *imitation*, as such<sup>1</sup>, but from the workmanship, the colours, or some such cause.

2. Imitation, then, being thus natural to us; and, secondly, *Harmony* and *Rhythm* being also natural (for as to *metres*, they are plainly comprised in rhythm), those persons, in whom originally these propensities were the strongest, were naturally led to rude and extemporaneous attempts, which, gradually improved, gave birth to Poetry.

But this Poetry, following the different *characters* of its authors, naturally divided itself into *two* different *kinds*. They who were of a grave and lofty spirit chose for their imitation the actions and adventures of *elevated* characters; while poets of a *lighter* turn represented those of the *vicious* and *contemptible*. And these composed, originally, *Satires*, as the former did *Hymns* and *Encomia*.

Of the *lighter* kind, we have no poem anterior to the time of Homer, though many such, in all probability, there were; but *from* his time, we have: as, his *Margites*, and others of the same species, in which the Iambic was introduced as the most proper measure; and hence, indeed, the name of *Iambic*, because it was the measure in which they used to *satirize* each other (*ἰαμβίζειν*).

And thus these old poets were divided into two classes—those who used the *heroic*, and those who used the *iambic* verse.

And as, in the *serious* kind, Homer alone may be said to deserve the name of *poet*, not only on account of his other excellencies, but also of the *dramatic* spirit of his imitations; so was he likewise the first who suggested the idea of *Comedy*, by substituting *ridicule* for *invective*, and giving that ridicule a *dramatic* cast; for his *Margites* bears the same analogy to Comedy, as his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Tragedy. But when Tragedy and Comedy had once made their appearance, succeeding poets, according to the turn of their genius, attached themselves to the

<sup>1</sup> Ritter proposes to read οὐχὶ μίμημα ἢ μίμημα.—J. W. D.

one or the other of these new species. The *lighter* sort, instead of *Iambic*, became *Comic* poets; the *graver*, *Tragic*, instead of *Heroic*: and that on account of the superior dignity and higher estimation of these latter *forms* (σχήματα) of Poetry.

Whether Tragedy has now, with respect to its constituent parts, received the utmost improvement of which it is capable, considered both in itself, and relatively to the theatre, is a question that belongs not to this place.

Both Tragedy, however, and Comedy, having originated in a rude and unpremeditated manner—the first from the leaders in the *Dithyrambic* hymns, the other from those who led off the *Phallic* songs, which, in many cities, remain still in use—each advanced gradually towards perfection by successive improvements, as it successively manifested itself (κατὰ μικρὸν ἠϋξήθη, προαγόντων ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερόν αὐτῆς).

Tragedy, after various changes (πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγωδία), reposed at length in the completion of its proper form. *Æschylus* first added a second actor: he also abridged the chorus, and made the dialogue the principal part of Tragedy. *Sophocles* increased the number of actors to three, and added the decoration of painted scenery. It was also late before Tragedy threw aside the short and simple *fable*, and ludicrous *language* of its satyric origin, and attained its proper magnitude and dignity. The *Iambic* measure was then first adopted: for, originally, the *Trochaic tetrameter* was made use of, on account of the satyric and saltatorial genius of the poem at that time (διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποιήσιν): but when the dialogue was formed, nature itself pointed out the proper metre. For the *iambic* is, of all metres, the most colloquial (μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικόν ἐστι): as appears evidently from this fact, that our common conversation frequently falls into *iambic* verse; seldom into *hexameter*, and only when we depart from the usual *harmony* of speech. *Episodes* were also multiplied, and every other part of the drama successively improved and polished.

But of this enough: to enter into a minute detail would perhaps be a task of some length.

Comedy, as was said before, is an imitation of bad characters: bad, Cap. v. not with respect to every sort of vice, but to the *ridiculous* only, as Comedy and Epic poetry. being a *species* of turpitude or deformity; since it may be defined to be —a *fault* or *deformity* of such sort as is neither *painful* nor *destructive* (τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἀμάρτημά τι—καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν). A ridiculous *face*, for example, is something ugly and distorted, but not so as to *cause pain*.

The successive improvements of Tragedy, and the respective authors of them, have not escaped our knowledge; but those of Comedy, from the little attention that was paid to it in its origin, remain in obscurity. For it was not till late that Comedy was authorized by the magistrate, and carried on at the public expense: it was, at first, a private and voluntary exhibition. From the time, indeed, when it began to acquire some degree of form its poets have been recorded; but who first introduced masks or dialogues, or augmented the number of actors—these and other particulars of the same kind, are unknown.

*Philostratus* and *Phorbus* were the first who *invented* comic fables. This may therefore be of *Sicilian* origin. But, of *Athenian* poets, *Cratinus* was the first who abandoned the *Iambic* type\*, and introduced dialogues and plots of a general character (*ἤρξεν ἀφόμενος τῆς λυγρῆς καὶ ἰαμβικῆς ποίεως καὶ μύθους*).

*Comic* poetry agrees so far with *Tragic*†, as it is an imitation of some action; but in this it differs, that it makes use of a single metre, and is confined to narration. It also differs in *length*: for Tragedy at least tries as far as possible, to confine its action within the limits of a single revolution of the sun, or nearly so; but the time of *Comic* action is indefinite. This however, at first was equally the case with Tragedy itself.

In their constituent parts, some are common to both, some peculiar to Tragedy. He therefore, who is a judge of the beauties and defects of Tragedy, is at once equally a judge with respect to those of Epic poetry: for all the parts of the Epic poem are to be found in Tragedy; so all those of Tragedy in the Epic poem.

### R. *Tragedy.*

Of the species of poetry which imitates in *hexameters*, and of which we shall speak hereafter. Let us now consider *Tragedy*; retaining now that which has been already said, its true and essential imitation. Tragedy then is an imitation of an *action* that is important and full of a proper *complication*—by *language* embellished and rendered plain, but by different *means*, in different parts—in the way, not of *narration*, but of *action*—effecting, through *pity* and *terror*, the *purification* and *catharsis* of such passions. (Ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μιμήτης ἐν ᾧ μέγεθος ἐχούσης ἡδυσμένη λόγῳ γυναικείῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ἐν τῇ αἰσθητικῇ δρώτων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐπικῇ ποίεσι.)

\* We should read *Cratinus* with Hermann.—J. W. D.

† See *above* and *particulars* *below*, c. ix.—J. W. D.

\* This *metre* in the text we have the interpolation: μέχρι μόνου μέτρου μεγάλου καὶ ἄλλου.—J. W. D.

ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν). By *pleasurable language*, I mean a language that has the embellishments of rhythm, harmony, and melody; and I add, by *different means* in *different parts*, because in some parts metre alone is employed, in others, melody<sup>1</sup>.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that this celebrated definition of Tragedy is drawn up with an express and controversial reference to Plato's opinion of poetry. The very phrases are an echo of Plato's language. Thus, the words ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ remind us at once of Plato's ἡδυσμένη μουσα (*Respubl.* x. p. 607 A), and the expression δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας must allude to Plato's description of the lyric as opposed to the dramatic poetry, the latter being διὰ μιμήσεως, and the former δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ (*Respubl.* iii. p. 394 C, above, p. 42). It appears, however, that the mere statement that Tragedy is a purgation (κάθαρσις) of those passions which Plato charges it with exciting, is not a sufficient answer to that philosopher, and Spengel has argued, I think conclusively, that there is probably an omission in the text, as we have it, of a passage conveying Aristotle's reasoning in defence of his own views. Spengel's opinion shall be given in his own words. After remarking (*Munich Transactions*, 1837, II. p. 226 sqq.) that, although Aristotle has explained the words ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ and χωρὶς ἐκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, he has left unexplained the main point, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν, he proceeds: "and yet this κάθαρσις παθημάτων is in Aristotle's estimation of such significance and importance, that while he contents himself in an earlier work, the *Politics*, v. (VIII.) 7, with a short notice, he postpones the full explanation to his *Poetic*, and promises to give it there. It is obvious that this is the place in which Aristotle was bound to speak of it, for the introduction, which forms a connected whole by itself, afforded no opportunity for it; and even if he wished, which is not credible, to reserve a fuller discussion of it for a future occasion, still it was necessary that the topic should be at least touched on here and referred back to the rest. That, however, he has spoken of the subject here, in the most convenient place, and has indicated the reasons for his opinion, may be conjectured from the numerous references to this important part of the definition; c. XI.: ἡ γὰρ ἀναγνώρισις καὶ περιπέτεια ἢ ἔλεον ἔξει ἢ φόβον, οἷων πράξεων ἢ τραγωδία μίμησις ὑπόκειται. c. XIII.: ἐπειδὴ οὖν δεῖ τὴν σύνθεσιν εἶναι τῆς καλλίστης τραγωδίας μὴ ἀπλὴν, ἀλλὰ πεπλεγμένην (as is shown at the conclusion of ch. IX.) καὶ ταύτην φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεινῶν εἶναι μίμησιν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τοιαύτης μιμήσεως ἐστίν) πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὅτι κ.τ.λ. c. XIV.: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου διὰ μιμήσεως δεῖ ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζειν τὸν ποιητὴν, φανερόν ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμποιγέον. For a full understanding, and incidentally for a confutation of the most recent and able exposition, which perhaps dazzles many by the splendour of the name under which it appears\*, but which is opposed no less to the language than to the expressed sentiments of Aristotle, we give here in its full context the passage of the *Politics*, which is at the same time the best explanation of the words before us:

" " Since we accept the distinction of the different kind of songs, as it is given by some philosophers, namely, into those which form the character [ἠθικά], those which excite to action [πρακτικά], and those which inspire us with rapturous emotion [ἐνθουσιαστικά], and so also of the corresponding harmonies; and since we say that we ought to use music not for one advantage only, but for several advantages (for it serves first for mental discipline; secondly, for purgation,—and as to what we mean by purgation we will now speak generally, and again in our treatise on poetry more distinctly [τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον]);—thirdly, for amusement, both as recreation and as a rest from excitement,) it is manifest that we must use all the harmonies, but not all in the same manner; for we must use in education those which are best fitted to regulate the character [ταῖς ἠθικωτάταις], and for listening when others are performing we must employ both the practical and the enthusiastic [καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθου-

\* Göthe's *nachgelassene Werke*, VI. 16—21. *Nachlese zu Aristoteles Poetik*, praised by an Aristotelian scholar as a model of exposition.



Now as Tragedy imitates by *acting*, the *decoration*, in the first place, must necessarily be *one* of its parts: then the *melopœia* (or

*σιαστικάis*). It is a fact that the passions by which one person is strongly affected are naturally inherent in all, the difference being one of degree only. Such are *pity* and *fear*; and enthusiasm too, for some are under the sway of this emotion. And we see that these, when they employ the songs that excite the soul to religious fervour, are calmed and settled by sacred strains, *as though they had found some remedy and purification* [ὡς περ λατρίας τυχόντας καὶ καθάρσεως]. The same must happen also to those liable to the emotions of *pity* and *fear* [τοὺς ἐλεήμονας καὶ τοὺς φοβητικούς], and those who are generally impressionable [τοὺς ὅλως παθητικούς], and others so far as each of these circumstances occurs; and all *have a sort of purification and a sense of lightening not unaccompanied by pleasure* [καὶ πᾶσι γίγνεσθαι τινα καθάρσιν καὶ κουφίζεσθαι μετ' ἡδονῆς]. In like manner *the songs which produce a sense of purification* [τὰ μέλη τὰ καθαρτικά] cause an innocuous gratification to men. Wherefore we should direct the attention of the competitors who practise music for the theatres to harmonies and songs which produce this effect.'

"After all this I have no hesitation in supposing that there is an omission in our passage of the *Poetic*, before the words ἐπεὶ δὲ πρᾶττοντες, of some lines in which that *κάθαρσις τῶν ποιημάτων* was discussed; and, to strengthen the probability of this conjecture, I add the following confirmation from internal evidence. Aristotle, in his *Poetic*, was the less likely to have evaded a defence of poetry against the attacks of Plato in his *Republic* (III. pp. 124—29, and X. pp. 466—491, Bkk.), because Plato himself wishes it, because he invites poets and prose-writers to hasten to the help of poetry, and declares his willingness to give it a place in his polity, if it can be proved that epic and tragic poetry do not produce any effects prejudicial to life and truth (p. 489). Aristotle is not accustomed to leave unemployed a suitable opportunity of setting his teacher right, and either qualifying his views by taking a different side or refuting them altogether. Are we then to imagine that in his *Rhetoric* he has confuted the judgment and opinion of Plato respecting what is pernicious in that art, with few but sufficient words, without mentioning his name indeed, but with a distinct and manifest reference to his *Gorgias*, and has so re-established the credit of rhetoric; but that in the case of poetry, which he prizes so highly, which he prefers to history, and places nearer to philosophy, he would not endeavour to secure its acquittal from the incriminations of his great predecessor? Now we find in Aristotle's *Poetic*, besides c. XXV., which removes by explanation certain difficulties found in the poets, and meets various objections, only one passage in which we can recognize, and clearly too, a distinct allusion to Plato, and this is found in our words: δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου παύουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων καθάρσιν. That indeed is the greatest reproach which Plato alleges against tragic poetry, that instead of making men strong and hard, it weakens and softens them by the pity which it excites; that what we should in common life regard as unmanly and unbecoming to do in the presence of others—namely, to lament and utter loud wailings on account of our misfortunes—we permit to the art of imitation, to that ἡδυσμένη μούση: we take pleasure in it, we become more and more unnerved by it, and so pleasure and sorrow get the mastery in our polity instead of law and reason. This is Plato's view (*Respubl.* X. p. 485, Bkk. p. 605, Steph.). Aristotle, on the contrary, maintains that the tragic art, by means of the fear and pity which it excites in the human soul, purifies it from such passions,—a thought which requires to be established for its own sake, and which is doubly worthy of explanation as standing in open opposition and contradiction to Plato."

Since Spengel wrote these words there has been a lively discussion of Aristotle's celebrated definition by J. Bernays (*Grundzüge der verlor. Abhandl. des Aristoteles über die Wirkung der Tragödie, Abh. Hist. Phil. Gesell. in Breslau, Breslau, 1857*), whose views have been sharply criticized by Adolf Stahr (*Aristoteles und die Wirkung der Tragödie, Berlin, 1859*). Bernays insists on the distinction between *πάθημα*, as denoting inherent affections, and *πάθη*, as denoting incidental conditions (Bernays, p. 194), and maintains that as Aristotle used the former word, the *κάθαρσις*, which he attributes to Tragedy, refers only to those spectators who are chronically and habitually affected with pity and fear. And the *κάθαρσις* operates as a kind of disburdenment of the overruling sentiment, an *ἀρέασις*, or drawing away of the morbid influences (Bernays, p. 200). But although Aristotle does distinguish between *πάθημα* and

*music*), and the *diction*; for these last include the *means* of tragic imitation. By *diction* I mean the metrical composition. The meaning of *melopœia* is obvious to every one.

Again : Tragedy being an imitation of an action, and the persons employed in that action being necessarily characterized by their *manners* and their *sentiments*, since it is from *these* that actions themselves derive their character, it follows, that there must also be *manners* and *sentiments*, as the two *causes* of actions, and, consequently, of the happiness or unhappiness of all men. The *imitation of the action* is the *plot*: for by *plot* (μῦθον) I now mean the *texture of incidents*. By *manners* (ἥθη), I mean, whatever marks the *characters* of the persons. By *sentiments* (διάνοια), whatever they *say*, whether proving any thing, or delivering a general opinion, &c.

Hence, all Tragedy must necessarily contain *six* parts, which, together, constitute its peculiar character or *quality*: plot, manners, diction, sentiments, decoration, and music (μῦθος, καὶ ἥθη, καὶ λέξις, καὶ διάνοια, καὶ ὄψις, καὶ μελοποιΐα). Of these parts, two relate to the *means*, one to the *manner*, and three to the *object* of imitation. And these are all. [These *specific parts* have been employed by most poets, and are to be found in almost every Tragedy.]

But of all these parts the most important is the *combination* of *incidents*, or the *plot*: because Tragedy is an imitation, not of *men*, but of *actions*—[of life and of happiness: even unhappiness consists in action, and the supreme good itself, the very *end* of life, is action of a certain kind,—not a *quality*]. Now the *manners* of men constitute only their *quality* or *characters*; but it is by their *actions* that they are *happy*, or the contrary. Tragedy, therefore, does not imitate action, *for the sake* of imitating manners; but in the imitation of action, that of manners

πράθη, the distinction is not uniformly maintained, and πάθος and μάθος are certainly used by Æschylus (*Agam.* 170) in the same sense as πάθημα and μάθημα by Herodotus (I. 207). And with regard to κάθαρσις, which must be taken in its medical sense, it seems quite clear that it implies a curative effect. Just as Aristotle speaks of pleasure as a cure (ιατρεία) of pain (*Eth. Nic.* VII. 1154 a. 27), and of recreation as a cure of labour (*Polit.* VIII. [5], p. 1339 b. 17: τῆς γὰρ διὰ τῶν πόνων λύπης ιατρεία τίς ἐστίν), so the amusement or intellectual diversion of a play is a cure of real fear or pity; and as all cures are naturally produced by the opposite of the ills which they remedy (*Aristot. Eth. Nic.* II. p. 1104 b. 17: αἱ ιατρείαι διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πεφύκασιν γίνεσθαι), we must understand that the κάθαρσις of Tragedy is produced by the contrast between the real emotion and the contemplation in thought of the sorrows of others; on the principle of the *suave mari magno*, &c. (*Lucret.* II. init.) This may seem, as Milton suggests (*Preface to Samson Agonistes*), to be a sort of homœopathic remedy (Bernays, p. 192); but the contrast is maintained in the opposition between the real and the imaginary; it is a case in which, as Aristotle elsewhere expresses it (*Pol.* V. [VII.] p. 1341 a. 1. 22), ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν μᾶλλον δύναται ἢ μάθησιν, and the spectator is elevated or consoled by the thought that the representation which he sees on the stage of the traditionary or possible misfortunes of his fellow-creatures are different in kind or degree from the worst of his own sad experiences.—J. W. D.



is of course involved. So that the *action* and the *plot* are the end of Tragedy; and in every thing the *end* is of principal importance.

Again—Tragedy cannot subsist without *action*; without *manners* it may: the Tragedies of most modern poets have this defect; a defect common, indeed, among poets in general. As among painters, also, this is the case with Zeuxis, compared with Polygnotus: the latter excels in the expression of the *manners*; there is no such expression in the pictures of Zeuxis.

Further; suppose any one to string together a number of speeches, in which the manners are strongly marked, the language and the sentiments well turned; this will not be sufficient to produce the proper effect of Tragedy: that end will much rather be answered by a piece, defective in each of those particulars, but furnished with a proper plot and combination of incidents.

Add to this, that those parts of Tragedy, by means of which it becomes most interesting and affecting, are parts of the *plot*; I mean *revolutions* and *discoveries*.

As a further proof, beginners in tragic writing are sooner able to arrive at excellence in the language, and the manners, than in the construction of a plot; as appears from almost all our earlier poets.

The *plot*, then, is the principal part, the *soul*, as it were, of Tragedy; and the *manners* are next in rank<sup>1</sup>. Just as in painting, the most brilliant colours spread at random, and without design, will give far less pleasure than the simplest outline of a *figure*. And the imitation is of an *action*, and on account of that, principally, of the *agents*.

In the *third* place stand the *sentiments*. To this part it belongs to say such things as are *true* and *proper*; which, in the dialogue, depends on the *political* and *rhetorical* arts; for the ancients made their characters speak in the style of political and popular eloquence; but now the rhetorical manner prevails.

The *manners* are whatever manifests the *disposition* of the speaker. There are speeches, therefore, which are without manners, or character; as not containing any thing by which the *propensities* or *aversions* of the person who delivers them can be known. The *sentiments* comprehend *whatever is said*; whether *proving* any thing, affirmatively, or negatively, or expressing some *general reflection*, &c.

*Fourth*, in order, is the *diction*—the *expression* of the *sentiments* by *words*; the power and effect of which is the same, whether in verse or prose.

<sup>1</sup> It may be doubted whether the rest of this chapter ought not to be considered as an interpolation.—J. W. D.

Of the remaining two parts, the *music* stands next; of all the pleasurable accompaniments and embellishments of Tragedy, the most delightful.

The *decoration* has also a great effect, but, of all the parts, is most foreign to the art. For the power of Tragedy is felt without representation, and actors; and the beauty of the decorations depends more on the art of the mechanic, than on that of the poet.

These things being thus adjusted, let us go on to examine in what manner the *Plot* should be constructed, since this is the first, and most important part of Tragedy.

Now we have defined Tragedy to be an imitation of an action that is *complete*, and *entire*; and that has also a certain *magnitude*; for a thing may be *entire* and a *whole*, and yet not be of any *magnitude*.

Cap. VII.  
1. The plot, the action of Tragedy must be complete. What is a dramatic whole? The proper measure of Tragedy.

1. By *entire*, I mean that which has a *beginning*, a *middle*, and an *end*. A *beginning* is that which does not, necessarily, suppose any thing before it, but which requires something to follow it. An *end*, on the contrary, is that which supposes something to precede it, either necessarily or probably; but which nothing is required to follow. A *middle* is that which both supposes something to precede, and requires something to follow. The poet, therefore, who would construct his fable properly, is not at liberty to begin, or end, where he pleases, but must conform to these definitions.

2. Again: whatever is beautiful, whether it be an animal, or any other thing composed of different parts, must not only have those parts arranged in a certain manner, but must also be of a certain *magnitude*; for beauty consists in *magnitude* and *order*. Hence it is that no very minute animal can be beautiful; the eye comprehends the whole too instantaneously to distinguish and compare the parts:—neither, on the contrary, can one of a prodigious size be beautiful; because, as all its parts cannot be seen at once, the *whole*, the *unity* of object, is lost to the spectator; as it would be, for example, if he were surveying an animal of very many miles in length. As, therefore, in animals and other objects, a certain *magnitude* is requisite, but that magnitude must be such as to present a whole *easily comprehended by the eye*; so, in the fable, a certain *length* is requisite, but that length must be such as to present a whole *easily comprehended by the memory*.

With respect to the measure of this length—if referred to actual representation in the dramatic contests, it is a matter foreign to the art itself: for if a hundred Tragedies had to be exhibited in concurrence,

the length of each part *must* be regulated by the hour-glass<sup>1</sup>. But if we determine this measure by the nature of the thing itself, the more extensive the fable consistently with the clear and easy comprehension of the whole the more beautiful will it be, with respect to magnitude.—In general we may say, that an action is sufficiently extended when it is long enough to admit of a change of fortune from happiness to misery, or the reverse, brought about by a succession, necessary to the nature of the thing, of several incidents.

Cap. vii.  
Fable unity

A fable, however, is *single* and *entire*, merely because the *hero* of it is one. If a number of events happen to one man, many of which are such as cannot be connected into *one event*; and so likewise, there are many actions of one man which cannot be connected into any *one* action. Hence appears the mistake of all those poets who have composed *Æneid*, *Æschylus*, and other poems of that kind. They conclude that because *Æneas* was one, so also must be the fable of which he is the subject. But Homer, among his many other excellencies, seems also to have been perfectly aware of this mistake, either from art or genius. For when he composed his *Odyssey*, he did not introduce all the events of his hero's life, such, for instance, as the wound he received upon Parnassus: his feigned madness when the Grecian army was assembling. &c.: events not connected, either by necessary or probable consequence, with each other: but he comprehended those only which have relation to *one action*, for such we call that of the *Odyssey*. And in the same manner he composed his *Iliad*.

As, therefore, in other mimetic arts, *one* imitation is an imitation of *one thing*, so here the fable, being an imitation of an action, should be an imitation of an action that is *one* and *entire*; the parts of it being so connected, that if any one of them be either transposed or taken away, the whole will be destroyed or changed; for whatever may be either retained or omitted, without making any sensible difference, is not properly a *part*.

Cap. ix.  
Relation of  
Tragedy to  
history.

It appears further, from what has been said, that it is not the poet's province to relate such things as have actually happened, but such as *might* have happened; such as are *possible* according either to probable or necessary consequence. For it is not by writing in *verses* or *prose* that the historian and the poet are distinguished: the work of *Herodotus* might be versified, but it would still be a species of history, no less

<sup>1</sup> We have here in the original the unmeaning addition, ὥστερον ποτέ καὶ ἄλλοτε φασί.—J. W. D.

with metre, than without. They are distinguished by this, that the one relates what *has* been, the other what *might* be. On this account, poetry is a more philosophical and a more excellent thing than history; for poetry is chiefly conversant about *general* truth, history about *particular*. In what manner, for example, any person of a certain character would speak or act, probably or necessarily—this is *general*: and this is the object of poetry, even while it makes use of *particular names*. But, what *Alcibiades* did, or what happened to *him*—this is *particular* truth.

With respect to Comedy, this is now become obvious; for here, the poet, when he has formed his plot of *probable* incidents, gives to his characters whatever names he pleases; and is not, like the iambic poets, particular and personal.

Tragedy, indeed, retains the use of real names; and the reason is, that, what we are disposed to believe, we must think *possible*: now, what has never actually happened, we are not apt to regard as possible; but what *has* been is unquestionably so, or it could not have been at all. There, are, however, some Tragedies, in which one or two of the names are historical, and the rest feigned: there are even some in which none of the names are historical; such is Agatho's Tragedy called *The Flower*, for in that all is invention, both incidents and names; and yet it pleases. It is by no means, therefore, essential that a poet should confine himself to the known and established subjects of Tragedy. Such a restraint would, indeed, be ridiculous; since even those subjects that are known, are known, comparatively, but to few, and yet are interesting to all.

From all this it is manifest, that a poet should be a *poet*, or “maker,” of *plots*, rather than of *verses*; since<sup>1</sup> it is *imitation* that constitutes the poet, and of this imitation *actions* are the object: nor is he the less a poet, though the incidents of his fable should chance to be such as have actually happened; for nothing hinders but that some *true* events may possess the *probability*, the invention of which entitles him to the name of *poet*.

Of *simple* plots or actions, the *episodic* are the worst. I call that an *episodic plot* (ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον), the *episodes* of which follow each other without any *probable* or *necessary* connexion; a fault into which bad poets are betrayed by their want of skill, and good poets by the players; for, in order to accommodate their pieces to the purposes of rival performers in the dramatic contests, they spin out the action beyond their powers, and are thus frequently forced to break the connexion and continuity of its parts.

<sup>1</sup> ὡς “just in proportion as.”—J. W. D.

It is not a complete action, but it is a complete effect, and these effects are connected with the action in such a way that they will have more of the effect of chance: since we are not aware of the cause, we are the more wonderful and the more wonderful the effect is. For instance, the statue of Mitylene, which was carried off by the Persians, by the effect of chance, is an example of this kind not only in the effect, but in the cause, for such plots as these are the best.

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A discovery, *anagnorisis*, as indeed the word implies, is a change from unknown to known, happening between those characters whose happiness or unhappiness forms the catastrophe of the drama, and terminating in friendship or enmity.

The best sort of discovery is that which is accompanied by a *revolution*, as in the *Œdipus*.

There are also other discoveries; for inanimate things of any kind

<sup>1</sup> The apodosis is here lost, but it must have been to the effect given above. The *καὶ μάλιστα καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν γένηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν*, are an interpolation. See Ser.—J. W. D.

may be recognized in the same manner; and we may discover whether such a particular thing was, or was not, done by such a person: but the discovery most appropriate to the *plot* and the *action* is that above defined, because such discoveries and revolutions must excite either *pity* or *terror*; and Tragedy we have defined to be an imitation of *pitiable* and *terrible* actions; and because, also, by them the event, *happy* or *unhappy*, is produced.

Now discoveries being *relative* things, are sometimes of *one* of the persons only, the *other* being already known; and sometimes they are *reciprocal*: thus, *Iphigenia* is discovered to *Orestes* by the letter which she charges him to deliver, and *Orestes* is obliged, by other means, to make himself known to her. [These then are *two* parts of the plot, *revolution* and *discovery*. There is yet a third, which we denominate *disasters* (πάθος). The two former have been explained. *Disasters* comprehend all *painful* or *destructive* actions; the exhibition of death, bodily anguish, wounds, and every thing of that kind.]

[The parts of Tragedy which are necessary to constitute its *quality* have been already enumerated. Its *parts* of *quantity*—the *distinct* parts into which it is *divided*—are these: *prologue*, *episode*, *exode*, and *chorus*; which last is also divided into the *parode* and the *stasimon*. These are common to all Tragedies. The songs from the stage, and the *commoi*, or dirges, are found in *some* only (τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ κομμοί).]

Cap. XII.  
Tragedy has four parts of quantity. Division of the choral songs.

The *prologue* is all that part of a Tragedy which precedes the *parode* of the chorus.

The *episode*, all that part which is included between *entire choral odes*. The *exode*, that part which has *no choral ode* after it.

Of the *choral* part, the *parode* is the first *speech* of the *whole chorus*: the *stasimon* includes all those *choral odes* that are without *anapaests* and *trochees* (ἀνευ ἀναπαίστου καὶ τροχαίου).

The *commos* is a general lamentation of the *chorus* and the *actors together* (Κόμμος δέ, θρῆνος κοινὸς χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς). Such are the separate parts into which Tragedy is *divided*. Its parts of quality were before explained.]

The order of the subject leads us to consider, in the next place, what the poet should *aim* at, and what *avoid*, in the construction of his plot; and by what means the *purpose* of Tragedy may be best effected.

Cap. XIII.  
Of the objects to be sought or avoided in the construction of a Tragedy.

Now, since it is requisite to the perfection of Tragedy that its plot should be of the *complicated*, not of the *simple* kind, and that it should imitate such actions as excite *terror* and *pity*, (this being the peculiar property of the tragic imitation,) it follows evidently, in the first place,

that the change from prosperity to adversity should not be represented as happening to a virtuous character: for this raises disgust, rather than terror or compassion. Neither should the contrary change from adversity to prosperity be exhibited in a vicious character: this, of all plans, is the most opposite to the genius of Tragedy, having no one property that it ought to have: for it is neither gratifying, in a moral view, nor exciting interest. Nor, again, should the fall of a *very bad* man from prosperous to adverse fortune be represented: because, though such a subject may be pleasing from its moral tendency, it will produce neither pity nor terror [for our pity is excited by misfortunes *undeservedly* suffered, and our terror by some *resemblance* between the sufferer and ourselves]. Neither of these effects will, therefore, be produced by such an event.

There remains, then, for our choice, the character *between* these extremes: that of a person neither eminently virtuous or just, nor yet involved in misfortune by reason of deliberate vice or villany, but from some error of human frailty; and this person should also be some one of high fame and flourishing prosperity; for example, *Œdipus*, *Thyestes*, or other illustrious men of such families.

Hence it appears, that, to be well constructed, a plot, contrary to the opinion of some, should be *single*, rather than *double*; that the change of fortune should not be from adverse to prosperous, but the reverse; and that it should be the consequence not of vice, but of some great frailty, in a character such as has been described, or *better* rather than *worse*.

These principles are confirmed by experience; for poets formerly admitted almost any story into the number of tragic subjects; but now, the subjects of the best Tragedies are confined to a few families—to *Alcmæon*, *Œdipus*, *Orestes*, *Meleager*, *Thyestes*, *Telephus*, and others, the sufferers, or the authors, of some terrible calamity.

The most perfect Tragedy, then, according to the principles of the art, is of this construction. Whence appears the mistake of those critics who censure Euripides for this practice in his Tragedies, many of which terminate unhappily; for this, as we have shown, is right; and, as the strongest proof of it, we find that, upon the stage, and in the dramatic contests, such Tragedies, if they succeed, have always the most tragic effect: and Euripides, though in other respects faulty in the conduct of his subjects, seems clearly to be the most *tragic* of all poets.

I place in the *second* rank that kind of fable to which some assign the *first*; that which is of a *double* construction, like the *Odyssey*, and also ends in two opposite events, to the *good*, and to the *bad* characters. That this passes for the best, is owing to the weakness of the spectators, whose wishes the poets accommodate their productions. This kind of pleasure, however, is not the *proper* pleasure of Tragedy, but belongs



rather to Comedy; for there, even if the bitterest enemies, like *Orestes* and *Ægisthus*, are introduced, they quit the scene at last in perfect friendship, and no blood is shed on either side.

Terror and pity may be raised by the *decoration*, the mere *spectacle*; but they may also arise from the circumstances of the *action* itself; which is far preferable, and shows a superior poet. For the fable should be so constructed, that, without the assistance of the sight, its incidents may excite horror and commiseration in those who *hear* them only; an effect which every one, who hears the story of the *Ædipus*, must experience. But, to produce this effect by means of the decoration, discovers want of art in the poet, who must also be supplied by the public with an expensive apparatus (*χορηγία*). Cap. XIV.  
Of the proper  
modes of ex-  
citing fear  
and pity.

As to those poets who make use of the decoration in order to produce, not the *terrible*, but the *marvellous* only, *their* purpose has nothing in common with that of Tragedy; for we are not to seek for every sort of pleasure from Tragedy, but for that only which is *proper* to the species.

Since, therefore, it is the business of the tragic poet to give that pleasure which arises from pity and terror, through *imitation*, it is evident that he ought to produce that effect by the circumstances of the *action itself*.

Let us, then, see of what *kind* those incidents are which appear most terrible or piteous.

Now such actions must, of necessity, happen between persons who are either friends or enemies, or indifferent to each other. If an enemy kills, or purposes to kill, an enemy, in neither case is any commiseration raised in us, beyond what necessarily arises from the nature of the action itself.

The case is the same, when the persons are neither friends nor enemies. But when such disasters happen between friends—when, for instance, the brother kills, or is going to kill, his brother, the son his father, the mother her son, or the reverse—these, and others of a similar kind, are the proper incidents for the poet's choice. The received tragic subjects, therefore, he is not at liberty *essentially* to alter; *Clytæmnestra* must die by the hand of *Orestes*, and *Eriphyle* by that of *Alcmæon*: but it is his province to invent other subjects, and to make a skilful use of those which he finds already established. What I mean by a skilful use, I proceed to explain. (?)

The atrocious action may be perpetrated knowingly and intentionally, as was usual with the earlier poets; and as Euripides, also, has represented *Medea* destroying her children.

It may, likewise, be perpetrated by those who are ignorant, at the time, of the connexion between them and the injured person, which





the discovery is made in the Tragedy of *Tyro*. Even these, however, may be employed with more or less skill. The discovery of *Ulysses*, for example, to his nurse, by means of his scar, is very different from his discovery, by the same means, to the herdsmen. For all those discoveries, in which the sign is produced by way of proof, are inartificial. Those which, like that in the *Washing of Ulysses*, happen by a revolution (ἐκ περιπετείας), are better.

*Secondly*,—Discoveries *invented*, at pleasure, by the poet, and on that account, still inartificial. For example; in the *Iphigenia*, Orestes, after having discovered his sister, discovers himself to her. She, indeed, is discovered by means of the letter; but Orestes himself speaks such things as the poet chooses, not such as arise from the fictitious *circumstances*. This kind of discovery, therefore, borders upon the fault of that first mentioned: for some of the things from which those proofs are drawn are even such as might have been actually produced as visible signs.

Another instance, is the discovery by the sound of the shuttle in the *Tereus* of Sophocles.

*Thirdly*,—The discovery occasioned by *memory* (ἡ διὰ μνήμης): as, when some recollection is excited by the view of a particular object. Thus, in the *Cyprians* of *Dicæogenes*, a discovery is produced by tears shed at the sight of a picture: and thus, in the *Tale of Alcinous*, Ulysses, listening to the bard, recollects, weeps, and is discovered.

*Fourthly*,—The discovery occasioned by *reasoning* or *inference* (ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ): such as that in the *Choëphoræ*: “The person, who is arrived, resembles me—no one resembles me but Orestes—it must be he!” And that of *Polyeidus* the sophist, in his *Iphigenia*; for the conclusion of Orestes was natural—“It had been his *sister's* lot to be sacrificed, and it was now his *own*!” That, also, in the *Tydeus* of *Theodectes*—“He came to find his son, and he himself must perish!” And thus the daughters of *Phineus*, in the Tragedy denominated from them, viewing the place to which they were led, infer their fate—“there they were to die, for there they were exposed!” There is also a compound sort of discovery, arising from *false inference* in the audience, as in *Ulysses the False Messenger*: he asserts that he shall know the bow, which he had not seen; the audience falsely infer, that a discovery by that means will follow.

But, of all discoveries, the *best* is that which arises from the *action itself*, and in which a *striking* effect is produced by *probable incidents*. Such is that in the *Ædipus* of Sophocles, and that in the *Iphigenia*; for nothing is more natural than her desire of conveying the letter. Such discoveries are the best, because they alone are effected without the help

for example, lies in a small compass: "A certain man is supposed to be absent from his own country for many years—he is persecuted by *Neptune*, deprived of all his companions, and left alone. At home his affairs are in disorder—the suitors of his wife dissipating his wealth, and plotting the destruction of his son. Tossed by many tempests, he at length arrives, and, making himself known to some of his family, attacks his enemies, destroys them, and remains himself in safety." This is the *essential*; the rest is *episode*.

[Every Tragedy consists of two parts—the *complication* (δέσις), and the *development* (λύσις). The complication is often formed by incidents supposed *prior* to the action, and by a part, also, of those that are *within* the action; the rest form the development. I call *complication*, all that is between the beginning of the piece and the last part, where the change of fortune commences: *development*, all between the beginning of that change and the conclusion. Thus, in the *Lynceus* of *Theodectes*, the events antecedent to the action, and the seizure of the child, constitute the *complication*: the *development* is from the accusation of murder to the end.]

Cap. xviii.  
The compli-  
cation and  
develop-  
ment (δέσις  
and λύσις).

[There are four *kinds* of Tragedy, deducible from so many *parts*, which have been mentioned. One kind is the *complicated* (πεπλεγμένη), where all depends on *revolution* and *discovery*; another is the *disastrous* (παθητική), such as those on the subject of *Ajax* or *Ixion*: another, the *moral* (ἠθική), as the *Phthiotides* and the *Peleus*: and, fourthly, the *simple* (ἀπλή), such as the *Phorcides*, the *Prometheus*, and all those Tragedies, the scene of which is laid in the infernal regions.]

[It should be the poet's aim to make himself master of all these *manners*; of as many of them, at least, as possible, and those the *best*; especially, considering the captious criticism to which, in these *days*, he is exposed. For the public, having now seen different poets *excel* in each of these different kinds, expect every *single* poet to unite in himself, and to surpass, the peculiar excellences of them *all*.]

[One Tragedy may justly be considered as the same with another or *different*, not according as the subjects, but rather according as the *complication* and *development* are the same or different. Many poets, when they have *complicated* well, *develope* badly. They should endeavour to *deserve* equal applause in both.]

We must also be attentive to what has been often mentioned, and not construct a *Tragedy* upon an *epic* plan. By an *epic* plan, I mean a *story* composed of *many stories*; as if any one, for instance, should take the entire fable of the *Iliad* for the subject of a Tragedy. In the *epic poem* the length of the whole admits of a proper magnitude in the

parts, but in the drama the effect of such a plan is far different from what is expected. As a proof of this, those poets who have formed the *whole* of the destruction of Troy into a Tragedy, instead of confining themselves [as *Euripides*, but not *Æschylus*, has done, in the story of *Niobe*] to a *part*, have either been condemned in the representation, or have contended without success. Even *Agathon* has failed on this account, and on this only; for in *revolutions*, and in actions, also, of the *simple* kind, these poets succeed wonderfully in what they aim at; and that is, the union of *tragic effect* with *moral tendency*: as when, for example, a character of great wisdom, but without integrity, is deceived, like *Sisyphus*; or a brave, but unjust man, conquered. Such events, as *Agathon* says, are probable, "as it is probable, in general, that many things should happen contrary to probability."

The chorus should be considered as one of the persons in the drama; should be a *part* of the *whole*, and a sharer in the action; not as in *Euripides*, but as in *Sophocles*. As for other poets, their choral songs have no more connexion with their subject than with that of any other Tragedy; and hence they are now become detached pieces, inserted at pleasure; a practice introduced by *Agathon*<sup>1</sup>. Yet where is the difference between this arbitrary insertion of an *ode*, and the transposition of a *speech*, or even of a whole *episode*, from one Tragedy to another?

Cap. xv.<sup>2</sup>  
Of the best  
modes of ex-  
pressing the  
manners of  
the actors.

With respect to the *Manners*, *four* things are to be attended to by the poet.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek is διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσιν, πρώτου Ἀρχάντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιούτου, and Ritter, like most of the commentators, understands ἐμβόλιμα as *cantica ab argumento tragiæ aliena et pro arbitrio poetæ inserta*. So that *Agathon* committed the fault deprecated by Horace (*A. P.* 193):

*Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile  
Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus  
Quod non proposito conducat et hæreat apte.*

Cicero uses ἐμβόλιον in the sense of a mere episode.

<sup>2</sup> I have transposed this chapter to its proper place after the eighteenth chapter, in compliance with the suggestion of Spengel, who writes as follows (*Munich Transactions*, u. s. p. 246): "The chapter about the ἡθῆ is erroneously inserted here, and is the cause of all the confusion. If it is removed from its present place, the ἀναγνώρισις immediately follows; and it is clear that it is here mentioned and that the remark is made: εἴρηται πρότερον,—for between the first mention (cc. x. xi.) and the present full discussion many other subjects have been introduced. Now it must be remembered that we do not find in the MSS. such divisions and separations of the clauses as we give in our editions:

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων συστάσεως καὶ  
ποίους τινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς μύθους εἴρηται ἑκαστῶς.  
Περὶ δὲ τὰ ἡθῆ τέτταρά ἐστιν ὧν δεῖ  
στοχάζεσθαι.

So that the former terminates the chapter, and the latter commences a new one. But such clauses are regarded by the old writers, and in a grammatical sense rightly, as an indivisible whole. I am then convinced that the leaf consisting of forty lines, which con-

*First*, and principally, they should be *good* (χρηστά). Now *manners*, or *character*, belong, as we have said before, to any speech or action that manifests a certain *disposition*; and they are bad, or good, as the disposition manifested is bad (φαύλη), or good (χρηστή). This goodness of manners may be found in persons of every description: the manners of a woman, or of a slave, may be good; though, in general, women are, perhaps, rather bad than good, and slaves altogether bad.

The *second* requisite is *propriety* (τὰ ἀρμόττοντα). There is a manly character of bravery and fierceness, which cannot, with propriety, be given to a woman.

The *third* requisite is *resemblance* (τὸ ὁμοῖον): for this is a different thing from their being *good* and *proper*, as above described.

The *fourth* is *uniformity* (τὸ ὁμαλόν): for even though the model of the poet's imitation be some person of un-uniform manners, still that person must be represented as *uniformly un-uniform* (ὁμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἶναι).

We have an example of manners *unnecessarily bad* in the character of *Menelaus* in the Tragedy of *Orestes*; of *improper* and *unbecoming* manners, in the lamentation of *Ulysses* in *Scylla*, and in the speech of *Melanippe*: of *un-uniform* manners, in the *Iphigenia* at *Aulis*; for there the *Iphigenia*, who supplicates for life, has no resemblance to the *Iphigenia* of the conclusion.

In the manners, as in the fable, the poet should always aim either at what is *necessary* or what is *probable*; so that *such* a character shall appear to speak or act necessarily, or probably, in *such* a manner, and *this* event to be the necessary or probable consequence of *that*.—Hence it is evident that the *development* also of a plot should arise out of the plot itself, and not depend upon *machinery*, as in the *Medea*, or in the incidents relative to the sailing away from Troy, in the *Iliad*. The proper application of machinery is to such circumstances as are extraneous to the drama; such as either happened *before* the time of the action, and could not, by human means, be known; or are to happen *after*, and require to be foretold: for to the gods we attribute the knowledge of all things. But nothing *improbable* should be admitted in the incidents of the fable; or, if it cannot be avoided, it should, at

tains the ἡθῆ, has by some accident, not purposely, been removed from its proper place before c. XIX., and has been placed in the middle of the doctrine of the μῦθος, to the great confusion of the reader. This is not the only phenomenon of this kind. The most recent editor of *Theon* has rightly indicated a similar transposition. The same has long been recognized in Varro's books *de lingua Latina*; many MSS. of Cicero *de Oratore* are in still worse plight; and, although we do not find this in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, we have there an example of a particular kind: in III. 16, there was manifestly a gap, and all the MSS. have repeated there a passage of twenty lines from I. 9."—J. W. D.

least, be confined to such as are *without* the Tragedy itself; as in the *Œdipus* of Sophocles.

Since Tragedy is an imitation of *what is best*, we should follow the example of skilful portrait-painters; who, while they express the peculiar lineaments, and produce a likeness, at the same time improve upon the original. And thus, too, the poet, when he imitates the manners of *passionate* or *indolent* men, or any others of a similar kind, should represent them under a favourable aspect; as *Achilles* is drawn by Agathon, and by Homer. These things the poet should keep in view: and, besides these, whatever relates to those senses which have a necessary connexion with poetry: for here, also, he may often err. But of this enough has been said in the treatises already published.

Cap. XIX.

2. Sentiments  
and 3. Dic-  
tion.

Of the other subjects enough has now been said. We are next to consider the *diction* and the *sentiments* (*διαβοίαι*).

For what concerns the *sentiments*, we refer to the principles laid down in the books on *Rhetoric*; for to *that* subject they more properly belong. The *sentiments* include *whatever is the object of speech*; as, for instance, to prove, to refute, to move the passions—pity, terror, anger, and the like; to amplify, or to diminish. But it is evident, that, with respect to the things themselves also, when the poet would make them appear pitiable, or terrible, or great, or probable, he must draw from the same sources; with this difference only, that in the *drama* these things must appear to be such, without being *shown* to be such; whereas in *oratory*, they must be *made* to appear so by the speaker, and in *consequence* of what he *says*; otherwise, what need of an orator, if they already appear so, in *themselves*, and not by reason of his eloquence?

With respect to *diction*, one mode of considering the subject is that which treats of the *figures of speech*; such as *commanding*, *entreating*, *relating*, *menacing*, *interrogating*, *answering*, and the like. But this belongs properly to the art of *acting*, and to the professed masters of that kind. The *poet's* knowledge or ignorance of these things cannot any way materially affect the credit of his art. For who will suppose there is any justice in the cavil of *Protagoras*, that in the words, "The wrath, O goddess, sing," the poet, where he intended a *prayer*, had expressed a *command*? for he insists, that to say, *do this*, or *do it not*, is to *command*. This subject, therefore, we pass over as belonging to an art distinct from that of poetry.

Cap. XX.

[\* \* \* \* \*]

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this chapter, which consists of clumsy, grammatical definitions, is a scholium which has got into the text. As it is by no means a good specimen of the kind, it may safely be neglected by any student of Aristotle, and is therefore omitted here.—J. W. D.

Of words some are *single*, by which I mean composed of parts not significant, and some *double*: of which last some have one part significant, and the other not significant; and some, both parts significant. A word may also be *triple*, *quadruple*, &c.; such are most of the bombastic expressions, like Hermocaïco-xanthus<sup>1</sup>. Every word is either *strictly appropriate* (κύριον), or *foreign* (γλῶττα), or *metaphorical*, or *ornamental*, or *invented*, or *extended*, or *contracted*, or *altered*. Cap. XXI.  
Different  
kinds of  
words.

By *appropriate* words I mean such as are in general and established use. By *foreign*, such as belong to a different language: so that the same word may evidently be both *appropriate* and *foreign*, though not to the same people. The word σίγνον, "a spear," to the Cyprians is *appropriate*, to us *foreign*.

A *metaphorical* word is a word transferred from its *proper* sense; either from *genus* to *species*, or from *species* to *genus*, or from *one species* to *another*, or in the way of *analogy*.

1. From *genus* to *species*: as

νηὺς δέ μοι ἦδ' ἔστηκε (Od. I. 185).

Secure in yonder port my vessel stands.

For *to be at anchor* is one *species* of *standing* or being *fixed*.

2. From *species* to *genus*: as

ἦ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργεν (Il. II. 272).

..... To Ulysses

Ten A thousand generous deeds we owe.....

For *a thousand* is a certain *definite many*, which is here used for *many* in *general*.

3. From *one species* to *another*: as

Χαλκῷ ἀπὸ ψυχὴν ἀρύσας.

And

Τεμὼν ἀτειρεῖ χαλκῷ.

For here the poet uses ταμεῖν, *to cut off*, instead of ἀρύσαι, *to draw forth*; and ἀρύσαι, instead of ταμεῖν; each being a *species* of *taking away*.

4. In the way of *analogy*—when, of four terms, the *second* bears the same relation to the *first*, as the *fourth* to the *third*; in which case the *fourth* may be substituted for the *second*, and the *second* for the *fourth*. [And sometimes the *proper* term is also introduced, besides its *relative* term.]

<sup>1</sup> I have not hesitated to adopt Tyrwhitt's emendation, μεγαλείων ὡς for Μεγαλιωτῶν. It is sufficiently confirmed by Xen. Mem. II. 1, § 34, which he quotes, and the instance given of a compound containing the names of three rivers deserved some such description. Aristophanes abounds in similar compounds. Ritter proposes πολλαπλομεγάλωτος.—J. W. D.



Thus a *cup* bears the same relation to *Bacchus* as a *shield* to *Mars*. A shield, therefore, may be called *the cup of Mars* (Athen. x. p. 433 c), and a cup *the shield of Bacchus*. Again—evening being to day what old age is to life, the evening may be called *the old age of the day*, and old age, *the evening of life*; or, as *Empedocles* has expressed it, “Life’s setting sun.” It sometimes happens that there is no *proper* analogous term answering to the term *borrowed*, which yet may be used in the same manner as if there were. For instance—to *sow* is the term appropriated to the action of dispersing seed upon the earth; but the dispersion of rays from the sun is expressed by no appropriated term; it is, however, with respect to the *sun’s light* what *sowing* is with respect to *seed*. Hence the poet’s expression of the sun—

σπείρων θεοκτίστα φλόγα.

.....Sowing abroad  
His heaven-created flame.

There is, also, *another* way of using this kind of metaphor, by adding to the borrowed word a negation of some of those qualities which belong to it in its *proper* sense: as if, instead of calling a shield *the cup of Mars*, we should call it *the wineless cup*.

An *invented* word is a word never before used by any one, but coined by the poet himself, for such it appears there are; as *ἔρυνες*, *boughs*, for *κέρατα*, *horns*; or *ἄρητήρ*, *an utterer of prayer*, for *ιερεύς*, *a priest*.

A word is *extended* when for the proper vowel a longer is substituted, or a syllable is inserted. A word is *contracted* when some part of it is retrenched. Thus *πόληος* for *πόλεως*, and *Πηληϊάδεω* for *Πηλεΐδου*, are extended words: contracted, such as *κρί*, and *δῶ*, and *ὄψ*: e. g.

.....μία γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων ὄψ.

An *altered* word is a word of which part remains in its usual state, and *part* is of the poet’s making: as in

Δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζόν,  
δεξιτερός is for δεξιός.

[\*       \*       \*       \*       \*<sup>1</sup>]

Cap. XXII.  
Poetic dic-  
tion.

The excellence of diction consists in being *perspicuous*, without being *mean*. The most perspicuous is that which is composed of *strictly appropriate* words, but at the same time it is *mean*. Such is the poetry of *Cleophon*, and that of *Sthenelus*. That language, on the contrary, is *elevated*, and remote from the vulgar idiom, which employs *unusual* words: by *unusual* I mean *foreign*, *metaphorical*, *extended*—all, in short, that

<sup>1</sup> Here again follows a grammatical scholium inserted in the text, which for our present purpose it is better to omit.—J. W. D.

are not *strictly appropriate* words. Yet, if a poet composes his diction entirely of such words, the result will be either an enigma, or a barbarous jargon: an enigma, if composed of *metaphors*; a barbarous jargon, if composed of *foreign* words. For the essence of an enigma consists in *putting together things apparently inconsistent and impossible, and at the same time saying nothing but what is true*. Now this cannot be effected by the mere *arrangement* of the words; by the *metaphorical use* of them it may, as in this enigma—

A man I once beheld (and wondering view'd),  
Who, on another, brass with fire had *glew'd*.

With respect to *barbarism*, it arises from the use of *foreign* words. A judicious intermixture is therefore requisite.

Thus the *foreign* word, the *metaphorical*, and the *ornamental*, and the other species before mentioned, will raise the language above the vulgar idiom, and *appropriate* words will give it perspicuity. But nothing contributes more considerably to produce clearness, without vulgarity of diction, than *extensions*, *contractions*, and *alterations* of words; for here the variation from the proper form, being *unusual*, will give *elevation* to the expression; and at the same time, what is retained of *usual* speech will give it *clearness*. It is without reason, therefore, that some critics have censured these modes of speech, and ridiculed the poet for the use of them; as old *Euclid* did, objecting, that “versification would be an easy business, if it were permitted to lengthen words at pleasure:” and he used to make lines out of mere prose, as

Ἐπι|χάρην | εἶδον | Μαρά||θῶνδ|δε βα|δίζον|τα||

and

Οὐκ ἂν | γενοί|μην τοῦ|κείνου | ἔλλε|βόρου||<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, when these licenses appear to be thus *purposely* used, the thing becomes ridiculous; in the employment of *all* the species of *unusual* words, moderation is necessary: for metaphors, foreign words, or any of the others, improperly used, and with a *design* to be ridiculous, would produce the same effect. But how great a difference is made by a *proper* and temperate use of such words, may be seen in *heroic* verse. Let any one only substitute strictly appropriate words in the place of the metaphorical, the foreign, and others of the same kind, and he will be convinced of the truth of what I say. For example: the same iambic verse occurs in *Æschylus* and in *Euripides*; but by means of a single

<sup>1</sup> As it is clear that Euclid wished to give examples of lines, scanned by making short syllables long, and as it is certain from *Rhet.* III. 17, § 16, that λαμβανόμενος may refer to a Trochaic as well as to an Iambic line, I have merely introduced such slight alterations into the false Trochaic and Iambic lines in the text, as were required to make sense of them.—J. W. D.

alteration—the substitution of a *foreign* for an *appropriate* and *usual* word, one of these verses appears beautiful, the other ordinary. For *Æschylus*, in his *Philoctetes*, says:

Φαγέδαινα, ἥ μου σάρκας ἐσθίει ποδός—  
The cank'rous wound that *eats* my flesh.

But Euripides, instead of ἐσθίει, “*eats*,” uses θοινᾶται, “*feasts on*.” The same difference will appear, if in this verse,

Νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἀκικυς,

we substitute *common* words, and say:

Νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν μικρὸς τε καὶ ἀσθενικὸς καὶ ἀειδής.

So, again, should we for the following,

Δίφρον ἀεικέλιον καταθείς, ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν—

substitute this:

Δίφρον μοχθηρὸν καταθείς, μικράν τε τράπεζαν.

Or change Ἡῖόνες βοόωσιν—“The shores *rebellow*,”—to Ἡῖόνες κρίζουσιν—“The shores *cry out*.”

[*Ariphrades*, also, endeavoured to throw ridicule upon the tragic poets, for making use of such expressions as no one would think of using in common speech: as δωμάτων ἄπο, instead of ἀπὸ δωμάτων: and σέθεν, and ἐγὼ δέ νιν (Soph. *Œd. C.* 986), and Ἀχιλλέως πέρι, instead of περὶ Ἀχιλλέως, &c. Now it is precisely owing to their being *not* strictly regular, that such expressions have the effect of giving elevation to the diction. But this he did not know.]

To employ with propriety any of these modes of speech—the double words, the foreign, &c. is a great excellence; but the greatest of all is to be happy in the use of *metaphor*; for it is this alone which cannot be acquired, and which, consisting in a quick discernment of *resemblances*, is a certain mark of genius.

Of the different kind of words the *double* are best suited to dithyrambic poetry, the *foreign* to heroic, the *metaphorical* to iambic. In heroic poetry, indeed, they have *all* their place; but to iambic verse, which is, as much as may be, an imitation of common speech, those words which are used in common speech are best adapted; and such are the *strictly appropriate*, the *metaphorical*, and the *ornamental*.

|| \* \* \* ||<sup>1</sup>

Concerning Tragedy, and the imitation by action, enough has now been said.

<sup>1</sup> Spengel says (u. s. p. 251): “There is here an hiatus of several leaves; what is said about the λέξεις cannot possibly suffice; and where is the μελοποιεῖν, of which not even the name is mentioned?”—J. W. D.

C. *Epic Poetry.*

With respect to that species of poetry which imitates by *narration*, and in *hexameter* verse, it is obvious that the *story* ought to be dramatically constructed, like that of Tragedy: and that it should have for its subject *one entire and perfect action*, having a *beginning*, and *middle*, and an *end*; so that, forming, like an animal, a *complete whole*, it may afford its *proper* pleasure: widely differing, in its construction, from history, which necessarily treats, not of *one action*, but of *one time*, and of *all* the events that happened to one person, or to many, during that time; events, the *relation* of which to each other is merely casual. For, as the naval action at Salamis, and the battle with the Carthaginians in Sicily, were events of *the same time*, unconnected by any relation to a *common end* or *purpose*; so also, in *successive* events, we sometimes see one thing *follow* another, without resulting in a common end. And this is the practice of the generality of *poets*. Even in this, therefore, as we have before observed, Homer, as compared with all others, would seem to be a divine poet (*θεσπέσιος*); for he did not attempt to bring the *whole* war, though an *entire* action with *beginning* and *end*, into his poem. It would have been too vast an object, and not *easily comprehended in one view*; or, had he forced it into a moderate compass, it would have been perplexed by its variety. Instead of this, selecting one *part* only of the war, he has, from the rest, introduced many episodes—such as the *catalogue of the ships*, and others, with which he has interspersed his poem. Other poets take for their subject the actions of *one person* or of *one period of time*, or an action which, though *one*, is composed of too many parts. Thus the author of the *Cypria*, and of the *Little Iliad*. [Hence it is, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* each of them furnish matter for one tragedy, or two, at most; but from the *Cypria* many may be taken, and from the *Little Iliad* more than eight; as, *The Contest for the Armour*, *Philoctetes*, *Neoptolemus*, *Eurypylus*, *The Vagrant*, *The Spartan Women*, *The Fall of Troy*, *The Return of the Fleet*, *Sinon*, and *The Trojan Women*.]

Cap. xxiii.  
Epic poetry  
must have a  
unity of its  
own.

Again—the *epic* poem must also agree with the *tragic*, as to its *kinds*: it must be *simple* or *complicated*, *moral* or *disastrous*. Its *parts*, also, setting aside music and decoration, are the same; for it requires *revolutions*, *discoveries*, and *disasters*; and it must be furnished with *proper sentiments* and *diction*: of *all* which Homer gave both the first, and the most perfect example. Thus, of his two poems, the *Iliad* is of the *simple* and *disastrous* kind; the *Odyssey*, *complicated* (for it abounds

Cap. xxiv.  
Epic and  
tragic poetry  
compared.

throughout in discoveries) and *moral*. Add to this, that in *language* and *sentiments* he has surpassed all poets.

The epic poem *differs* from tragedy, in the *length* of its plan, and in its *metre*.

With respect to *length*, a sufficient measure has already been assigned. It should be such as to admit of our *comprehending at one view the beginning and the end*: and this would be the case, if the epic poem were reduced from its ancient length, so as not to exceed that of such a number of tragedies as are performed successively at one hearing. But there is a circumstance in the nature of epic poetry which affords it peculiar latitude in the extension of its plan. It is not in the power of Tragedy to imitate several different actions performed at the *same time*; it can imitate only that *one* which occupies the stage, and in which the actors are employed. But the epic imitation, being *narrative*, admits of many such simultaneous incidents, properly related to the subject, which swell the poem to a considerable size. And this gives it a great advantage, both in point of *magnificence*, and also as it enables the poet to relieve his hearer, and *diversify* his work, by a variety of *dissimilar* episodes: for it is to the satiety naturally arising from similarity that tragedies frequently owe their ill success.

With respect to *metre*, the heroic is established by experience as the most proper, so that, should any one compose a *narrative* poem in any other, or in a variety of metres, he would be thought guilty of a great impropriety. For the heroic is the gravest and most majestic of all measures: [and hence it is, that it peculiarly admits the use of *foreign* and *metaphorical* expressions; for in this respect also, the *narrative* imitation is abundant and various beyond the rest:] but the Iambic and Trochaic have more *motion*; the latter being adapted to *dance*, the other to *action* and *business*. To *mix* these different metres as *Chermon* has done, would be still more absurd. No one, therefore, has ever attempted to compose a poem of an extended plan in any other than heroic verse; nature itself, as we before observed, pointing out the proper choice.

Among the many just claims of Homer to our praise, this is one—that he is the only poet who seems to have understood what part in his poem it was proper for him to take *himself*. The poet, in his own person, should speak as little as possible; for he is not then the *imitator*. But other poets, ambitious to figure throughout themselves, *imitate* but little, and seldom. Homer, after a few preparatory lines, immediately introduces a man, a woman, or some other character; for all have their *character*—nowhere are the *manners* neglected.

The *surprising* is necessary in *Tragedy*; but the epic poem goes

farther, and admits even the *improbable* and *incredible*, from which the highest degree of the surprising results, because, there, the action is not *seen*. The circumstances, for example, of the pursuit of Hector by Achilles, are such as upon the stage would appear ridiculous;—the Grecian army standing still, and taking no part in the pursuit, and Achilles making signs to them, by the motion of his head, not to interfere. But in the epic poem this escapes our notice. Now the *wonderful* always pleases; as is evident from the additions which men always make in relating anything, in order to gratify the hearers.

It is from Homer principally that other poets have learned the art of properly narrating fictions. This consists in a sort of *sophism*. When *one thing* is observed to be constantly followed by *another*, men are apt to conclude, that if the latter *is*, or *happens*, the former must also *be* or must *happen*. But this is a fallacy<sup>1</sup>.

The poet should prefer *impossibilities* which *appear probable*, to such things as, though *possible*, appear *improbable*. He should not produce a plan made up of improbable incidents, [but he should, if possible, admit no one circumstance of that kind; or, if he does, it should be *exterior* to the *action* itself, like the ignorance of *Œdipus* concerning the manner in which *Laius* died; not *within* the drama, like the narrative of what happened at the Pythian games, in the *Electra*; or in *The Mysians*, the man who travels from Tegea to Mysia without speaking.] To say, that *without* these circumstances the fable would have been destroyed, is a ridiculous excuse: the poet should take care, from the first, not to construct his fable, in that manner. If, however, anything of this kind has been admitted, and yet is made to pass under some colour of probability, it may be allowed, though even in itself *absurd*. Thus, in the *Odyssey*, the improbable account of the manner in which *Ulysses* was landed upon the shore of Ithaca is such as, in the hands of an ordinary poet, would evidently have been intolerable: but here the absurdity is concealed under the various beauties, of other kinds, with which the poet has embellished it.

The diction should be most laboured in the *idle* parts of the poem—those in which neither *manners* nor *sentiments* prevail; for the manners and the sentiments are only obscured by too splendid a diction.

[\*      \*      \*      \*      \*]

Cap. xxv.

<sup>1</sup> The editions here insert the following Scholium: διὸ δὴ, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, ἄλλου δὲ τούτου ὄντος, ἀνάγκη ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι προσθεῖναι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἀληθὲς ὄν, παραλογίζεται ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ὄν. παράδειγμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν *Ἡετρω*.—J. W. D.

<sup>2</sup> Here follows a Chapter xxv., which is not in the style of Aristotle, and may safely be omitted for the reasons given by Ritter.—J. W. D.

Cap. XXVI.  
Superiority  
of tragic to  
epic poetry.

It may be inquired, farther, which of the two imitations, the *epic* or the *tragic*, deserves the preference.

If that, which is the least *vulgar* or *popular* of the two, be the best, and that be such which is calculated for the better sort of spectators—the imitation which extends to every circumstance must evidently be the most vulgar or popular; for there the imitators have recourse to every kind of motion and gesticulation, as if the audience, without the aid of action, were incapable of understanding them: like bad flute-players, who whirl themselves round when they would imitate the motion of the discus, and pull the Coryphæus, when *Scylla* is the subject. Such is Tragedy. It may also be compared to what the modern actors are in the estimation of their predecessors; for *Myniscus* used to call *Callippides*, on account of his intemperate action, the *ape*: and *Tyndarus* was censured on the same account. What these performers are with respect to their predecessors, the tragic imitation, when entire, is to the epic. The latter, then, it is urged, addresses itself to hearers of the better sort, to whom the addition of gesture is superfluous: but Tragedy is for *the people*; and being, therefore, the most vulgar kind of imitation, is evidently the inferior.

But now, in the *first* place, this censure falls, not upon the *poet's* art, but upon that of the *actor*; for the gesticulation may be equally laboured in the recitation of an epic poem, as it was by *Sosistratus*; and in singing, as by *Mnasitheus* the *Opuntian*.

Again—All gesticulation is not to be condemned, since even all *dancing* is not; but such only as is unbecoming—such as was objected to *Callippides*, and is now objected to others, whose gestures resemble those of immodest women.

Further—Tragedy, as well as the epic, is capable of producing its effect, even without action; we can judge of it perfectly by *reading*. If, then, in *other* respects, Tragedy be superior, it is sufficient that the fault here objected is not *essential* to it.

Tragedy has the *advantage* in the following respects. It possesses all that is possessed by the epic; it *might* even adopt its metre; and to this it makes no inconsiderable addition in the music and the decoration; by the latter of which the illusion is heightened, and the pleasure, arising from the action, is rendered more sensible and striking.

It has the advantage of greater clearness and distinctness of impression, as well *in reading* as in representation.

It has also that of attaining the end of its imitation in a shorter compass: for the effect is more pleasurable, when produced by a short and close series of impressions, than when weakened by diffusion



through a long extent of time ; as the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, for example, would be, if it were drawn out to the length of the *Iliad*. Further : there is less *unity* in all epic imitation ; as appears from this—that any epic poem will furnish matter for *several* Tragedies. For, supposing the poet to choose a fable *strictly* one, the consequence must be, either, that his poem, if proportionably contracted, will appear curtailed and defective, or, if extended to the usual length, will become weak, and, as it were, *diluted*. If, on the other hand, we suppose him to employ *several* fables—that is, a fable composed of *several* actions—his imitation is no longer *strictly* one. The *Iliad*, for example, and the *Odyssey*, contain many such subordinate parts, each of which has a certain magnitude and unity of its own ; yet is the construction of those poems as perfect, and as nearly approaching to the imitation of a single action as possible.

If then, *Tragedy* be superior to the epic in all these respects, and also in the peculiar *end* at which it aims (for each species ought to afford, not *any* sort of pleasure indiscriminately, but such only as has been pointed out), it evidently follows, that Tragedy, as it attains more effectually the end of the *art itself*, must deserve the preference.

[And thus much concerning Tragic and epic poetry in *general*, and their several *species*—the *number* and the *differences* of their *parts*—the causes of their *beauties* and their *defects*—the *censures* of critics, and the principles on which they are to be *answered*.]

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(II.)

## VITRUVIUS

### ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE THEATRE.

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#### *De conformatione theatri facienda.*

**I**PSIUS autem theatri conformatio sic est facienda, uti, quam magna futura est perimetros imi, centro medio collocato circumagatur linea rotundationis, in eaque quatuor scribantur trigona paribus lateribus et intervallis, quæ extremam lineam circinationis tangant: quibus etiam in duodecim signorum cælestium descriptione astrologi ex musica convenientia astrorum ratiocinantur. Ex his trigonis cuius latus fuerit proximum scenæ ea regione, qua præcidit curvaturam circinationis, ibi finiatur scenæ frons, et ab eo loco per centrum parallelos linea ducatur, quæ disiungat proscenii pulpitum et orchestræ regionem. 2. Ita latius factum fuerit pulpitum quam Græcorum, quod omnes artifices in scena dant operam: in orchestra autem senatorum sunt sedibus loca designata: et eius pulpiti altitudo sit ne plus pedum quinque, uti qui in orchestra sederint, spectare possint omnium agentium gestus. Cunei spectaculorum in theatro ita dividantur, uti anguli trigonorum, qui currunt circum curvaturam circinationis, dirigant ascensus scalasque inter cuneos ad primam præinctionem. Supra autem alternis itineribus superiores cunei medii dirigantur. 3. Hi autem, qui sunt in imo et dirigunt scalaria, erunt numero septem, [anguli] reliqui quinque scenæ designabunt compositionem; et unus medius contra se valvas regias habere debet; et qui erunt dextra ac sinistra hospitalium designabunt compositionem; extremi duo spectabunt itinera versurarum. Gradus spectaculorum, ubi subsellia componantur, ne minus alti sint palmopede, ne plus pede et digitis sex: latitudines eorum ne plus pedes duos semis, ne minus pedes duo constituentur. Tectum porticus, quod futurum est in summa gradatione, cum scenæ altitudine libratum perficiatur ideo, quod

vox crescens æqualiter ad summas gradationes et tectum perveniet. Namque si non erit æquale, quo minus fuerit altum, vox præripietur ad eam altitudinem, ad quam perveniet primo. 5. Orchestra inter gradus imos quam diametron habuerit, eius sexta pars sumatur, et in cornibus utrinque aditus ad eius mensuræ perpendiculum inferiores sedes præciantur, et qua præcisio fuerit, ibi constituentur itinerum supercilia; ita enim satis altitudinem habebunt eorum confornicationes. 6. Scenæ longitudo ad orchestræ diametron duplex fieri debet: podii altitudo ab libramento pulpiti cum corona et lysi duodecima orchestræ diametri: supra podium columnæ cum capitulis et spiris altæ quarta parte eiusdem diametri: epistylia et ornamenta earum columnarum altitudinis quinta parte: pluteum insuper cum unda et corona inferioris plutei dimidia parte: supra id pluteum columnæ quarta parte minore altitudine sint quam inferiores: epistylia et ornamenta earum columnarum quinta parte. Item si tertia episcenos futura erit, mediani plutei summum sit dimidia parte: columnæ summæ medianarum minus altæ sint quarta parte: epistylia cum coronis earum columnarum item habeant altitudinis quintam partem. 7. Nec tamen in omnibus theatris symmetriæ ad omnes rationes et effectus possunt respondere, sed oportet architectum animadvertere, quibus proportionibus necesse sit sequi symmetriam, et quibus rationibus ad loci naturam magnitudinem operis debeat temperari. Sunt enim res, quas et in pusillo et in magno theatro necesse est eadem magnitudine fieri propter usum; uti gradus, diazomata, pluteos, itinera, adscensus, pulpita, tribunalia, et si qua alia intercurrunt, ex quibus necessitas cogit discedere ab symmetria, ne impediatur usus. Non minus si qua exiguitas copiarum, id est marmoris, materiæ, reliquarumque rerum, quæ parantur, in opere defuerint, paululum demere aut adicere, dum id ne nimium improbe fiat sed cum sensu, non erit alienum. Hoc autem erit, si architectus erit usu peritus, præterea ingenio mobili solertiaque non fuerit viduatus. 8. Ipsæ autem scenæ suas habeant rationes explicatas ita, uti mediæ valvæ ornatus habeant aulæ regiæ; dextra ac sinistra hospitalia: secundum autem spatia ad ornatus comparata, quæ loca Græci *περιάκτους* dicunt ab eo, quod machinæ sunt in iis locis versatiles trigonæ, habentes in singula tres species ornationis, quæ cum aut fabularum mutationes sunt futuræ, seu deorum adventus cum tonitribus repentinis, versentur mutantque speciem ornationis in frontes: secundum ea loca versuræ sunt procurrentes, quæ efficiunt una a foro altera a peregre aditus in scenam. 9. Genera autem sunt scenarum tria: unum, quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. Horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimili disparique ratione: quod tragicæ deformantur columnis et fastigiis et signis reliquisque regalibus rebus: comicæ autem ædificiorum

privatorum et menianorum habent speciem, prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione communium ædificiorum rationibus: satyricæ vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus in *τοπειωδῇ* speciem deformatis.

*De theatris Græcorum.*

In Græcorum theatris non omnia iisdem rationibus sunt facienda; quod primum in ima circinatione, ut in Latino trigonorum quatuor, in eo quadratorum trium anguli circinationis lineam tangunt: et cuius quadrati latus est proximum scenæ præciditque curvaturam circinationis, ea regione designatur finitio proscenii; et ab ea regione ad extremam circinationem curvaturæ parallelos linea designatur, in qua constituitur frons scenæ: per centrumque orchestræ proscenii e regione parallelos linea describitur, et qua secat circinationis lineas dextra ac sinistra in cornibus hemicycli, centra designantur, et circino collocato in dextra, ab intervallo sinistro circumagatur circinatio ad proscenii dextram partem: item centro collocato in sinistro cornu, ab intervallo dextro circumagatur ad proscenii sinistram partem. 2. Ita a tribus centris hac descriptione ampliorem habent orchestram Græci et scenam recessiorem minoreque latitudine pulpitem, quod *λογεῖον* appellant, ideo quod apud eos tragici et comici actores in scena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram præstant actiones. Itaque ex eo scenici et thymelici Græce separatim nominantur. Eius logei altitudo non minus debet esse pedum decem, non plus duodecim. Gradationes scalarum inter cuneos et sedes contra quadratorum angulos dirigantur ad primam præcinctionem: ab ea præcinctione inter eas iterum mediæ dirigantur, et ad summam quotiens præcinguntur, altero tanto semper amplificantur.

*De locis consonantibus ad theatra eligendis.*

Cum hæc omnia summa cura solertiaque explicata sint, tunc etiam diligentius est animadvertendum, uti sit electus locus, in quo leniter applicet se vox, neque repulsa resiliens incertas auribus referat significationes. Sunt enim nonnulli loci naturaliter impediētes vocis motus, uti dissonantes, qui Græce dicuntur *κατηχοῦντες*: circumsonantes, qui apud eos nominantur *περιηχοῦντες*: item resonantes, qui dicuntur *ἀντηχοῦντες*: consonantesque, quos appellant *συνηχοῦντας*. Dissonantes sunt, in quibus vox prima, cum est elata in altitudinem, offensa superioribus solidis corporibus, repulsaque resiliens in imum, opprimit insequentis vocis elationem. 2. Circumsonantes autem sunt, in quibus circumvagando coacta vox se solvens in medio sine extremis casibus sonans, ibi

extinguitur incerta verborum significatione. Resonantes vero, in quibus, cum in solido tactu percussa resiliat, imagines exprimendo novissimos casus duplices faciunt auditu. Item consonantes sunt, in quibus ab imis auxiliata, cum incremento scandens, ingreditur ad aures diserta verborum claritate. Ita si in locorum electione fuerit, diligens animadversio, emendatus erit prudentia ad utilitatem in theatris vocis effectus.

Formarum autem descriptiones inter se discriminibus his erunt notatae, uti quæ ex quadratis designantur, Græcorum habeant usus, Latinæ paribus lateribus trigonorum. Ita his præscriptionibus qui voluerit uti, emendatas efficiet theatrorum perfectiones.

(III.)

JULIUS POLLUX  
ON THE VOCABULARY OF THE DRAMA.

Περὶ ὀρχηστοῦ καὶ ὀρχήσεως.

Lih. iv.  
§ 95.

**Ε**Ι δὲ καὶ ὀρχησις μέρος μουσικῆς, ῥητέον, ὀρχηστής, ὀρχηστικός, ὀρχήσασθαι, ὑπορχήσασθαι, ἐξορχήσασθαι, ὀρχήματα, ὑπορχήματα. τάχα δὲ καὶ Ὀρχόμενος, παρὰ τὴν τῶν Χαρίτων ὀρχησιν, ὡς Εὐφορίων· Ὀρχομενὸν Χαρίτεσσιν ἀφάρεσιν ὀρχηθέντα.

ἐπορχούμενος, ὀρχήστρα, ὀρχήστρια, ὀρχηστρίς, ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος. σχηματίσασθαι, σχηματοποιήσασθαι. εὐσχημοσύνη, εὐρυθμία, εὐαρμοστία, νεῦσαι, 96 συναπνεύσαι, μορφάσαι, παραγαγεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν, διενεγκεῖν, περιενεγκεῖν, περιαγωγῇ χρήσασθαι, τῶν χειρῶν περιαγωγῇ, πηδῆσαι, πυρρίχισαι· πυρρίχη ἐνόπλιος ὀρχησις. εἴποισ δ' ἂν ὀρχηστήν, κοῦφον, ἐλαφρόν, πηδητικόν, ἀλτικόν, εὐάρμοστον, εὐρυθμον, εὐσχήμονα, ὑγρόν, πολυσχήμονα, ἐναργῇ, ἐνδεικτικόν, δηλωτικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν, παντοδαπόν, εὐτρεπτον, εὐτράπελον, 97 δημαγωγικόν, δημοτερπῇ, ὀχλοτερπῇ, ὑγρομελῇ, ῥάδιον, πρόχειρον, εὐκόλον, εὐκαμπῇ, λυγιστικόν, ἐπικλώμενον, ἐξυγραινόμενον, ταχύχειρα, ταχύπου, εὐκέφαλον, εὐφορον, ισόφορον, εὐτακτον· καὶ τὰ πράγματα κουφότητα, ἐλαφρότητα, πήδημα, ἄλμα, εὐαρμοστίαν, εὐρυθμίαν, εὐσχημοσύνην, ὑγρότητα, ἐναργότητα, τέρψιν, πανήγυριν, ἐνδείξιν, δήλωσιν, ἐπιδείξιν, ῥαστώνην, εὐκολίαν, λυγισμόν, παραγωγὴν, παραφοράν, κάμψιν, ὀξυχειρίαν, εὐχειρίαν, ταχυχειρίαν, εὐποδίαν, εὐφορίαν, ισοφορίαν, εὐταξίαν. καὶ τὰ ῥήματα 98 κουφισθῆναι, ἐλαφρίσασθαι, πηδῆσαι, παραδηλῶσαι, ἐπιδείξασθαι, ἐνδείξασθαι, παρενδείξασθαι, παρεπιδείξασθαι, λυγίσαι τὸ σῶμα, κάμψαι, κλάσαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα ὀρχηστικῶς, εὐσχημόνως, πολυσχημόνως, εὐρύθμως, εὐαρμόστως, ὑγρῶς, ἐναργῶς, ἐνδεικτικῶς, δηλωτικῶς, ἐπιδεικτικῶς, πανηγυρικῶς, τερπνῶς, ῥαδίως, εὐκόλως, εὐφόρως, ισοφόρως, εὐτάκτως· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τραχέα.

## Περὶ εἰδῶν ὀρχήσεως.

Εἶδη δὲ ὀρχημάτων, ἐμμέλεια τραγική, κοῤῃδακες κωμικοί, σικιννὶς 99  
σατυρική. ἐνόπλιοι ὀρχήσεις, πυρρῖχῃ τε καὶ τελεσίᾳ, ἐπώνυμοι δύο  
Κρητῶν ὀρχηστῶν, Πυρρῖχου τε καὶ Τελεσίου. ἐκαλεῖτο δέ τι καὶ  
ξίφισμός, καὶ ποδισμός, καὶ ῥικνοῦσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ τὴν ὀσφὺν φορτικῶς  
περιάγειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ κῶμος εἶδος ὀρχήσεως. καὶ τετράκωμος, Ἡρακλέους  
ἱερά, καὶ πολεμική. ἦν δὲ καὶ κωμαστική, μάχην καὶ πληγὰς ἔχουσα, καὶ 100  
ἡδύκωμος, ἡδίῳν, καὶ κνισμός, καὶ ὄκλασμα· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις  
ὀνομάζεται τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ Περσικὸν καὶ σύντονον. τὴν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ὕγραν  
ὠνόμαζον. καὶ φαλλικὸν ὄρχημα ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ, καὶ καλλίνικος ἐφ' Ἡρακλεῖ.  
καὶ κολαβρισμός Θράκιον ὄρχημα καὶ Καρικόν· ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόπλιον.  
καὶ βαυκισμός Βαύκου ὀρχηστοῦ κῶμος ἐπώνυμος, ἀβρά τις ὄρχησις καὶ τὸ  
σῶμα ἐξυγραίνουσα. βακτηριασμός δέ, καὶ ἀπόκινος, καὶ ἀπόσεισις, καὶ ἰγδὶς, 101  
ἀσελγῇ εἶδη ὀρχήσεων, ἐν τῇ τῆς ὀσφύος περιφορᾷ, καὶ στρόβιλος. ὁ δὲ μόθων,  
φορτικὸν ὄρχημα, καὶ ναυτικόν. τὴν δὲ γέρανον κατὰ πλῆθος ὠρχοῦντο,  
ἔκυστος ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κατὰ στοῖχον, τὰ ἄκρα ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐχόντων,  
τῶν περὶ Θησέα πρῶτον περὶ τὸν Δήλιον βωμὸν ἀπομιμησαμένων τὴν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔξοδον. καὶ διποδία δέ, ὄρχημα Λακωνικόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ γίγγρας 102  
πρὸς αὐλὸν ὄρχημα, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ αὐλήματος. ἐκατερίδες δὲ καὶ θερμαν-  
στρίδες, ἔντονα ὀρχήματα, τὸ μὲν χειρῶν κίνησιν ἀσκοῦν, ἡ δὲ θερμανστρίς  
πηδητικόν. τὰ δὲ ἐκλακτίσματα γυναικῶν ἦν ὀρχήματα· ἔδει δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν  
ῶμον ἐκλακτίσαι. καὶ βίβασις δέ τι ἦν εἶδος Λακωνικῆς ὀρχήσεως, ἧς  
καὶ τὰ ἄθλα προὔτιθετο οὐ τοῖς παισὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς κόραις· ἔδει  
δὲ ἄλλεσθαι καὶ ψαύειν τοῖς ποσὶ πρὸς τὰς πυγὰς. καὶ ἡριθμεῖτο τὰ  
πηδήματα, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἦν ἐπίγραμμα,

χίλιά ποκα βιβάτι, πλείστα δὴ τῶν πῇ πόκα.

τὰς δὲ πινακίδας ὠρχοῦντο οὐκ οἶδα εἴτ' ἐπὶ πινάκων, εἴτε πίνακας φέ- 103  
ροντες· τὸ γὰρ κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα οἶδα ὅτι λίκνα ἢ ἐσχαρίδας φέρον-  
τες· κέρνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο. τὸ δὲ Ἴωνικὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠρχοῦντο Σικε-  
λιῶται μάλιστα. τὸ δὲ ἀγγελτικὸν ἐμιμεῖτο σχήματα ἀγγέλων. ὁ δὲ μορφα-  
σμός παντοδαπῶν ζώων μίμησις ἦν. ἦν δέ τι καὶ σκώψ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ  
σκωπίας, εἶδος ὀρχήσεως, ἔχον τινὰ τοῦ τραχήλου περιφορὰν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ  
ὄρνιθος μίμησιν, ὅς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως πρὸς τὴν ὄρχησιν ἀλίσκεται. ὁ δὲ λέων 104  
ὀρχήσεως φοβῶσ εἶδος. ἦν δὲ τινα καὶ Λακωνικὰ ὀρχήματα, δειμαλέα.  
Σειληνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Σάτυροι ὑπότρομα ὀρχούμενοι. καὶ  
ἰθυμβοὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ. καὶ καρνατίδες ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ βρυάλιχα, τὸ μὲν  
εὖρημα Βρυαλίχου, προσωρχοῦντο δὲ γυναῖκες Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι  
οἱ δὲ ὑπογύπωνες, γερόντων ὑπὸ βακτηρίαις τὴν μίμησιν εἶχον· οἱ δὲ γύπωνες,  
ξύλινων κώλων ἐπιβαίνοντες, ὠρχοῦντο, διαφανῇ ταραντινίδια ἀμπεχόμενοι.  
καὶ μὴν Ἐσχάρινθον ὄρχημα ἐπώνυμον ἦν τοῦ εὐρόντος αὐλητοῦ. τυρ-  
βασίαν δ' ἐκάλουν τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ διθυραμβικόν, δεικηλιστικὴν δὲ δι' ἧς ἐμι- 105



μοῦντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῶν ἐώλων κρεῶν ἀλισκομένους. λομβρότερον δὲ ἦν ὃ ὠρχοῦντο γυμνοὶ σὺν αἰσχρολογίᾳ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σχιστάς ἔλκειν, σχῆμα ὀρχήσεως χωρικῆς. ἔδει δὲ πηδῶντα ἐπαλλάττειν τὰ σκέλη. καὶ μὴν τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως τὰ σχήματα, σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπραιῆς, ξύλου παράληψις, διπλῇ, θερμανστρίς, κυβίστησις, παραβῆναι τέτταρα. ὃ δὲ τετράκωμος, τὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως εἶδος, οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τι προσῆκον ἦν τοῖς Ἀθήνησι τετρακώμοις, οἳ ἦσαν, Πειραιεῖς, Φαληρεῖς, Ξυπεταῖονες, Θυμοιτάδαι.

Περὶ χοροῦ, χορευτοῦ, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

- 106 Τούτοις δ' ἂν προσήκοι χορός, χοροποιία, χοροστασία, χορικὸν μέλος, χορεῖσαι, χορευτής, συγχορευτής, χορηγός, χορηγία, χορήγιον ὁ τόπος, οὗ ἡ παρυσκευὴ τοῦ χορηγοῦ. πρόσχορον δέ, καὶ συγχορεύτριαν κέκληκε τὴν συγχορεῖουσιν Ἀριστοφάνης. ἡγεμὼν χοροῦ, κορυφαῖος χοροῦ, χοραλέκτης, χοροποιός, διδάσκαλος, ὑποδιδάσκαλος, χοροδιδάσκαλος, δεξιοστάτης, ἀριστεροστάτης, λαιοστάτης, τριτοστάτης. καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα δέ, τριτοστάτιν Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ. παιδικὸς χορός, ἀνδρικός, κωμικός, τραγικός. καὶ ἡμιχόριον δέ, καὶ διχορία, καὶ ἀντιχορία. ἔοικε δὲ ταῦτόν εἶναι ταυτὶ τὰ τρία ὀνόματα ὅπῃ γὰρ ὁ χορὸς εἰς δύο διαιρεθῇ, τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα καλεῖται διχορία, ἑκάτερα δὲ ἡ μοῖρα ἡμιχόριον, ἃ δὲ ἀντάδουσιν, ἀντιχορία. τριχορίαν δὲ Τυρταῖος ἔστησε, τρεῖς Λακωνίων χορούς, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἑκάστην, παῖδας, ἄνδρας, γέροντας.
- 107 ἐπὶ δὲ χοροῦ, καὶ συμφωνία, καὶ συνῳδία, καὶ συναυλία. καὶ ἡ μὲν εἴσοδος τοῦ χοροῦ, πάροδος καλεῖται. ἡ δὲ κατὰ χρεῖαν ἔξοδος, ὡς πάλιν εἰσιόντων, μετάστασις. ἡ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν εἴσοδος, ἐπιπάροδος. ἡ δὲ τελεία ἔξοδος, ἄφοδος. καὶ ἐπεισόδιον δὲ ἐν δράμασι πρᾶγμα πράγματι συναπτόμενον. καὶ μέλος δὲ τι ἐξόδιον, ὃ ἐξιόντες ᾗδον. Μέρη δὲ χοροῦ, στοῖχος, ζυγός. καὶ τραγικοῦ μὲν χοροῦ, ζυγὰ πέντε ἐκ τριῶν καὶ στοῖχοι τρεῖς ἐκ πέντε.
- 108 πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ ἦσαν ὁ χορός. καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς μὲν εἰσῆσαν, εἰ κατὰ ζυγὰ γίγνοιτο ἡ πάροδος, εἰ δὲ κατὰ στοίχους, ἀνὰ πέντε εἰσῆσαν. ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πάροδον. ὃ δὲ κωμικὸς χορὸς τέτταρες καὶ εἴκοσιν οἱ χορευταί, ζυγὰ ἕξ, ἕκαστον δὲ ζυγὸν ἐκ τεττάρων, στοῖχοι δὲ τέσσαρες, ἕξ ἄνδρας ἔχων ἕκαστος. ὅποτε μὲν ἀντὶ τετάρτου ὑποκριτοῦ δέοι τινὰ τῶν χορευτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧδῃ, παρασκήνιον καλεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα. εἰ δὲ τέταρτος ὑποκριτής τι παραφθέγγεται, τοῦτο παραχορήγημα ἐκαλεῖται. καὶ πεπράχθαι φασιν αὐτὸ ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι Αἰσχύλου. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ὁ τραγικὸς χορὸς πεντήκοντα ἦσαν, ἄχρι τῶν Εὐμενίδων Αἰσχύλου. πρὸς δὲ τὸν χρόνον αὐτῶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκπτοηθέντος, συνέστειλεν ὁ νόμος εἰς ἐλάττω ἀριθμὸν τὸν χορόν.

Περὶ χορικῶν ᾠσμάτων.

- 11 Τῶν δὲ χορικῶν ᾠσμάτων τῶν κωμικῶν ἐν τι καὶ ἡ παράβασις, ὅταν ὁ ποιητής πρὸς τὸ θέατρον βούληται λέγειν, ὁ χορὸς παρελθὼν λέγει

ταῦτα ἐπιεικῶς δὲ αὐτὸ ποιούσιν οἱ κωμωδοποιηταί, τραγικὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλ' Εὐριπίδης αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν ἐν πολλοῖς δράμασιν. ἐν μὲν γέ τῇ Δανάῃ τὸν χορὸν τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιήσας παράδειν, ἐκλαθόμενος, ὡς ἄνδρας λέγειν ἐποίησε τῷ σχήματι τῆς λέξεως τὰς γυναῖκας. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀμίλλης ποιεῖ σπανιάκεις, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἰππόνῳ. τῆς μέντοι παραβάσεως τῆς κωμικῆς ἑπτὰ ἂν εἴη μέρη, κομ- 112 μάτιον, παράβασις, μακρόν, στροφή, ἐπίρρημα, ἀντίστροφος, ἀντεπίρρημα. ὧν τὸ μὲν κομμάτιον, καταβολή τις ἐστὶ βραχείος μέλους. ἡ δὲ παράβασις, ὡς τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἐν ἀναπαίστῳ μέτρῳ. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ, ἀνάπαιστα τὸ ἐπὶ κλην ἔχει. τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον μακρόν, ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει βραχὺ μελύδριόν ἐστιν, ἀπνευστὶ ἀδόμενον. τῇ δὲ στροφῇ ἐν κώλοις προασθείσῃ, τὸ ἐπίρρημα, ἐν τετραμέτροις ἐπάγεται καὶ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τῇ στροφῇ ἀντασθείσης, τὸ ἀντεπίρρημα τελευταῖον ὃν τῆς παραβάσεως, ἐστὶ τετράμετρα, οὐκ ἐλάττω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ἐπίρρηματος.

#### Περὶ ὑποκριτῶν ἢ ὑποκρίσεως.

Εἰσὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑποκριταί, καὶ ὑπόκρισις, καὶ ἀντίκρισις, καὶ 113 ὑποκρίνασθαι τὰ ἱαμβεῖα, διαθέσθαι, σχηματίσασθαι, ῥῆσιν ἀποτεῖναι, ῥῆσιν διαπεράνασθαι, εἶραι, συνεῖραι, ἀποτάδην, ἀπνευστί, ὑπορχήσασθαι, ἐνδείξασθαι, παρενδείξασθαι, νεῦσαι, χλευάσαι, μορφάσαι. στιχομυθεῖν δὲ ἔλεγον, τὸ παρ' ἐν ἱαμβεῖον ἀντιλέγειν. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, στιχομυθίαν. Εἵποισ δ' ἂν, 114 βαρύτονος ὑποκριτῆς, βομβῶν, περιβομβῶν, ληκυθίζων, λαρυγγίζων, φαρυγγίζων. καὶ βαρύφωνος δέ, καὶ λεπτόφωνος, καὶ γυναικόφωνος, καὶ στρηνόφωνος, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς περὶ φωνῆς εἴρηται. ἀναζυγῶσαι δὲ τὸ φθέγμα ἔλεγον, καὶ καταπεπνίχθαι τὸ φθέγμα. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης που φησὶ  
φθέγξαι σὺ τὴν φωνὴν ἀναστοιχήσας ἄνω.

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς

καὶ φθέγμα κεκράτηκεν.

#### Περὶ ὑποκριτῶν σκευῆς.

Καὶ σκευὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, στολή. ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ σωματίον 115 ἑκαλεῖτο. σκευοποιὸς δέ, ὁ προσωποποιός. καὶ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, πρόσωπον, προσωπεῖον, προσωπίς, μορμολύκειον, γοργόνειον.

#### Περὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ ἐσθήτων τραγικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν καὶ λοιπῆς σκευῆς.

Καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, κόθορνοι μὲν τὰ τραγικὰ καὶ ἐμβάδες. ἐμβάται 116 δέ, τὰ κωμικά. καὶ ἐσθῆτες μὲν τραγικαί, ποικίλον (οὕτω γὰρ ἑκαλεῖτο ὁ χιτῶν) τὰ δὲ ἐπιβλήματα, ξυστίς, βατραχίς, χλανίς, χλαμὺς διάχρυσος, χρυσόπαστος, φοινικίς, τιάρα, καλύπτρα στατός, μίτρα, ἀγρηνόν. τὸ δ' ἦν πλέγμα ἐξ ἐρίων δικτυῶδες περὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, ὃ Τειρεσίς ἐπεβάλλετο, ἡ

τις ἄλλος μάντις. κόλπωμα, ὃ ὑπὲρ τὰ ποικίλα ἐνεδέδυντο οἱ Ἀτρεῖς, καὶ οἱ  
 Ἀγαμέμνονες, καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. ἐφαπτίς, συστρεμμάτιόν τι φοινικούν, ἢ  
 πορφυρούν, ὃ περὶ τὴν χεῖρα εἶχον οἱ πολεμοῦντες, ἢ θηρῶντες. ὁ δὲ  
 117 κροκωτός, ἱμάτιον. Διόνυσος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐχρήτο, καὶ μασχαλιστῆρι ἀνθινῷ,  
 καὶ θύρσῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν δυστυχίαις ὄντες ἢ λευκὰ δισπινῇ εἶχον, μάλιστα οἱ  
 φυγάδες, ἢ φαιά, ἢ μέλανα, ἢ μήλινα, ἢ γλαύκινα. ῥάκια δέ, Φιλοκτήτου  
 ἢ στολὴ καὶ Τηλέφου. καὶ νεβρίδες δέ, καὶ διφθέραι, καὶ μάχαιραι, καὶ  
 σκῆπτρα, καὶ δόρατα, καὶ τόξα, καὶ φαρέτρα, καὶ κηρύκεια, καὶ ῥόπαλα,  
 118 καὶ λεοντῇ, καὶ παντευχία, μέρη τραγικῆς ἀνδρείας σκευῆς. γυναικείας δέ,  
 συρτὸς πορφυρούς, παράπηχυ λευκόν, τῆς βασιλευούσης. τῆς δὲ ἐν συμ-  
 φορᾷ, ὁ μὲν συρτός, μέλας, τὸ δὲ ἐπίβλημα, γλαυκόν, ἢ μήλινον. ἢ δὲ  
 Σατυρικὴ ἐσθῆς, νεβρίς, αἰγῇ, ἣν καὶ ἱσαλὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τραγῆν, καὶ πον  
 καὶ παρδαλῇ ὑφασμένη. καὶ τὸ θήραιον τὸ Διονυσιακόν. καὶ χλανὶς ἀν-  
 θινή. καὶ φοινικούν ἱμάτιον, καὶ χορταῖος, χιτῶν δασύς, ὃν οἱ Σειληνοὶ  
 φοροῦσι. κωμικὴ δὲ ἐσθῆς, ἐξωμὶς. ἔστι δὲ χιτῶν λευκός, ἄσημος, κατὰ  
 119 τὴν ἀριστερὰν πλευρὰν ῥαφὴν οὐκ ἔχων ἄγναπτος. γερόντων δὲ φόρημα  
 ἱμάτιον, καμπύλη, φοινικίς, ἢ μελαμπόρφυρον ἱμάτιον, φόρημα νεωτέρων.  
 πήρα, βακτηρία, διφθέρα, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγροίκων. καὶ πορφυρᾷ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἐχρῶντο  
 οἱ νεανίσκοι, οἱ δὲ παράσιτοι, μελαίνῃ, ἢ φαιᾷ, πλὴν ἐν Σικυωνίῃ, λευκῇ,  
 ὅτε μέλλει γαμεῖν ὁ παράσιτος. τῇ δὲ τῶν δούλων ἐξωμίδι καὶ ἱματίδιόν τι  
 πρόσκειται λευκόν, ὃ ἐγκόμβωμα λέγεται, ἢ ἐπίρρημα. Τῷ δὲ μαγεῖρι, διπλῇ,  
 ἄγναπτος ἢ ἐσθῆς. ἢ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐσθῆς κωμικῶν, ἢ μὲν τῶν γραῶν, μηλίνῃ,  
 120 ἢ ἀερίνῃ, πλὴν ἱερειῶν. ταύταις δέ, λευκῇ. αἱ δὲ μαστροποί, ἢ μητέρες  
 ἑταιρῶν, ταινιδιόν τι πορφυρούν περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσιν. ἢ δὲ τῶν  
 νέων, λευκῇ, ἢ βυσσίνῃ. ἐπικλήρων δέ, λευκῇ, κροσσωτή. πορνοβοσκοὶ  
 δέ, χιτῶνι βαπτῷ, καὶ ἀνθινῷ περιβολαίῳ ἐνδέδυνται, καὶ ῥάβδον εὐθείαν  
 φέρουσιν. ἄρεσκος καλεῖται ἡδε ἢ ῥάβδος. Τοῖς δὲ παρασίτοις πρόσεστι  
 καὶ στλεγγίς, καὶ λήκυθος, ὡς τοῖς ἀγροίκοις λαγωβόλον. ἐνίαις δὲ γυναῖξι  
 καὶ παράπηχυ, καὶ συμμετρία, ὅπερ ἔστι χιτῶν ποδήρης, ἀλουργῆς κύκλῳ.

Περὶ θεάτρου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτό.

121 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον οὐ μικρὸν μέρος ἔστι τῶν μουσικῶν, αὐτὸ  
 μὲν ἂν εἴποις θέατρον, καὶ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον, καὶ Διαιτικόν. καὶ τὸ  
 πλῆθος, θεατάς. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ συνθεάτριαν εἶρηκεν. ὥστ' οὐ θεατὴν  
 μόνον εἴποις ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάτριαν. κατὰ δὲ Πλάτωνα, καὶ θεατροκρατίαν.  
 τοὺς δ' ἀναβαθμούς, καὶ βάθρα, καὶ ἑδρας, καὶ ἐδῶλια. καὶ ἐδωλιάζειν, τὸ  
 συγκαθίζειν. πρῶτον δὲ ξύλον, ἢ προεδρία, μάλιστα μὲν δικαστῶν. ἐφ'  
 ὧν καὶ τὸν πρῶτον καθίζοντα, πρωτόβαθρον Φερεκράτης εἶρηκεν ὁ κωμικο-  
 122 διδάσκαλος. ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ θεάτρου κατὰ καταχρῆσιν λέγοις. τὸ μέντοι  
 τὰ ἐδῶλια ταῖς πτέρναις κατακρούειν, πτερνοκοπεῖν ἔλεγον. ἐποίουν δὲ  
 τοῦτο, ὅποτε τινὰ ἐκβάλοιεν. ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ κλώζειν, καὶ τὸ συρίττειν. ἐκαλεῖτο

δέ τι καὶ βουλευτικὸν μέρος τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ ἐφήβικόν. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ παραπέτασμα, αὐλαίαν καλεῖν, Ὑπερίδου εἰπόντος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, “οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες εἰσιτῶντο ἐν τῇ Στοᾷ, περιφραζάμενοί τι μέρος αὐτῆς αὐλαίᾳ.”

Περὶ μερῶν θεάτρου.

Μέρη θεάτρου δὲ πυλῖς, καὶ ψαλῖς, καὶ κατατομή, κερκίδες, σκηνή, 123 ὀρχήστρα, λογεῖον, προσκηνίον, παρασκήνια, ὑποσκήνια. καὶ σκηνή μὲν, ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον. ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα, τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμά τι οὔσα, εἴτε βωμός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀγυιεύς ἔκειτο βωμός πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. καὶ τράπεζα, πέμματα ἔχουσα, ἡ θεωρὶς ὠνομάζετο, ἡ θυωρὶς. ἐλεὸς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θεσπίδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο. τὸ δὲ ὑποσκήνιον, κίοσι, καὶ ἀγαλματίοις ἐκ- 124 ἐκόσμητο, πρὸς τὸ θέατρον τετραμμένον, ὑπὸ τὸ λογεῖον κείμενον. τριῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν θυρῶν ἡ μέση μὲν, βασίλειον, ἡ σπήλαιον, ἡ οἶκος ἔνδοξος, ἡ πᾶν τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν τοῦ δράματος. ἡ δὲ δεξιὰ, τοῦ δευτεραγωνιστοῦντος καταγώγιον. ἡ δὲ ἀριστερά, ἡ τὸ εὐτελέστατον ἔχει πρόσωπον, ἡ ἱερὸν ἐξηρημωμένον, ἡ ἄοικός ἐστιν. ἐν δὲ τραγωδίᾳ ἡ μὲν 125 δεξιὰ θύρα, ξενὼν ἐστίν, εἰρκτὴ δέ, ἡ λαιά. τὸ δὲ κλίσιον ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παράκειται παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, παραπετάσματι δηλούμενον. καὶ ἔστι μὲν σταθμός ὑποζυγίων. καὶ αἱ θύραι αὐτοῦ μείζους δοκοῦσι, καλούμεναι κλισιάδες, πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας εἰσελαύνειν, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα. ἐν δὲ Ἀντιφάνους Ἀκεστρία καὶ ἐργαστήριον γέγονεν· φησὶ γοῦν

τὸ κλίσιον

ὃ πρότερόν ποτ' ἦν τοῖς ἐξ ἀγροῦ βουσὶ σταθμός,  
καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις, πεποίηκεν ἐργαστήριον.

παρ' ἐκάτερα δὲ τῶν δύο θυρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν μέσην, ἄλλαι δύο 126 εἶεν ἅν, μία ἐκατέρωθεν, πρὸς αἷς αἱ περίακτοι συμπεπήγασιν. ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ, τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἀριστερά, τὰ ἐκ πόλεως. μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος. καὶ θεοὺς τε θαλαττίους ἐπάγει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαχθέστερα ὄντα ἡ μηχανὴ φέρειν ἀδυνατεῖ. εἰ δὲ ἐπιστρέφοιεν αἱ περίακτοι, ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀμείβει τόπον· ἀμφότεραι δὲ χώραν ὑπαλλάττουσι. τῶν μέντοι παρόδων ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ ἀγρόθεν, ἡ ἐκ λιμένος, ἡ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει· οἱ δὲ ἀλλάχόθεν πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι, κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν εἰσὶ- 127 ασιν. εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν, ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνουνσι. τῆς δὲ κλίμακος οἱ βαθμοί, κλιμακτῆρες καλοῦνται. εἶεν δ' ἅν τῶν ἐκ θεάτρου καὶ ἐκκύκλημα, καὶ μηχανή, καὶ ἐξώστρα, καὶ σκοπή, καὶ τείχος, καὶ πύργος, καὶ φρυκτώριον, καὶ διστεγία, καὶ κεραυνοσκοπεῖον, καὶ βροντεῖον, καὶ θεολογεῖον, καὶ γέρανος, καὶ αἰῶραι, καὶ καταβλήματα, καὶ ἡμικύκλιον, καὶ στροφεῖον, καὶ ἡμιστρόφιον, καὶ χαρώνιοι κλίμακες, καὶ ἀναπιέσματα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκκύκλημα, ἐπὶ ξύλων, ὑψηλὸν βάθος· ὡς ἐκ

- ἐπίκειται θρόνος. δείκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπόρρητα πραχθέντα. καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ ἔργου καλεῖται ἐγκυκλεῖν. ἐφ' οὗ δὲ εἰσάγεται τὸ ἐκκύκλημα, εἰσκύκλημα ὀνομάζεται. καὶ χρὴ τοῦτο νοεῖσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην θύραν, οἶονεῖ, καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν. ἡ μηχανὴ δὲ θεοὺς δείκνυσι, καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐν αἰέρι, Βελλεροφόντας, ἡ Περσεΐς, καὶ κείται
- 129 κατὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν πάροδον, ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν τὸ ὕψος. ὃ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τραγῳδία μηχανή, τοῦτο ἐν κωμῳδία κράδην. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι συκῆς ἐστὶ μίμησις· κράδην γὰρ τὴν συκὴν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀττικοί. τὴν δὲ ἐξώστραν ταῦτόν τῳ ἐκκυκλήματι νομίζουσιν. ἡ σκοπὴ δὲ πεποιήται κατασκοποῖς, ἡ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι προσκοποῦσι. καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ ὁ πύργος, ὡς ἀπὸ ὕψους ἰδεῖν. τὸ δὲ φρυκτώριον τῳ ὀνόματι δηλοῖ τὸ ἔργον. ἡ δὲ διστεγία, ποτὲ μὲν ἐν οἴκῳ βασιλείῳ, διῆρες δωμάτιον, οἶον ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Φοινίσσαις ἡ Ἀντιγόνη βλέπει τὸν στρατόν· ποτὲ δὲ κέραμος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ βάλλουσι τῳ κεράμῳ.
- 130 ἐν δὲ κωμῳδία ἀπὸ τῆς διστεγίας πορνοβοσκοὶ τινες κατοπτρεύουσι, ἡ γραῖδια ἡ γύναια καταβλέπει. κεραυνοσκοπεῖον δὲ καὶ βροντεῖον, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ περιάκτος ὑψηλή· τὸ δὲ βροντεῖον, ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν ὀπισθεν, ἄσχοι ψήφῳ ἔμπλεοι διωγκώμενοι φέρονται κατὰ χαλκωμάτων. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεολογείου, ὄντος ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν, ἐν ὕψει ἐπιφαίνονται θεοί, ὡς ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Ψυχοστασίᾳ. ἡ δὲ γέρανος μηχανήματί τί ἐστὶν ἐκ μετεώρου καταφερόμενον, ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ σώματος, ὃ κέχρηται ἡ Ἥως ἀρπάζουσα τὸ σῶμα
- 131 τοῦ Μένονος. αἰώρας δ' ἂν εἴποις τοὺς κάλως, οἱ κατήρτηνται ἐξ ὕψους, ἀνέχουσιν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰέρος φέρεσθαι δοκοῦντας ἥρωας ἢ θεοὺς. καταβλήματα δέ, ὑφάσματα, ἡ πίνακες ἦσαν, ἔχοντες γραφάς, τῇ χρεΐᾳ τῶν δραμάτων προσφόρους· κατεβάλλετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς περιάκτους, ὅρος δεικνύντα, ἡ θάλατταν, ἡ ποταμόν, ἡ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον. τῳ δὲ ἡμικυκλίῳ τὸ μὲν σχῆμα ὄνομα·
- 132 ἡ δὲ θέσις, κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν· ἡ δὲ χρεΐα, δηλοῦν πόρρω τινὰ τῆς πόλεως τόπον, ἡ τοὺς ἐν θαλάττῃ νηχομένους, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ στροφεῖον, ὃ τοὺς ἥρωας ἔχει, τοὺς εἰς τὸ θεῖον μεθεστηκότας, ἡ τοὺς ἐν πελάγει, ἡ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντας. αἱ δὲ χαρώνιοι κλίμακες, κατὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐδωλίων καθόδους κείμεναι, τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναπέμπουσι. τὰ δὲ ἀναπιέσματα, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, ὡς ποταμόν ἀνελθεῖν, ἡ τι τοιοῦτον πρόσωπον, τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς, ἀφ' ὧν ἀνέβαινον Ἑρινύες.

#### Περὶ προσώπων τραγικῶν.

- 133 Ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ πρόσωπα, τὰ μὲν τραγικὰ εἴη ἄν, ξυρίας ἀνὴρ, λευκός, σπαρτοπόλιος, μέλας ἀνὴρ, ἀνὴρ ξανθός, ἀνὴρ ξανθότερος. οὗτοι μὲν γέροντες. Ὁ δὲ ξυρίας, πρεσβύτατος τῶν γερόντων, λευκώτατος τὴν κόμην. προσκείμεναι τῳ ὄγκῳ αἱ τρίχες. ὄγκος δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνέχον εἰς ὕψος, λαβδοειδεῖ τῳ σχήματι. τὸ δὲ γένειον, ἐν χρῳ κυρίας
- 134 ἐστὶν ὁ ξυρίας, ἐπιμήκης ὧν τὰς παρεΐας. Ὁ δὲ λευκός ἀνὴρ, πᾶς μὲν τούτου, σολιός, βοστρύχους δ' ἔχει περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ τὸ γένειον πεπηγός.

καὶ προπετεῖς ὀφρύς καὶ παράλευκον τὸ χρῶμα ὃ δὲ ὄγκος, βραχύς. ὃ γὰρ μὴν σπαρτοπόλιος δηλοῖ μὲν τὴν τῶν πολιῶν φύσιν, μέλας δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπωχρός. ὃ δὲ μέλας ἀνὴρ, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς χροιᾶς ἔχων τοῦνομα, οὖλος δὲ τὸ γένειον, καὶ τὴν κόμην, τραχύς τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ μέγας ὃ ὄγκος. ὃ 135 δὲ ξανθὸς ἀνὴρ ξανθοὺς ἔχει βοστρύχους, καὶ ὄγκον ἥττω, καὶ ἐστὶν εὖχρους. ὃ δὲ ξανθότερος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅμοιος, ὑπωχρός δὲ μᾶλλον, καὶ δηλοῖ νοσοῦντας. τὰ δὲ νεανίσκων πρόσωπα, πάγχρηστος, οὖλος, πάρουλος, ἀπαλός, πιναρός, δεύτερος πιναρός, ὠχρός, πάρωχρος. ὃ δὲ πάγχρηστος, πρεσβύτατος τῶν νεανίσκων, ἀγένειος, εὖχρους, μελαινόμενος, δασεῖαι καὶ μέλαιναι αἱ τρίχες. ὃ δὲ οὖλος, ξανθός, ὑπέρογκος· αἱ τρίχες τῷ ὄγκῳ προσπε- 136 πήγασιν, ὀφρύς ἀνατέταται, βλοσυρὸς τὸ εἶδος. ὃ δὲ πάρουλος, τᾶλλα ἐοικώς τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον νεανίζει. ὃ δὲ ἀπαλός, βοστρύχοις ξανθός, λευκόχρως, φαιδρός, πρέπων θεῷ ἢ καλῷ. ὃ δὲ πιναρός, ὀγκώδης, ὑποπέλιδνος, κατηφής, δυσπινής, ξανθοκόμης, ξανθῇ κόμῃ ἐπικομῶν. ὃ δὲ δεύτερος πιναρὸς τοσούτῳ τοῦ προτέρου ἰσχυρότερος, ὅσῳ καὶ νεαρώτερος. ὃ δὲ ὠχρὸς φρυγανός ἐστὶ ταῖς σαρκί, καὶ περίκομος, ὑπόξανθος, νοσώ- 137 δης τὴν χροάν, οἷος εἰδῶλῳ, ἢ τραυματίᾳ πρέπειν. ὃ δὲ πάρωχρος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἷος ὃ πάγχρηστος· ὠχρίᾳ δέ, ὡς νοσοῦντα, ἢ ἐρῶντα δηλοῦν. τὰ μέντοι τῶν θεραπόντων πρόσωπα, διφθερίας, σφηνοπώγων, ἀνάσιμος. ὃ μὲν διφθερίας, ὄγκον οὐκ ἔχων, περίκρανον ἔχει, καὶ τρίχας ἐκτενισμένας λευκάς, πρόσωπον ὑπωχρόν τε καὶ ὑπόλευκον, καὶ μυκτῆρα τραχύν, ἐπισκύνιον μετέωρον, ὀφθαλμοὺς σκυθρωπούς. ὑπωχρός δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ γένειον προπαλαί- 138 τερος. ὃ δὲ σφηνοπώγων, ἀκμάζει, καὶ ὄγκον ὑψηλὸν ἔχει καὶ πλατύν, κοιλαινόμενον ἐν τῇ περιφορᾷ· ξανθός, τραχύς, ἐρυθρός, πρέπων ἀγγέλῳ. ὃ δὲ ἀνάσιμος, ὑπέρογκος, ξανθός, ἐκ μέσου ἀνατέτανται αἱ τρίχες, ἀγένειός ἐστιν, ὑπέρυθρος· καὶ οὗτος ἀγγέλλει. τὰ δὲ γυναικῶν πρόσωπα πολιά κατάκομος, γράδιον ἐλεύθερον, γράδιον οἰκετικόν, μεσόκουρον, διφθερίτις, κατάκομος ὠχρά, πρόσφατος, κούριμος παρθένος. ἢ μὲν πολιά 139 κατάκομος ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας τὴν τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, λευκόκομος, μετρία τὸν ὄγκον, ὑπωχρός· πάλαι δὲ παράχρωμος ἐκαλεῖτο. τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον γράδιον, ὑπόξανθον τὴν πολιάν, μικρὸν ὄγκον ἔχον, μέχρι τῶν κλειδῶν αἱ τρίχες, ὑποφαίνει συμφοράν. τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν γράδιον, περίκρανον ἐξ ἀρνακίδων ἀντὶ ὄγκου ἔχει, καὶ ῥυσὸν ἐστὶ τὰς σάρκας. τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν μεσόκουρον, καὶ βραχύς ὄγκος, χροά λευκή, πάρωχρος, οὐ πάντα πολιόν. ἢ δὲ διφθερίτις, νεωτέρα ἐκείνης, καὶ ὄγκον οὐκ ἔχει. ἢ δὲ 140 κατάκομος ὠχρά, μέλαινα τὴν κόμην, βλέμμα λυπηρόν. τὸ δὲ χρῶμα ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἢ δὲ μεσόκουρος ὠχρά, ὁμοία τῇ κατακόμῳ, πλὴν ὅσα ἐκ μέσου κέκαρται. ἢ δὲ μεσόκουρος πρόσφατος, τὴν μὲν κουράν ἔχει κατὰ τὴν πρὸ αὐτῆς· οὐκ ἔχει δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὠχρότητα. ἢ δὲ κούριμος παρθένος ἀντὶ ὄγκου ἔχει τριχῶν κατεψηγμένων διάκρισιν. καὶ βραχέα ἐν κύκλῳ περικέκαρται· ὑπωχρός δὲ τὴν χροάν. ἢ δὲ ἑτέρα κούριμος παρθένος, 141 τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως, πλὴν τῆς διακρίσεως καὶ τῶν κύκλῳ βοστρύχων, ὡς ἐκ



πολλοῦ δυστυχούσα. ἡ δὲ κόρη, νεαρὸν πρόσωπον, οἷον ἂν Δαναῖς γένοιτο ἢ ἄλλη παιδίσκη. τὰ δὲ ἔσκευα πρόσωπα, Ἀκταίων ἐστὶ κερασφόρος, ἡ Φινεὺς τυφλός, ἡ Θάμυρις, τὸν μὲν ἔχων γλαυκὸν ὀφθαλμόν, τὸν δὲ μέλανα. ἡ Ἄργος πολυόφθαλμος, ἡ Τυρὼ πελιδνὴ τὰς παρειὰς παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ. τοῦτο δ' ὑπὸ τῆς μητρυνῆς Σιδηροῦς πληγαῖς πέπονθεν. ἡ Εὐίπη ἢ  
 142 Χείρωνος, ὑπαλλαττομένη εἰς ἵππον παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ. ἡ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἄκοσμος. ἡ Ἀμυμώνη, ἡ ποταμός, ἡ ὄρος, ἡ Γοργώ, ἡ δίκη, ἡ θάνατος, ἡ ἐρινύς, ἡ λύσσα, ἡ οἶστρος, ἡ ὕβρις, ἡ Κένταυρος, ἡ Τιτάν, ἡ Γίγας, ἡ Ἰνδός, ἡ Τρίτων. τάχα δὲ καὶ πόλις, καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ Πειθώ, καὶ Μοῦσαι, καὶ Ὠραι, καὶ Μιθάκου νύμφαι, καὶ Πλειάδες, καὶ ἀπάτη, καὶ μέθη, καὶ ὄκνος, καὶ φθόνος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴη καὶ κωμικά.

#### Περὶ προσώπων Σατυρικῶν.

Σατυρικὰ δὲ πρόσωπα, Σάτυρος πολιός, Σάτυρος γενειῶν, Σάτυρος ἀγέ-  
 νειος, Σειληνὸς πάππος. τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ὅμοια τὰ πρόσωπα, πλὴν ὅσοις ἐκ  
 τῶν ὀνομάτων αἱ παραλλαγαὶ δηλοῦνται, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πάππας ὁ Σειληνὸς  
 τὴν ιδέα ἐστὶ θηριωδέστερος.

#### Περὶ προσώπων κωμικῶν.

- 143 Τὰ δὲ κωμικὰ πρόσωπα, τὰ μὲν τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας, ὥς ἐπιπολὺ τοῖς  
 προσώποις ὧν ἐκωμῶδουν ἀπεικάζετο, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ γελοιότερον ἐσχημάτιστο.  
 τὰ δὲ τῆς νέας, πάππος πρῶτος, πάππος ἕτερος, ἡγεμών, πρεσβύτης μακρο-  
 πώγων, ἡ ἐπισείων, Ἑρμώνειος, σφηνοπώγων, Λυκομήδιος, πορνοβοσκός,  
 Ἑρμώνιος δεύτερος. οὗτοι μὲν γέροντες, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος πάππος, πρεσβύ-  
 τατος, ἐν χρῶ κουρίας, ἡμερώτατος τὰς ὀφρῦς, εὐγένειος, ἰσχνὸς τὰς παρειάς,  
 τὴν ὄψιν κατηφής, λευκὸς τὸ χρῶμα, τὸ πρόσωπον, τὸ μέτωπον ὑπόφαιδρος.  
 144 ὁ δ' ἕτερος πάππος, ἰσχνότερος, καὶ ἐντονώτερος τὸ βλέμμα, καὶ λυπηρός,  
 ὑπώχρος, εὐγένειος, πυρσόθριξ, ὠτοκαταξίας. ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν πρεσβύτης  
 στεφάνην τριχῶν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχε, ἐπίγρυπος, πλατὺπρόσωπος, τὴν  
 ὀφρὺν ἀνατέταται τὴν δεξιάν. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης μακροπώγων καὶ ἐπισείων  
 στεφάνην τριχῶν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχε, εὐπώγων δ' ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἀνατέταται  
 τὰς ὀφρῦς, νωθρὸς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμώνιος, ἀναφаланτίας, εὐπώγων,  
 ἀνατέταται τὰς ὀφρῦς, τὸ βλέμμα δριμύς. ὁ δὲ πορνοβοσκὸς τὰλλα μὲν  
 ἔοικε τῷ Λυκομηδεῖ, τὰ δὲ χεῖλη ὑποσέσηρε, καὶ συνάγει τὰς ὀφρῦς, καὶ  
 ἀναφаланτίας ἐστίν, ἢ φαλακρός. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος Ἑρμώνιος, ἀπεξυρημένος  
 145 ἐστὶ καὶ σφηνοπώγων. [ὁ δὲ σφηνοπώγων, ἀναφаланτίας, ὀφρῦς ἀνατε-  
 ταμέναι, ὀξυγένειος, ὑποδύστροπος.] ὁ δὲ Λυκομήδειος, οὐλόκομος, μα-  
 κρογένειος, ἀνατείνει τὴν ἐτέραν ὀφρύν, πολυπραγμοσύνην παρενδείκνυται.  
 146 τὰ δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων, πάγχρηστος νεανίσκος, μέλας νεανίσκος, οὐλος νεανί-  
 σκος, ἀπαλός, ἄγροικος, ἐπίσειστος, δεύτερος ἐπίσειστος, κόλαξ, παράσιτος,



εἰκονικός, Σικελικός. ὁ μὲν πάγχρηστος, ὑπέρυθρος, γυμναστικός, ὑποκε-  
 χρωσμένος, ῥυτίδας ὀλίγας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, καὶ στεφάνην τριχῶν,  
 τὰναεταμένος τὰς ὀφρῦς. ὁ δὲ μέλας νεανίσκος, νεώτερος, καθειμένος τὰς ὀφρῦς,  
 πεπαιδευμένω, ἢ φιλογυμναστῇ ἔοικώς. ὁ δὲ οὖλος νεανίσκος, καλός, νέος, 147  
 καὶ ὑπέρυθρος τὸ χρῶμα. αἱ δὲ τρίχες, κατὰ τοῦνομα. ὀφρῦς ἀνατέταται,  
 καὶ ῥυτίς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου μία μόνον. ὁ δὲ ἀπαλὸς νεανίσκος, τρίχας μὲν  
 κατὰ τὸν πάγχρηστον, πάντων δὲ νεώτατος, λευκός, σκιατροφίας, ἀπαλό-  
 τητα ὑποδηλῶν. τῷ δὲ ἀγροίκῳ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα μελαίνεται, τὰ δὲ χεῖλη  
 πλατέα, καὶ ἡ ῥίς σιμή, καὶ στεφάνη τριχῶν. τῷ δὲ ἐπισείστῳ, στρατώτῃ  
 ὄντι καὶ ἀλαζόνι, καὶ τὴν χροιάν μέλανι καὶ τὴν κόμην, ἐπισείονται αἱ τρίχες,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐπισείστῳ, ἀπαλωτέρῳ ὄντι, καὶ ξανθῷ τὴν κόμην.  
 κόλαξ δέ, καὶ παράσιτος, μέλανες, οὐ μὴν ἔξω παλαιίστρας, ἐπίγρυποι, 148  
 εὐπαθεῖς. τῷ δὲ παρασίτῳ μᾶλλον κατέαγε τὰ ὦτα, καὶ φαιδρότερός  
 ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ὁ κόλαξ ἀνατέταται κακοηθεστέρως τὰς ὀφρῦς. ὁ δὲ  
 εἰκονικός ἔχει μὲν ἐνεσπαρμένας τὰς πολιάς, καὶ ἀποξυράται τὸ γένειον,  
 εὐπάρυφος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ξένος. ὁ δὲ Σικελικός παράσιτός ἐστι τρίτος. τὰ  
 δὲ δούλων πρόσωπα κωμικά, πάππος, ἡγεμών, θεράπων, κάτω τριχίας, ἢ κάτω  
 τετριχωμένος, θεράπων οὖλος, θεράπων Μαίσων, θεράπων τέττιξ, ἡγεμὼν  
 ἐπίσειστος. ὁ μὲν πάππος μόνος τῶν θεραπόντων πολίος ἐστὶ, καὶ δηλοῖ 149  
 ἀπελεύθερον. ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν θεράπων σπείραν ἔχει τριχῶν πυρρῶν, ἀνατέτακε  
 τὰς ὀφρῦς, συνάγει τὸ ἐπισκύνιον, τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς δούλοις, οἷος ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐλευθέροις πρεσβύτης ἡγεμὼν. ὁ δὲ κάτω τριχίας ἢ κάτω τετριχωμένος,  
 ἀναφаланτίας ἐστὶ, καὶ πυρρὸθριξ, ἐπηρμένος τὰς ὀφρῦς. ὁ δὲ οὖλος θερά-  
 πων, δηλοῖ μὲν τὰς τρίχας· εἰσὶ δὲ πυρραί, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ χρῶμα· καὶ  
 ἀναφаланτίας ἐστὶ, καὶ διάστροφος τὴν ὄψιν. ὁ δὲ θεράπων Μαίσων, 150  
 φαλακρός, πυρρὸς ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ θεράπων τέττιξ, μέλας, φαλακρός, διά-  
 στροφος τὴν ὄψιν, δύο ἢ τρία βοστρύχια μέλανα ἐπικείμενος, καὶ ὅμοια  
 ἐν τῷ γενεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐπίσειστος ἡγεμὼν ἔοικε τῷ ἡγεμόνι θεράποντι,  
 πλὴν περὶ τὰς τρίχας. τὰ δὲ γυναικῶν, γράδιον ἰσχνὸν ἢ λυκαίνιον,  
 γραῦς παχεῖα, γράδιον οἰκουρόν, ἢ οἰκετικόν, ἢ ὀξύ. τὸ μὲν λυκαίνιον,  
 ὑπόμηκες. ῥυτίδες λεπταί, καὶ πυκναί· λευκόν, ὑπωχρον, στρεβλὸν τὸ  
 ὄμμα. ἢ δὲ παχεῖα γραῦς παχείας ἔχει ῥυτίδας ἐν εὐσαρκίᾳ, καὶ ταινί- 151  
 διον τὰς τρίχας περιλαμβάνον. τὸ δὲ οἰκουρόν γράδιον, σιμόν, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ  
 τῇ σιαγόνι ἀνὰ δύο ἔχει γομφίους. νέων δὲ γυναικῶν πρόσωπα, λεκτική,  
 οὖλη, κόρη, ψευδοκόρη, ἑτέρα ψευδοκόρη, σπαρτοπόλιος λεκτική, παλ-  
 λακή, ἑταιρικὸν τέλειον, ἑταιρίδιον ὥραϊον, διάχρυσος ἑταίρα, ἑταίρα διά-  
 μιτρος, λαμπάδιον, ἄβρα περίκουρος, θεραπαινίδιον παράψηστον. ἢ μὲν 152  
 λεκτική, περίκομος, ἡσυχῇ παρεψημέναι αἱ τρίχες, ὀρθαὶ ὀφρῦες, χροῖα  
 λευκή. ἢ δὲ οὖλη, τῇ τριχώσει παραλλάττει. ἢ δὲ κόρη, διάκρισιν ἔχει  
 παρεψημένων τῶν τριχῶν, καὶ ὀρθὰς ὀφρῦς, καὶ μελαίνας, καὶ λευκό-  
 τητα ὑπωχρον ἐν τῇ χροῖᾳ. ἢ δὲ ψευδοκόρη, λευκοτέρα τὴν χροῖαν, καὶ  
 περὶ τὸ βρέγμα δέδεται τὰς τρίχας, καὶ ἔοικε νεογάμῳ. ἢ δὲ ἑτέρα

- 153 ψευδοκόρη, διαγινώσκεται μόνῃ τῷ ἀδιακρίτῳ τῆς κόμης. ἡ δὲ σπαρτο-  
πόλιος λεκτικὴ δηλοῖ τῷ ὀνόματι τὴν ἰδέαν, μηνύει δὲ ἑταίραν πεπαυμένην  
τῆς τέχνης. ἡ δὲ παλλακὴ ταύτῃ μὲν ἔοικε, περίκομος δ' ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ  
τέλειον ἑταιρικόν, τῆς ψευδοκόρης ἐστὶν ἐρυθρότερον, καὶ βοστρύχους ἔχει  
περὶ τὰ ὦτα. τὸ δὲ ἑταιρίδιον ἀκαλλώπιστόν ἐστι, ταινιδίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
περιεσφιγμένον. ἡ δὲ διάχρυσος ἑταίρα πολὺν ἔχει τὸν χρυσὸν ἐπὶ τῇ  
154 κόμῃ. ἡ δὲ διάμιτρος ἑταίρα μίτρα ποικίλῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεῖληπται.  
τὸ δὲ λαμπάδιον ἰδέαν τριχῶν ἔχει πλέγματος εἰς ὃξὺ ἀπολήγοντος, ἀφ'  
οὗ καὶ κέκληται. ἡ δὲ ἄβρα περίκουρος, θεραπαινίδιόν ἐστι περικεκαρ-  
μένον, χιτῶνι μόνῃ ὑπεζωσμένῳ λευκῷ χρώμενον. τὸ δὲ παράψηστον  
θεραπαινίδιον, διακέκριται τὰς τρίχας, ὑπόσιμόν τέ ἐστι καὶ δουλεύει ἑταί-  
ραις, ὑπεζωσμένον χιτῶνα κοκκοβαφῇ.
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# **PART III.**

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**ON THE LANGUAGE, METRES AND PROSODY**

**OF THE**

**GREEK DRAMATISTS.**



# ON THE LANGUAGE, METRES AND PROSODY

OF THE

## GREEK DRAMATISTS.

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### I. LANGUAGE.

ATTENTION has been already directed to the fact that the different origin of the dialogue and chorus in a Greek play is indicated by a corresponding difference of dialect, and that, while the dialogues represent the spoken language of the poet's age and country, with some few traditions derived from the Ionic of the rhapsodes, the choruses are more or less tinged with the conventional Doric of lyric poetry. The basis, however, of the whole dramatic style of the Greeks was the Attic dialect of the period during which the great dramatists flourished; and while we have the older Attic in Æschylus, we find in Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes all the characteristics of the middle Attic of Thucydides, and in the fragments of Menander and the other poets of the New Comedy we have the language of Athens as it was spoken by Demosthenes or written by Aristotle. In briefly noticing the successive changes of the tragic style, we shall begin with those Epic, Æolic, and Doric peculiarities which are found in the dramatists, and then examine the standard of their Atticism.

#### I. *Epic Forms in the Dramatists.*

Besides the common forms ξένος, μόνος, γόνατα, κόρος, δόρι, Θράκες, ζωή, the dramatists wrote ξείνος, μούνος, γούνατα, κούρος, δουρί, Θρηῆκες, ζοή. We also find οὔνομα (Soph. *Phil.* 251), εἰλίσσω, εἵνεκα (*New Cratylus*, § 277), εἰνάλιος (Eurip. *Phœn.* 6), καίω, κλαίω, ἐλαία (see Porson, *Præf. Hec.* p. 4, Hermann, *Præf. Ajac.* p. 18), αἰετός, αἰεί or αἰέν (Pors. *Præf. Hec.* p. 4, and Herm. *Præf. Hec.* p. 21), ἔσσομαι, μέσσος, πολλός, by the side of the Attic ὄνομα, ἐλίσσω, ἔνεκα, ἐνάλιος, κάω, κλάω, ἐλάα, αἰετός, αἰεί, ἔσομαι, μέσος, πολὺς. The dative plural in -σι or -σιν is used whenever the

metre requires it. Æschylus does not hesitate to substitute *a* for *v* in the 3 pers. pl. of the optative middle, as in ἐκωζοίατο for ἐκώζοντο (*Pers.* 449). We have also occasional Ionisms like νηός for νεώς (*Æsch. Pers.* 424), ἡμην (*Soph. Trach.* 24), κεινόν (*ibid.* 495), κίεις (*Æsch. Choëph.* 678), ἱκμενος (*Soph. Phil.* 494), κουλεῶν (*Soph. Aj.* 730), ἦλυθον (*Eurip. Electr.* 593). The pronoun generally used as the article appears in the oblique cases as a substitute for the relative (*Æsch. Agam.* 628, 642; *Choëph.* 596; *Eumen.* 322, 878, 919; *Suppl.* 262, 301, 516, 579; *Soph. Phil.* 1112; *Æd. Col.* 35; *Æd. R.* 1379), and in the demonstrative use we have even τοὶ δέ for οἱ δέ (*Æsch. Pers.* 424). The use of νιν for αὐτόν is common enough, and we even find μιν (*Soph. Trach.* 388). The reflexive σφέ is a perfectly general pronoun of reference in Æschylus (e.g. it is=αὐτόν, *Sept. c. Theb.* 451; αὐτοῦ, *Suppl.* 502; αὐτάς, *Sept. c. Theb.* 846). It is extremely doubtful if σφιν can be used for οἱ. In *Æsch. Pers.* 759, *Soph. Æd. C.* 1490, it may be understood as for σφίσιν. It is also an open question whether such a form as ἐλεεινός is allowable in the Greek dramatists (*Pors. Præf. Hec.* p. 7; *Lobeck ad Soph. Aj.* 421). The rare forms ἡσυχώτερος (*Soph. Antig.* 1089) and φίλιστος (*Soph. Aj.* 842) may perhaps be regarded as Ionic. Also κρυφείς for κρυβεῖς (*Aj.* 1124). There can be little doubt that an epic tradition suggested the occasional omission of the augment in the speeches of the messengers (*Matthiä, Gr. Gr.* § 160, *Obs.*, see below, iv. 1). Uncontracted forms such as εὔροος, νόος, ῥέεθρον, are sometimes though very rarely found in the dramatists. Valckenaer rejects the particle ἡδέ for καί (*ad Phæn.* 1683), but it occurs more than ten times in Æschylus, in two fragments of Sophocles (345, 493, *Dind.*), and in Euripides, *Hec.* 323, *Herc. Fur.* 30.

## II. Æolic Forms in the Dramatists.

The most common Æolism is the substitution of πεδά for μετά in compounds, such as πεδάρσιος, πεδάορος, πεδαίχμιος, and this occurs even in dialogue (*Æsch. Prom.* 711; *Choëph.* 843; see *Valcken. ad Eurip. Phæniss.* 1034). We have also μάσσω (*Æsch. Pers.* 432, 694; *Agam.* 584), γλύσσω (*Aristoph. ap. Etym. M.* p. 235), and similar forms, if these are to be regarded as Æolisms. A more decided instance is supplied by ὀρανίαν, which the metre requires in the *Suppl.* 788; cf. *Alcæus*: ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὀρανῶ μέγας χειμῶν. And see *Buttmann, Lexil.* p. 200, *Engl. Tr.*

## III. Doric Forms in the Dramatists.

In the choruses, for the reasons already given, a certain amount of Dorism is invariably found, such as the substitution of *a* for *η*, e.g.

νεότας for νεότης, μάτηρ for μήτηρ, πατριώταν for πατριώτην, διδύμαν for διδύμην; also νυμφᾶν for νυμφάων, νυμφῶν, βαρυβρεμέτα for βαρυβρεμέταο, βαρυβρεμέτον, and the like.

In the dialogue we have Ἀθάνα, δαρός, ἑκατι, κάρανον, ἄραρε, γάμορος, γάποτος, γαθοῦσα, ἐκαβόλος, κυναγός, ποδαγός, λοχαγός, ξυναγός, ὀπαδός (Pors. *ad Orest.* 26; Valcken. *ad Phœniss.* 11, 1113; *Hippol.* 1092, &c.), ἄραρε (Pors. *ad Orest.* 1323; Valcken. *ad Hippol.* 1090). Some Doric forms peculiar to Æschylus have been ascribed to his familiarity with the dialect of Sicily (above, p. 97).

#### IV. *The Attic Dialect of the Tragedians, and Aristophanes.*

(1) As a general rule the augment is always prefixed in the indefinite tenses of the indicative mood in the dialogue of Tragedy (vide Porson, *Præf. Hec.* p. iv, cf. Wellauer *ad Æsch. Pers.* 302). There are some few exceptions, as in the case of χρῆν, ἄνωγα, καθεζόμεν, καθήμην, &c. (Pors. *Suppl. Præf. Hec.* p. xvi). When the verb begins with the diphthong ευ- the temporal augment is rarely expressed; thus εὔρον and εὔρηκα are more common than ἡῦρον, ἡῦρηκα (see Donaldson, *Gr. Gr.* p. 196, note). We have both εἵκασα and ἦκασα, and the forms εἵκαζον, ἐξεικασμένα, &c. are supported by the best authorities. We have also both ἀνήλωσα and ἀνάλωσα (cf. Valcken. *ad Phœn.* p. 222; Hermann, *ad Soph. Aj.* 1049). It has been suggested by Matthiä (§ 160, *Obs.*) that the occasional omission of the augment in long speeches by the messengers may be explained by the narrative and epic character of these descriptions, but even here it is limited to the beginning of a line or of a new sentence; and Hermann (*Præf. Bacch.* pp. L—LV) has given the following special rules for the cases in which the augment may be omitted:

“Prima est: verbum fortius, in quo augmenti accessio anapæstum facit, in principio versus positum, addi augmentum postulat:

ἐγένοντο Λήδα Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.

“Secunda: verbum fortius, in quo augmenti accessio non facit anapæstum, in principio versus positum, carere potest augmento:

σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ·  
κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος·  
παίοντ', ἔθραυον·  
πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν.

“Tertia: ejusdemmodi verbum, si incipit sententiam, videtur etiam in medio versu carere augmento posse: quale foret illud, ea, qua, supra dictum est, conditione:



γυμνοῦντο δὲ  
πλευραὶ σπαραγμοῖς.

“Quarta: verbum minus forte, sive facit augmenti accessio anapæstum, sive non facit, in principio versus positum, si ultra primum pedem porrigitur, caret augmento: γοᾶτο· θώϋξεν.

“Quinta: ejusdemmodi verbum si non ultra primum pedem porrigitur, ut detracto augmento parum numerosum, aut vitatur, ut κάνες, aut cum alia forma commutatur, ut κάλει cum καλεῖ.”

There can be no doubt that the omission of the augment in the choruses is an incident of the dialect in which they are supposed to be written (see Monk *ad Alcest.* 599). On the augment in general, see Donaldson's *Greek Grammar*, pp. 194, 201, 248.

(2) The more genuine forms in -σσ, as πράσσω, ἐλάσσω, are preferred to the later forms in -ττ, as πράττω, ἐλάττων, though the more recent form is occasionally found; thus we have πράττω (*Soph. Ant.* 564), ἐλαττον (*Soph. Electr.* 998), κρείττων (*ibid.* 1465), ἥττων (*Eur. Hec.* 274) (see Valcken. *ad Eurip. Phœn.* 406, 1388).

(3) Similarly, ἄρσῃ and θαρσῶ are preferred to the later assimilations ἄρρῃ and θαρρῶ (see Porson *ad Eurip. Hec.* 8; *Phœn.* 54).

(4) The second person singular of the pres. and fut. indic. middle or passive is generally contracted from -εαι into -ει in the older Attic, and this form is invariably found in the fut. ὄψει, and in the pres. βούλει and οἶει, which are thus distinguished from the subj. βούλη and οἶη; the form -ει is also to be preferred in Aristophanes; but -η is most common in the MSS. of the tragedians (Donaldson, *Gr. Gr.* p. 253).

(5) In the past tense of οἶδα, the forms ᾔδειν, ᾔδεις, ᾔδει or ᾔδεν are more common in the tragedians than ᾔδη, ᾔδης or ᾔδησθα. The dual and plural are ᾔστον, ᾔστην, ᾔδουμεν or ᾔσμεν, ᾔστε, ᾔδειςαν or ᾔσαν. The perfect εἵκα makes in the plur. εἵοιμεν and εἵξασι.

(6) Porson remarks (*ad Med.* 744) that the tragedians never substitute the verb in -ύω for that in -υμι, and that this change very rarely occurs in the Old Comedy. He also denies (*ad Orest.* 141) that the dramatic style admits of such forms as τιθεῖς, ξυνιέις, &c. for τίθης, ξυνίης, &c. But in order to sustain this rule it is necessary to alter the text in several passages (see Buttmann, *Ausführl. Gr. Spr.* p. 523; Matth. *Gr. Gr.* § 201, 1, note; cf. § 212, 7).

(7) In the imperf. of the substantive verb, the tragedians used to write ᾔ, ᾔσθα, ᾔν (*Cobet, Novæ Lectiones*, p. 187).

(8) The forms κλής, κλήθρον, κλήω, &c. are more common in the dramatists than κλείς, κλείθρον, κλείω, &c. Similarly, nouns in -εως, as

βασιλείς, ἱππεύς, form their nom. pl. in ῆς, as βασιλῆς, ἱππῆς. The accus. pl. of these nouns ends in -έας, but we have τοὺς τε δισσάρχας ὀλέσσας βασιλεῖς in Soph. *Aj.* 383, and it seems not improbable that we ought to restore φονεῖς for φονέας in Æsch. *Ag.* 1296.

(9) The following is the declension of ναῦς in the dramatists:

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
N. V.	ναῦς	ναῖες, νῆες
G.	ναός, νηός, νεός	ναῶν, νηῶν, νεῶν
D.	ναί, νηί	ναῦσι
A.	ναῦν, νῆα, νέα	νῆας, νέας, ναῦς

(10) In the second declension we have often -εως for -αος, as in νεώς for ναός, ἱλεως for ἱλαος, Μενέλεως for Μενέλαος, &c.

(11) Both πλέος and πλέως are common in the dramatists.

(12) The gen. pl. of γόνυ is not only γονάτων or γουνάτων, but also γούνων; δόρυ has gen. sing. δορός, dat. δορί, Ion. δουρί; χεῖρ has both χειρός and χερός, &c.

(13) The proper names Ἀπόλλων and Ἄρης have the following peculiarities of inflexion: Ἀπόλλων, acc. Ἀπόλλωνα and Ἀπόλλω; Ἄρης, gen. Ἄρεος, dat. Ἄρει, accus. Ἄρην and Ἄρη.

(14) There are many passages in Sophocles where δύο is required by an elision or the necessity for a short syllable; none, excepting about four, where the word occurs at the end of a line, in which the form δύω would be admissible. The form δυοῖν, on the other hand, seems preferable to δυεῖν.

(15) In the pronouns we have κείνος as well as ἐκεῖνος; σέθεν as well as σου; and ὅτου, ὅτῳ, ὅτοις are preferred to οὗτινος, ᾧτινι, οἷστισι.

(16) In the verbs the genuine forms of the imperative plural are retained; thus we have δρώντων instead of δράτωσαν, ἐπιχαιρόντων instead of ἐπιχαιρέτωσαν, ἀφαιρείσθων instead of ἀφαιρείσθωσαν, τυπτέσθων instead of τυπτέσθωσαν, &c.

(17) Verbs of which the future ends in -ᾶσω, -εσω, -ισω, -οσω drop the σ and contract the resulting syllables. Thus we have σχεδῶ, καλῶ, οἰκτιῶ, ὁμοῦμαι, for σχεδάσω, καλέσω, οἰκτίσω, ὁμόσομαι. But this contraction does not take place when the syllable preceding the -ᾶσω, -εσω, &c. is long by nature or position. Thus we never adopt this contracted form for ἀτιμᾶσω, ἀρκέσω, αἰνέσω, &c.

(18) The genuine forms of the reduplication are preserved in γίγνομαι and γιγνώσκω, and there seems to be no sufficient reason for ever

substituting the later *γίνομαι* and *γινώσκω* in the texts of the dramatists.

(19) Verbals in *-τος* retain or omit the *σ* between the root and termination, according to the caprice of the poet: thus we have *ἀδάματος* in Soph. *Œd. T.* 205, 1315, but *ἀδάματος* in *Aj.* 445, seemingly from the exigencies of the metre in the former cases. There is a distinction of meaning in *γνωστός*, "intelligible," and *γνωτός*, "known;" but we have *ἄγνωστος*, *ἄκλαυστος*, *εὐγνωστος*, *ἀκόρεστος*, *πάγκλαυστος* without any difference of signification by the side of *ἄγνωτος*, *ἄκλαυτος*, *εὐγνωτος*, *ἀκόρετος*, *πάγκλαυτος*, which are also supported by MS. authority. Some of these verbals, as *μεμπτός*, *πιστός*, *ὑποπτος*, are used with an active as well as a passive signification (see Porson *ad Hec.* 1117).

(20) Both *ἀνύω* and *ἀνύτω* are found in the dramatists, the former more frequently, though Porson prefers the latter (*ad Phoen.* 463, *Hec.* 1157, cf. Hermann *ad Soph. Electr.* 1443).

(21) In the particles we may notice the forms *ξύν* for *σύν*, *ἐς* for *εἰς*, *ἔσω* for *εἴσω*, *ἐνί* for *ἐν*, *ἀπαί*, *διαί*, *ὑπαί* for *ἀπό*, *διά*, *ὑπό*, as occurring either regularly or occasionally in the dramatists. We have *εἰν Ἀἴδου δόμοις* in Soph. *Antig.* 1226, and *εἰνάλιος*, *ib.* 346. For *ἐνταυθοῖ*, which is sometimes found in the text, we should read *ἐντεῦθεν* or *ἐνταυθί* (see *New Cratylus*, § 139); and when *οὐνεκα* appears as a preposition, it should be changed into *εἵνεκα* (*N. Crat.* § 277). For *αὖθις* we have both *αὖτις* and *αὖτε*. It is doubtful whether *μέχρις* occurs in Greek Tragedy (see the commentators on Soph. *Aj.* 568).

(22) Porson lays it down that the tragic writers preferred *ἐχθαίρω* to *ἐχθραίνω* and *ισχαίνω* to *ισχναίνω* (*ad Orest.* 292; *Med.* 555); but the MSS. sometimes give such forms as *ἐχθρανεῖ* (Soph. *Antig.* 93), *ἐχθραντέος* (*Aj.* 664), *ισχναίνω* (*Æsch. Prom.* 269, 380; *Eum.* 267, &c.). It is also proposed to substitute *πνεύμων* for *πλεύμων* in those passages in which the MSS. give the latter (Pors. *ad Eur. Orest.* 271); *κνάπτω* is considered more Attic than *γνάπτω*, though the MSS. vary (see commentators on Soph. *Aj.* 1010); and though *μικρός* is sometimes required by the metre, there can be no doubt that *σμικρός* is much more common in the dramatists (see Hermann *ad Soph. Electr.* 1113; Elmsley *ad Eur. Med.* 361).

(23) Compound adjectives in *-ος* are generally of two genders only, and the same is frequently the case with adjectives in *-ιμος*; but if there is any possibility of a doubt as to the gender, the feminine inflexion is used; thus we have *ἀλκίμα θεός* when a goddess is intended (Soph. *Aj.* 395); but it would have been *ἀλκίμος θεά*. Adjectives in *-άς*, *-άδος*, are

properly feminine only; but they are used even with neuter nouns, as *μανιάσιν λυσήμασι, δρομάσι βλεφάροις* (see Pors. *ad Orest.* 264).

(24) The -ι of the dative must not be elided in dramatic poetry (see Lobeck *ad Soph. Aj.* 802, p. 350, ed. 2). The same rule applies to τί, ὅτι, and περί.

(25) The elision of -ε in a verbal termination before the particle ἄν is extremely rare (Elmsley *ad Eurip. Med.* 416).

(26) Diphthongs are not elided, but form a crasis with the following vowel; except οἴμ' ὥς for οἴμοι ὥς.

(27) The following are the most usual crases in Attic Greek poetry:

(a) Crasis of the Article.

ο + α = ᾱ, as ὁ ἀνὴρ = ἀνήρ, τὸ ἄλλο = τᾶλλο, τὸ ἀργύριον = τἀργύριον.

ο + ε = ου, as ὁ ἐξ = οὗξ, ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων = οὐπιβουλεύων, τὸ ἔντερον = τοῦντερον.

ο + η = η, as τὸ ἥμισυ = θῆμισυ (Arist. *Lys.* 115).

ο + ι = οι, as τὸ ἱμάτιον = θοῖμάτιον (which is the only example of this crasis).

ο + ο = ου, as τὸ ὄνομα = τοῦνομα.

ο + υ = υ, as τὸ ὕδωρ = θῦδωρ (Crates *ap. Meinek.* II. 238).

ο + αι = αι, as τὸ αἷμα = θαῖμα, τὸ αἷτιον = ταῖτιον.

ο + αυ = αυ, as αὐτός = αὐτός, τὸ αὐτό = ταυτό.

ο + οι = ω, as ὁ οἴζυρός = ὠζυρός.

η + α = ᾱ, as ἡ ἀρετή = ἀρετή, τῇ ἀρετῇ = τἀρετῇ.

η (or η) + ε = η, as ἡ ἐμή = ἡμή, ἡ εὐσέβεια = ἡσέβεια, τῇ ἐμῇ = τῇμῇ.

ου + α = α, as τοῦ ἀνδρός = τἀνδρός, τοῦ αὐτοῦ = ταῦτοῦ, τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος = τἀγαμέμνονος.

ου + ε (or ο or υ) = ου, as τοῦ ἐμοῦ = τοῦμοῦ, τοῦ ἐκείθεν = τοῦκειθεν, τοῦ ὀνειδούς = τοῦνειδούς, τοῦ ὕδατος = θοῦδατος (but some read θῦδατος, see Arist. *Lys.* 370).

ου + η = η, as τοῦ ἡλίου = θῆλίου.

ου + ου = ου, as τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = τοῦρανοῦ.

ω + α = α, as τῷ ἄνακτι = τᾶνακτι.

ω + ε (or ο) = ω, as τῷ ἐμῷ = τῷμῷ, τῷ ὀνείρῳ = τῷνείρῳ.

ω + ι = ω, as τῷ ἱματίῳ = θῷματίῳ.

αι or οι + α = α, as οἱ ἄνδρες = ἀνδρες, αἱ ἀρεταί = ἀρεταί, οἱ αὐτοί = αὐτοί.

οι + ε = ου, as οἱ ἐμοί = οὐμοί, οἱ ἐν = οὐν.

αι + ε = αι, as αἱ ἐκκλησῖαι = αἰκκλησῖαι.

α + α (or ε or αι) = α, as τὰ ἄλλα = τᾶλλα, τὰ αὐτά = ταῦτά, τὰ ἐκ = τὰκ,

but τὰ αἰσχρά = ταισχρά, for which some read τὰσχρά (Eurip. *Troad.* 384; *Hippol.* 505).

α + ο (or ω or οι or ου) = ω, as τὰ ὄπλα = θῶπλα, τὰ ὄρνεα = τῶρνεα, τὰ οἰζυρά = τῶζυρά, τὰ οὐράνια = τῶράνια, τὸ οἰκίδιον = τῶκίδιον.

The crasis of the article with ἕτερος exhibits the following forms :

Sing. ἄτερος, ἀτέρα, θᾶτερον, θᾶτέρου, θᾶτέρῳ, θᾶτέρῳ.

Plur. ἄτεροι, ἄτεραι, θᾶτερα.

### (b) Crasis of καί.

Before α, αι, αυ, ει, ευ, ι, η, οι, ου, υ, ω, the crasis of καί is formed by striking out αι; as καῖγαθός, καῖσχύνη, καῖνός, κείς, κεῖνός, χῖκετεύετε, χῖλεως, χῖ, χοῖ, κοῖ, χῖδατος, χῖπέρ, χῖτινι. But καὶ εἶτα = κᾶτα.

καί + ε = κα or χα, as καὶ ἔτι = κᾶτι, καὶ ἕτερος = χᾶτερος.

καί + ο = κω (or χω), as καὶ ὅξυ = κῶξύ, καὶ ὅσα = χῶσα, καὶ ὅ = χῶ, καὶ ὅστις = χῶστις; but this crasis does not take place with the simple relative ὅς.

(c) In other words the crasis is generally regulated by the forms given under the crasis of the article; thus we have ἀξιῶ ἐγώ = ἀξιῶ ἔγῳ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε = ὦνθρωπε, ἀγορὰ ἐν = ἀγορὰ ἔν, ἐγὼ οἶδα = ἐγῶδα, ἐγὼ οἶμαι = ἐγῶμαι, τοι ἄρα = τᾶρα, τοι ἄν = τᾶν, μοι ἔστι = μουστι, περιόψομαι ἀπελθόντα = περιόψομα ἀπελθόντα (Aristoph. *Ran.* 509), ὃ ἐξερῶ = οὔξερῶ, δῆξομαι ἄρα = δῆξομα ᾶρα (Aesch. *Ach. 325*), εἰ ἐπιταξόμεσθα = εἰ ἔπιταξόμεσθα, Ἑρμᾶ ἐμπολαῖε = Ἑρμᾶ ἔμπολαιε, μοῦ ἀφέλῃς = μᾶφέλῃς (Soph. *Phil.* 903), μακροῦ ἀποπαύσω = μακροῦ ἔποπαύσω.

(28) Synizesis, which is incipient contraction or crasis, and produces the effect of one of these without representing it to the eye, occurs either in the same word or between two words.

(a) In the same word, as in

εα pronounced ya in φονέας, &c.

εο ..... yo ... θεοί, &c.

εω ..... yo ... πόλεως, &c.

υο ..... wo ... δυοῖν, &c.

(b) Between two words, as in ἦ οὐ, μὴ οὐ, ἐπεὶ οὐ, μὴ εἰδέναι, ἦ εἰδότης, ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἐγὼ οὐ, ἴττω Ἡρακλῆς, ὦ Εὐριπίδῃ, in which the effect is that of an improper crasis.

(29) There are a few instances of arbitrary ἀποκοπή in the Greek dramatists; thus we have παῦ for παῦε (Arist. *Equ.* 821), δίαυν for δίαυε (Aesch. *Pers.* 1083), ᾶμ for ᾶμα (Arist. *Vesp.* 570).

(30) The syntax of the dramatists is that of the best Attic writers, and must be learned in extenso from a good Greek grammar.

II. TRAGIC AND COMIC METRES<sup>1</sup>.

The principal verses of a regular kind are Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapestic.

The scansion in all of them is by dipodias or sets of two feet. Each set is called a Metre.

The structure of verse is such a division of each line by the words composing it as forms a movement most agreeable to the ear.

The metrical ictus, occurring twice in each dipodia, seems to have struck the ear in pairs, being more strongly marked in the one place than in the other. Accordingly, each pair was once marked by the percussion of the musician's foot. *Pede ter percusso* is Horace's phrase when speaking of what is called Iambic Trimeter.

Those syllables which have the metrical ictus are said also to be in *arsi*, and those which have it not, in *thesi*, from the terms ἀρσις and θέσις: the latter is sometimes called the *debilis positio*.

I. *The Tragic Trimeter.*

1. The Iambic Trimeter Acatalectic (i.e. consisting of three entire metres), as used by the tragic writers, may have in every place an Iambus, or, as equivalent, a Tribrach in every place but the last; in the odd places, 1st, 3rd, and 5th, it may have a Spondee, or, as equivalent, in the 1st and 3rd a Dactyl, in the first only it may have an Anapest.

This initial Anapest of the Trimeter is hardly perceptible in its effect on the verse: in the short Anacreontic,

Μεσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὦραις  
Στρέφεται ὅτ' Ἄρκτος ἤδη, κ.τ.λ.

it evidently produces a livelier movement.

*A Table of the Tragic Trimeter.*

1	2	3	4	5	6
υ̇ —	υ̇ —	υ̇ —	υ̇ —	υ̇ —	υ̇ —
υ̇ υ̇ υ̇	υ̇ υ̇ υ̇	υ̇ υ̇ υ̇	υ̇ υ̇ υ̇	υ̇ υ̇ υ̇	
— —		— —		— —	
— υ̇ υ̇		— υ̇ υ̇			
υ̇ υ̇ —					

<sup>1</sup> [This account of the ordinary metres of the Greek drama was drawn up in 1827 by the late Rev. James Tate, for many years the earnest and successful master of Richmond School, Yorkshire. If the student desires to see my views on the subject, together with all that I have to say respecting the choral metres of the Greeks, I can only refer him to the Sixth Part of my Greek Grammar.—J. W. D.]

Verses containing pure Iambi (*a*), Tribrachs in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th places (*b, c, d, e, f*), Spondees in 1st, 3rd, and 5th (*g*), Dactyls in 1st and 3rd (*h, i*), Anapest in 1st (*j*), are given by Gaisford in his *Hephæstion*, p. 241, or may be read in the following lines of the *Œdipus Rex*:

- a.* 8. ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.
- b.* 112. πότερα δ' ἐν οἴκοις ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς ὁ Λαῖος.
- c.* 26. φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις, τόκοισί τε.
- d.* 568. πῶς οὖν τόθ' οὗτος ὁ σοφὸς οὐκ ἤδα τάδε;
- e.* 826. μητρὸς ζυγῆναι, καὶ πατέρα κατακτανεῖν.
- f.* 1496. τί γὰρ κακῶν ἄπεστι; τὸν πατέρα πατήρ.
- g.* 30. Ἄιδης στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται.
- h.* 270. μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἀνιέναι τινά.
- i.* 257. ἀνδρός γ' ἀρίστου βασιλέως τ' ὀλωλότος.
- j.* 18. ἱερῆς· ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός· οἶδε τ' ἡθέων...

2. The last syllable in each verse appears to be indifferently short or long: and even where one line ends with a short vowel, a vowel is often found at the beginning of the next, as in *Œd. R.* vv. 2, 3; 6, 7; 7, 8.

Sometimes, however, one verse with its final vowel elided passes by scansion into the next, as *Œd. Col.* vv. 1164-5.

Σοὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν μολόντ'  
Αἰτεῖν, ἀπελθεῖν τ' ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δεῦρ' ὁδοῦ.

The case is thus restricted by Porson *ad Med.* 510: *Vocalis in fine versus elidī non potest, nisi syllaba longa præcedat.* (On this curious subject, consult Hermann's *Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ*, Lips. 1816, Glasg. 1817, p. 36=22, 3.)

3. Besides the initial Anapest (restricted, however, as below<sup>1</sup>) in common words, in certain proper names, which could not else be introduced, the Anapest is admitted also into the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th places of the verse.

- (2nd.) *Iph. A.* 416. ἦν Ἰφιγένειαν ὠνόμαζες ἐν δόμοις.
- (3rd.) *Œd. Col.* 1317. τέταρτον Ἴππομέδοντ' ἀπέστειλεν πατήρ.
- (4th.) *Œd. R.* 285. μάλιστα Φοῖβῳ Τειρεσίαν, παρ' οὗ τις ἄν.
- (5th.) *Antig.* 11. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων.

<sup>1</sup> This Anapest in the tragic is generally included in the same word; except where the line begins either with an article or with a preposition followed immediately by its case. Monk, *Mus. Crit.* i. p. 63.

*Philoct.* 754. τὸν ἴσον χρόνον...  
*Orest.* 888. ἐπὶ τῷδε δ' ἡγόρευον...  
*Iph. A.* 646. παρ' ἐμοὶ...



In all these the two short syllables of the Anapest are inclosed betwixt two longs in the same word, and show the strongest as well as the most frequent case for the admission of such a licence. (The nature of this licence will be considered in a note (C) ch. xvii. on the admission of Anapests into the Iambic verse of Comedy.)

In the few instances where the proper name begins with an Anapest, as *Μενέλαος*, *Πριάμουν*, &c., those names might easily, by a different position, come into the verse like other words similarly constituted. Elmsley, in his celebrated critique on Porson's *Hecuba*, ed. 1808, considers all such cases as corrupt. (Vid. *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. xix. p. 69.) Porson's judgment seems to lean the other way. At all events, the whole Anapest must be contained in the same word. (Vide *Hecub. Porsoni*, London, 1808, p. xxiii=p. 18; *Euripid. Porsoni* a Scholefield, Cantabr. 1826. To these editions only any references hereafter will be regularly made.)

## II. *The Comic Trimeter,*

besides the initial Anapest which it takes with less restriction, admits the Anapest of common words in all the other places but the last: it admits also the Dactyl in 5th.

*Vesp.* 979. *κατάβα, κατάβα, | κατάβα, κατάβα, | καταβήσομαι.*

*Plut.* 55. *πυθοίμεθ' ἂν | τὸν χρησμόν ἤ|μῶν ὅτι νοεῖ.*

In the resolved or trisyllabic feet one limitation obtains: the concurrence of — ∪ ∪ or ∪ ∪ ∪ and ∪ ∪ — in that order never takes place. The necessity for this will hereafter be seen, note (A), ch. xv.

### *A Table of Scansion for the Trimeter, both Tragic and Comic.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	∪ —	∪ —	∪ —	∪ —	∪ —	∪ —
	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	
	— —		— —		— —	
	— ∪ ∪		— ∪ ∪			
	∪ ∪ —					
Proprii		∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	Nominis.
Apud					— ∪ ∪	Comicos.
		∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	

## III. *The Structure of the Iambic Trimeter*

is decidedly Trochaic.

1. The two principal divisions of this verse, which give the Trochaic movement to the ear, and continue it more or less to the close, take

place after two feet and a half (M), or after three feet and a half (N), with the technical name of *Cæsura*. One or other of these divisions may be considered as generally necessary to the just constitution of the verse, the form M however being more frequent than the form N, nearly as four to one:

- (M) *Æd. R.* 2. *τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας | τάσδε μοι θοάζετε,*  
 (N) ——— 3. *ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν | ἐξεστεμμένοι;*

The four cases of the *Cæsura* (M), and the eight cases of the *Cæsura* (N), as exemplified by Porson, are given below from the *Suppl. ad Præfat.* pp. xxvi, xxvii=21, 22<sup>1</sup>.

2. The two minor divisions, which give or continue the Trochaic movement, frequently occur after the first foot and a half (L) of the verse, and before the last foot and a half (R), called the final Cretic (— ∪ —).

- (L) *Æd. R.* 120. *τὸ ποῖον; | ἐν γὰρ πόλλ' ἂν ἐξεύροι μαθεῖν,*  
 (R) ——— 121. *ἀρχὴν βραχεῖαν εἰ λάβοιμεν | ἐλπίδος.*

The former of these divisions (L), though not necessary, is always agreeable. The latter (R) requiring ∪ — and rejecting — — in 5th, takes place not only in such a simple structure of words as that above given, but under circumstances more complex, which will be explained in note (B), ch. xvi., on the Cretic termination. This delicacy of structure was discovered by Porson, who gave the name of *pausa* to it, p. xxxii=27.

<sup>1</sup> Nunc de Cæsuris videamus. Senarius, ut notum est, duas præcipuas cæsuras habet, penthemimerim, et hephthemimerim, id est, alteram quam voco *A*, quæ tertium pedem, alteram, quæ quartum dividat. Prioris cæsurae quatuor sunt genera: primum est quod in brevi syllaba fit; secundum, quod in brevi post elisionem; tertium in longa, quartum in longa post elisionem.

- Hec.* 5. (*A a*) *Κίνδυνος ἔσχε | δορὶ πεσεῖν Ἑλληνικῶ.*  
 11. (*A b*) *Πατήρ ἔ' εἴ ποτ' | Ἰλίου τεύχε' ἔσσει.*  
 2. (*A c*) *Λιπὼν ἔ' Αἰδῆς | χωρὶς ὤκισται θεῶν.*  
 42. (*A d*) *Καὶ τεύχεται τοῦδ' | οὐδ' ἀδωρήτος φίλων.*

Alterius cæsurae, quam voco *B*, plura sunt genera.

Primum, cum in fine disyllabi vel hyperdisyllabi occurrit sine elisione; secundum, post elisionem; tertium, cum brevis syllaba est enclitica vox; quartum, cum non est enclitica, sed talis quæ sententiam inchoare nequeat; quintum, cum vox ista ad præcedentia quidem refertur, potest vero inchoare sententiam; sextum, cum syllaba brevis post elisionem fit. Duo alia cæsurae hujus genera ceteris minus jucunda sunt, ubi sensus post tertium pedem suspenditur, et post distinctionem sequitur vox monosyllaba, vel sine elisione, vel per elisionem facta.

- Hec.* 1. (*B a*) *Ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα | καὶ σκότου πύλας.*  
 ——— 248. (*B b*) *Πολλῶν λόγων εὐρήμαθ' | ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν.*  
 ——— 266. (*B c*) *Κεῖνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν | εἰς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει.*  
 ——— 319. (*B d*) *Τύμβον δὲ βουλόμην δν | ἀξιούμενον.*  
*Soph. El.* 530. (*B e*) *Ἐπεὶ πατήρ οὗτος σὸς | δν θρηνεῖς ἀεί.*  
 ——— *Phil.* 1304. (*B f*) *Ἄλλ' οὐτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τόδ' | ἐστὶν οὐτε σοί.*  
*Æsch. Theb.* 1055. (*B g*) *Ἄλλ' δν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ | τιμήσεις τάφῳ;*  
*Soph. El.* 1038. (*B h*) *Ὅταν γὰρ εὖ φρονῆς τόθ' | ἡγήσῃ σὺ νῦν.*

3. The following lines may serve to exhibit all the divisions connected with the structure of the verse:

	(L)	(M)	(N)	(R)
<i>Æd. R.</i> 81.	σωτήρι	βαίη	λαμπρὸς	ὥσπερ   ὄμματι.
<i>Prom. V.</i> 1005.	ἡ πατρὶ	φῦναι	Ζηνὶ	πιστὸν   ἄγγελον.

4. When the line is divided in medio versu with the elision of a short vowel in the same word, or in the little words added to it, such as δέ, μέ, σέ, γέ, τέ, that division is called by Porson the *quasi-cæsura*, p. xxvii=22.

*Æd. R.* 779. ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐν δείπνοις μ' | ὑπερπλησθεὶς μέθης.  
*Hecub.* 355. γυναιξὶ παρθένοις τ' | ἀπόβλεπτος μέτα.  
*Aj. Fl.* 435. τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ | ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ.  
*Hecub.* 387. κεντεῖτε, μὴ φείδεσθ' | ἐγὼ \*τεκον Πάριν.

Verses of this latter formation Elmsley ingeniously defends, by an hypothesis that the vowel causing the elision might be treated as appertaining to the precedent word, and be so pronounced as to produce a kind of hephthemimeral cæsura (in this treatise marked by the letter N):

τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεία | ῥιστεύσας στρατοῦ.

Vid. Notes on the *Ajax*, *Mus. Crit.* i. p. 477.

5. Several instances, however, are found of the line divided in medio versu without any such elision, a worse structure still.

*Aj. Fl.* 1091. Μενέλαε, | μὴ γνώμας | ὑποστήσας | σοφάς.  
*Pers.* 509=515. Θρήκην | περάσαντες | μόγισ | πολλῷ πόνῳ.

On this latter verse, vid. the Note of Blomfield, and Hermann's remark in the work already quoted, p. 110=70.

6. But though the verse sometimes does occur with its 3rd and 4th feet constructed as in the instances above, yet there is a structure of the words which the tragic writers never admit; that structure which divides the line by the dipodias of scansion like the artificial verse preserved by Athenæus:

Σὲ τὸν βόλοις | νιφοκτύποις | δυσχείμερον.

The following line, scarcely less objectionable as it stood in the former editions of Æschylus, *Pers.* 501=507,

Στρατὸς περᾶ | κρυσταλλοπήγα | διὰ πόρον,

has been corrected by an easy transposition:

Κρυσταλλοπήγα | διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περᾶ.

Vide Porson, u. s. pp. xxix, xxx=24, 25.

IV. *The Structure of the Comic Trimeter,*

1. frequently admits such lines as are divided in medio versu without the quasi-cæsura, and, though somewhat rarely, such also as divide the line by the dipodias of scansion.

*Plutus*, 68. ἀπολῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον | κάκιστα τουτονί.

*Acharn.* 183. σπονδὰς φέρεις | τῶν ἀμπέλων | τετμημένων;

2. It readily admits also a Spondee in the 5th foot, without any regard to the law of Cretic termination; as

*Plut.* 2. Δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονούντος | δεσπότου.

—— 29. Κακῶς ἔπραττον καὶ πένης ἦν. | Οἶδά τοι.

—— 63. Δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν | τοῦ θεοῦ.

3. And even when a Dactyl occupies the 5th foot, the modes of concluding the verse which usually occur are those most directly unlike to the tragic conclusion: as

*Plut.* 55. πυθοίμεθ' ἂν τὸν χρησμὸν ἡμῶν, | ὃ τι νοεῖ.

while forms of this kind are comparatively rare:

*Plut.* 823. Ἐνδον μένειν ἦν· ἔδακνε γὰρ | τὰ βλέφαρά μου.

—— 1149. Ἐπειτ' ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς θεοὺς | ἐνθάδε μενεῖς;

V. *The Iambic Tetrameter Catalectic,*

1. peculiar to Comedy, consists of eight feet all but a syllable; or may be considered as two dimeters, of which the first is complete in the technical measure, the second is one syllable short of it.

This tetrameter line, the most harmonious of Iambic verses, is said to have its second dimeter catalectic to its first: the same mode of speaking prevails as to Trochaic and Anapestic tetrameters.

The table of scansion below, exhibiting all the admissible feet, is drawn up in every point agreeably to Porson's account of the feet separately allowable; except that Elmsley's plea for the admission (but very rarely) of ∪∪— of a common word in 4th is here received as legitimate. See his able argument on that question, *Edinb. Rev.* u. s. p. 84.

2. In the resolved or trisyllabic feet one restriction obtains; that the concurrence of the feet —∪∪ or ∪∪∪ and ∪∪— in that order never takes place; a rule which even in the freer construction of the Trimeter (ch. II.) is always strictly observed from its essential necessity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
υ — υ —	υ — υ —	υ — υ —	υ — υ —	υ — υ —	υ — υ —	υ — υ	υ
υ υ υ	υ υ υ	υ υ υ	υ υ υ	υ υ υ	υ υ υ		
— —		— —		— —			
— υ υ		— υ υ		— υ υ			
υ υ — υ υ —		υ υ —		υ υ — υ υ —			
		(P. E. υ υ —		recipit.)			
		Proprii υ υ —		Nominis.		υ υ —	

3. From the first appearance of the scansional table here exhibited, it might be supposed that the varieties of this verse would be exceedingly numerous. Two considerations, however, for which we are indebted to the acuteness and diligence of Elmsley, show sufficient cause why the actual number of those varieties is comparatively small :

“All the trisyllabic feet which are admissible into Comic Iambics are employed with much greater moderation in the catalectic tetrameters than in the common trimeters.” *Edinb. Rev.* u. s. p. 83.

“The Comic Poets admit Anapests more willingly and frequently into 1st, 3rd, and 5th places, than into the 2nd, 4th, and 6th of the tetrameter.” *Edinb. Rev.* u. s. p. 87.

4. In the verses quoted below from Porson (xliii = 38) examples of the less usual feet will be found: of (a) υ υ υ in 4th, of (b) υ υ — in 6th, and of (c) and (d) υ υ — proprii nominis in 4th and 7th.

The υ υ — (e) of a common word in 4th is given in deference to the judgment of Elmsley (*Nub.* 1059):

- (a) πρῶτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα γε τινὰ καθείσεν ἐγκαλύψας.
- (b) οὐχ ἦγγον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦντες ἡλίθιος γὰρ ἦσθα.
- (c) Ἀχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς.
- (d) ἐγένετο, Μεγαλίππας ποιῶν, Φαίδρας τε, Πηνελόπην δέ.
- (e) πολλοῖς· ὁ γοῦν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβεν διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν.

5. The structure generally agrees with the scansion, and divides the verse into two dimeters. In the *Plutus*, those lines which have this division are to those lines which divide the verse in the middle of a word or after an article, &c. nearly as four to one:

*Plut.* 257, 8. οὐκουν ὀρᾶς ὀρμωμένους | ἡμᾶς πάλαι προθύμως,  
ὥς εἰκός ἐστιν ἀσθενεῖς | γέροντας ἄνδρας ἤδη;

— 284, 5. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' ἂν κρύψαιμι· τὸν | Πλοῦτον γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦκει  
ἄγων ὁ δεσπότης, ὃς ὑμᾶς πλουσίους ποήσει.

And very often the verse is even so constructed as to give a succession of Iambic dipodias separately heard:

*Plut.* 253, 4. ὦ πολλὰ δὴ | τῷ δεσπότη | ταῦτόν θύμον | φαγόντες,  
ἄνδρες φίλοι | καὶ δημόται | καὶ τοῦ πονεῖν | ἐρασταί

After these pleasing specimens of the long Iambic, it is proper to state that the Comedy from which they are taken exhibits in all respects a smoothness and regularity of versification unknown to the earlier plays of Aristophanes. (Elmsley, u. s. p. 83.)

N.B. Of the nature of that licence which admits the Anapest, whether more or less frequently, into any place of the comic verse but the last, some account may be reasonably demanded. A probable solution of the difficulty will be offered in the note (C), ch. xvii., subjoined.

#### VI. *The Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic of Tragedy,*

1. consists of eight feet all but a syllable, or may be considered as made up of two dimeters, of which the second is catalectic (vide ch. v. § 1) to the first.

Its separate feet are shown in the scansional table below; and the Dactyl of a proper name, admissible only in certain places, is marked by the letters P. N.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	— ◡	— ◡	— ◡	— ◡	— ◡	— ◡	— ◡	—
	◡ ◡ ◡	◡ ◡ ◡	◡ ◡ ◡	◡ ◡ ◡	◡ ◡ ◡	◡ ◡ ◡	◡ ◡ ◡	—
		— —		— —		— —		
		◡ ◡ —		◡ ◡ —		◡ ◡ —		
P.N.	— ◡ ◡	— ◡ ◡	— ◡ ◡		— ◡ ◡	— ◡ ◡		

The Dactyl of a proper name is admitted chiefly where its two short syllables are inclosed between two longs in the same word; very rarely where the word begins with them; under other circumstances, never.

*Iph. A.* 882. εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης | νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος.

—— 1331. πάντες Ἕλληνες, στρατὸς δὲ | Μυρμιδόνων οὗ σοι παρὴν;

*Orest.* 1549. Εὐγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν, Πυλάδην τε | τὸν τάδε ξυνδρῶντά μοι.

On the Dactyl or Anapest of proper names in the Trochaic or Iambic verse of Tragedy a suggestion will be offered in the note (C), ch. xvii.

In the two following lines will be found specimens of the pure Trochaic verse and of the Trochaic Spondee in all its places:

*Phœn.* 631. ἀντιτάξομαι κτενῶν σε. | καὶ με τοῦδ' ἔρωσ ἔχει.

—— 609. κομπὸς εἶ, σπονδαῖς πεποιθώς, | αἶ σε σώζουσιν θανεῖν.

2. As to scansion, one limitation only obtains, that — (or ∪∪—) in the 6th never precedes ∪∪∪ in the 7th. Even in Comedy a verse like the following is exceedingly rare: (*R. P.* xlviii.=43.)

Οὔτε γὰρ ναυαγός, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται | φερόμενος.

whereas of —∪ or ∪∪∪ in the 6th preceding ∪∪∪ in the 7th instances in Tragic verse are not at all uncommon. (The following line exhibits also ∪∪∪ in the 1st and 5th.)

*Phaen.* 618. Ἀνόσιος πέφυκας· ἀλλ' οὐ πατρίδος, ὥς σύ, | πολέμιος.

3. In structure, the most important point is this; that the first dimeter must be divided from the second after some word which allows a pause in the sense; not after a preposition, for instance, or article belonging in syntax to the second dimeter. (The following lines exhibit also ∪∪— in 2nd and 6th.)

*Orest.* 787. ὥς νιν ἱκετεύσω με σῶσαι. | τό γε δίκαιον ᾧδ' ἔχει.

*Phaen.* 621. καὶ σύ, μῆτερ; οὐ θέμις σοι | μητρὸς ὀνομάζειν κάρα.

4. If the first dipodia of the verse is contained in entire words (*and so as to be followed at least by a slight break of the sense*), the second foot is a Trochee (*or may be a Tribrach*):

*Phaen.* 636. ὥς ἄτιμος, | οἰκτρὰ πάσχων, ἐξελαίνομαι χθονός.

*Orest.* 788. μητέρος δέ | μηδ' ἴδοιμι μνήμα. πολεμία γὰρ ἦν.

*Bacch.* 585=629. καὶ θ' ὁ Βρόμιος, | ὥς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, δόξαν λέγω.

This nicety of structure in the long Trochaic of Tragedy was first discovered by Professor Porson; not an idea of such a canon seems ever to have been hinted before. (Vid. Kidd's *Tracts and Misc. Criticisms of Porson*, p. 197; *Class. Journ.* No. xlv. pp. 166, 7; Maltby's *Lexicon Græco-Prosodiacum*, p. lxvii.)

In the following lines, apparently exceptions to the rule, the true sense marks the true structure also:

*Orest.* 1523. πανταχοῦ | ζῆν ἡδὺ μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν τοῖς σώφροσιν.

Here πανταχοῦ belongs to the whole sentence, and not to ζῆν exclusively.

*Iph. A.* 1318. τόν γε τῆς θεᾶς παῖδα, | τέκνον, ᾧ γε δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθας.

Here no pause of sense takes place after θεᾶς, (which is a monosyllable,) but the words from τόν to παῖδα are inclosed, as it were, in a vinculum of syntax.

The two following verses, the first with an enclitic after the four initial syllables, the second with such a word as is always subjoined to



other words, have their natural division after the fifth syllable, and all is correct accordingly :

*Iph. A.* 1354. κατθανεῖν μέν μοι | δέδοκται· τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ βούλομαι  
 ——— 897. ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γοῦν | ταλαίνης παρθένου φίλος πόσις.

Nor does the following verse,

*Orest.* 794. τοῦτ' ἐκείνο κτᾶσθ' ἐταίρους, μὴ τὸ συγγενὲς μόνον,  
 contain any real exception to the canon : for the first dipodia does not end with a word marked by any pause of utterance. Quite the contrary indeed ; for ἐκείνο is pronounced in immediate contact with κτᾶσθε :

τοῦτ' ἐκεινοκτᾶσθ' ἐταίρους, κ. τ. λ.

otherwise the 2nd foot would not be a spondee at all. (Something more on this head will be found in note (B), ch. XVI., where lines like the following are considered :

*Hecub.* 723. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐῷμεν, οὐδὲ ψαύομεν.)

5. If the verse is concluded by one word forming the Cretic termination (—υ—), or by more words than one to that amount united in meaning, so that after the sixth foot that portion of sense and sound is separately perceived, then the sixth foot is —υ or υυυ, i. e. may not be —— or υυ—.

*Phaen.* 616. ἐξελαυνόμεσθα πατρίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες | ἐξελῶν.

—— 643. ἐλπίδες δ' οὐπω καθεύδουσ', αἷς πέποιθα | σὺν θεοῖς.

It is unnecessary to remark, that, in verses like that below, the words at the close naturally go together, to form a quadrisyllabic ending, and have nothing to do with the rule here laid down.

*Iph. A.* 1349. σῶ πόσει· τὰ δ' ἀδύναθ' ἡμῖν καρτερεῖν | οὐ ῥάδιον.

The same is true of similar dissyllabic, quinquesyllabic, and other endings ; which, however, in Tragic verse rarely takes place.

## VII.—In the Comic Tetrameter,

1. the *Scansion* agrees with the Tragic, except only that the —— in 6th sometimes, though very rarely, precedes the υυυ in 7th (ch. VI § 2), as in the line from Philemon :

Οὔτε γὰρ ναυαγός, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται φερόμενος.

The Comic, like the Tragic Tetrameter, admits the —υυ only in the case of a proper name, and not otherwise.

2. But, in respect of *Structure*, the nice points of Tragic verse are freely neglected. Neither the great division in medio versu (ch. VI

§ 3), nor the rules (ch. vi. §§ 4, 5), concerning those divisions which sometimes take place after the first dipodia, or before the final Cretic, appear to have been regarded in the construction of comic verse. Lines like the following occur in great abundance:

*Nubes*, 599. πρῶτα μὲν χαίρειν Ἀθηναί|οισι καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.

—— 580. ἄττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς | ἐξαμάρτητ', ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν.

—— 568. πλείστα γὰρ θεῶν ἀπάντων ὠφελούσαις—τὴν πόλιν.

### VIII.—Anapestic Verses.

1. The Anapestic Dimeter of Tragedy is so named from the striking predominance of the Anapestic foot, though it frequently admits the Dactylic dipodia. In a regular System, it consists of Dimeters with a Monometer (or *Anapestic base*), sometimes interposed, and is concluded by a Dimeter Catalectic, technically called the *Paremiac* verse.

The separate feet of the Dimeter Acatalectic are shown in the scansional table below:

	υυ	—	υυ	—		υυ	—	υυ	—	
	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	
	—	υυ	—	υυ		—	υυ	—	υυ	

2. In the predominant or Anapestic dipodia the Anapest and Spondee are combined without any restriction.

*Prom. V.* 93—5. δέρχθηθ' οἷαις | αἰκίαισιν |  
διακναιόμενος | τὸν μυριετῇ |  
χρόνον ἀθλεύσω. |

3. In the occasional or Dactylic dipodia, the Dactyl most usually precedes its own Spondee, as in three instances which the following verses contain:

*Prom. V.* 292—5. ἦκω δολιχῆς | τέρμα κεύθου |  
διαμειψάμενος | πρὸς σέ, Προμηθεῦ, |  
τὸν πτερυγικῇ | τόνδ' οἰωνόν |  
γνώμη στομίων | ἄτερ εὐθύνων. |

4. Sometimes the Dactyl is paired with itself:

*Med.* 161, 2 ὦ μεγάλα Θέμι | καὶ πότνι' Ἀρτεμι, |  
λεύσσεθ' ἃ πάσχω. |  
—— 167, 8. ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις, | ὦν ἀπενάσθην  
αἰσχροῦς τὸν ἐμὸν | κτείνασα κάσιν. |

(Dactyli sæpissime substituuntur Anapæstis, nec tantum unus aliquis, sed sæpe etiam plures continui. Quinque continuavit Æschylus in *Agam.* 1561 = 1529.)

τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν,  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων.

Septem Euripides in *Hippolyt.* 1361 = 1358.

πρόσφορά μ' αἵρετε, σύντονα, δ' ἔλκετε  
 τὸν κακοδαίμονα, καὶ κατάρατον  
 πατρὸς ἀμπλακίαις. Hermann, p. 377 = 240.)

5. Very rarely, and perhaps not agreeably, in the Dactylic dipodia, the Spondee is found to precede the Dactyl: of the two following instances, the first presents the more objectionable form; the second, succeeded by a Dactyl and Spondee, can hardly be said to offend at all:

*Androm.* 1228 = 1204. δαίμων ὅδε τίς, | λευκὴν αἰθέρα  
 πορθμευόμενος, | .....

*Iph. A.* 161 = 159. θνητῶν δ' ὄλβιος | εἰς τέλος οὐδεὶς.

On this curious subject, in all its minutiae, vide the acute and diligent Elmsley, *ad Med.* 1050, note g, and *Æd. Colon.* 1766.

6. The Dactyl, when in any way it precedes the Anapest, appears to be considered by metrical scholars as a case of great awkwardness and difficulty. The following statement, reprinted with a few verbal alterations from the *Museum Criticum*, (Vol. i. p. 333), may suffice perhaps for all practical purposes.

The concurrence of Dactyl with Anapest, in that order, is not very often found between one dimeter and another.

Eurip. *Electr.* 1320, 1. ξύγγονε φίλτατε·  
 διὰ γὰρ ζευγνῦσ' ἡμᾶς πατρίων·

(vid. *S. Theb.* vv. 827, 8. 865, 6, for two more instances.)

The combination is very rare where one dipodia closes with a Dactyl, and the next begins with an Anapest, thus:

Eurip. *Electr.* 1317. θάρσει· Παλλάδος—οἶάν ἦξαις  
 πόλιν· ἀλλ' ἀνέχου.

*Hecub.* 144. ἰς Ἀγαμέμνονος | ικέτις γονάτων.

Within the same dipodia, we may venture to assert that such a combination never takes place.

7. Thus far of the Anapestic Dimeter, when the first dipodia, as most usually it does, ends with a word.

This, however, is not always the case; and of such verses as want that division those are the most frequent, and the most pleasing also, which have the first dipodia after an Anapest (sometimes after a

Spondee) overflowing into the second, with the movement Anapestic throughout.

*Agam.* 52. πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν | ἐρεσσόμενοι

— 794 = 766. καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν | ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς.

(vide Gaisford, *Hephæst.* pp. 279, 80. Maltby, *Lex. Græco-Pros.* xxviii. xxix. for a large collection of miscellaneous examples.)

The following rare, perhaps singular, instance:

*Prom.* V. 172 = 179. καί μ' οὔτε | μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς,

comes recommended at least by the uniform movement; whereas this line, if the reading be correct, from the *Hippolytus*,

v. 1376 = 1357. τίς ἐφέστηκ' ἐνδέξια πλευροῖς;

within the same word, ἐνδέξια, suffers the transition from Anapestic movement to Dactylic; a transition perhaps not entirely illegitimate, but one of very rare occurrence.

In the second line of those quoted below, the structure, though exceedingly rare, is recommended by the continuity of Dactylic feet before and after it.

*Agam.* 1557 = 1504. ...τὴν πολυκλαύτην  
Ἴφιγένειαν | ἀνάξια δράσας,  
ἄξια πάσχων, κ. τ. λ.

8. The *synaphea*, (or συνάφεια,) that property of the Anapestic System which Bentley first demonstrated, is neither more nor less than *continuous scansion*: that is, scansion continued with strict exactness from the first syllable to the very last, but not including the last itself, as that syllable, and only that in the whole System, may be long or short indifferently.

In this species of verse one hiatus alone is permitted, in the case of a final diphthong or long vowel so placed as to form a short syllable. The following instances may serve (Hermann, p. 373 = 237) :

*Pers.* 39. καὶ ἐλειοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται

— 548. ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν.

— 60. οἴχεται ἀνδρῶν.

*Hecub.* 123. τὼ Θησείδα δ', ὅζω Ἀθηνῶν.

With this point of prosody premised, two passages may suffice to exemplify the *Synaphea*:

*Prom.* V. 199, 200. εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα  
σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἤξει.

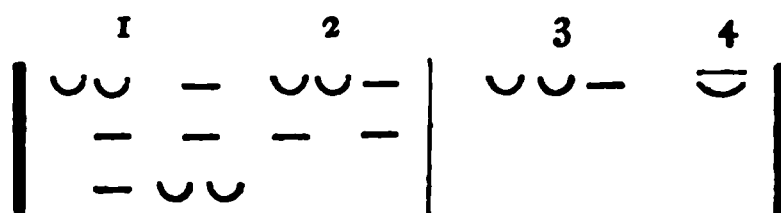
The last syllable of v. 199 becomes long from the short vowel α being united with the consonants σπ at the beginning of v. 200. Had a single

consonant, or any pair of consonants like  $\kappa\rho$ ,  $\pi\lambda$ , &c. followed in v. 200, the last syllable of v. 199 would have been short, in violation of the metre.

Again, *Med.* 161, 2. ὦ μεγάλα Θέμι καὶ πότνι' Ἄρτεμι,  
λεύσσεθ' ἄ πάσχω,.....

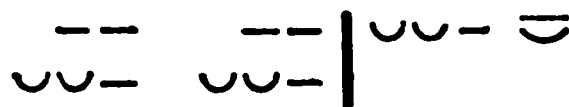
If after v. 161, ending with a short vowel, any vowel whatever had followed in v. 162, that would have violated the law of hiatus observed in these verses. And if a double consonant, or any pair of consonants like  $\kappa\tau$ ,  $\sigma\pi$ ,  $\delta\mu$ ,  $\mu\nu$ , &c. had followed in v. 162, Ἄρτεμι, necessarily combined with those consonants, would have formed the Pes Creticus, and not the Dactyl required. But λεύσσω follows with λ initial, and all is correct.

9. The Versus Paroemiacus has its table of scansion as follows:



One limitation as to the concurring feet obtains, that —◡◡ in 1st never precedes ◡◡— in 2nd.

10. In the common dimeter, as must have already appeared, those dipodias form the most pleasing verse which end in entire words: but this law does not equally obtain in the Paremiac, which then comes most agreeably to the ear when it forms the latter hemistich of the dactylic hexameter,



whether with the first dipodia distinctly marked, as

*Prom V.* 127. πᾶν μοι φοβερὸν | τὸ προσέρπον,

or with any other variety of structure, as

<i>Prom. V.</i>	146.	φρουρὰν ἄζηλον ὀχέσω.
————	164.	ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα.
————	1106.	τῇσδ' ἦντιν' ἀπέπτυσα μᾶλλον.
————	305.	φίλος ἐστὶ βεβαιότερός σοι.

Sometimes, however, the Paremiac is differently formed, admitting (with restriction § 9) the Dactyl in the 1st:

*Med.* 1085. οὐκ ἀπόμουσον τὸ γυναικῶν.

(Vide *Museum Criticum*, Vol. i. pp. 328, 9, 332, 3.)

11. The following may serve as a short specimen of an Anapestic System with all its usual parts:

*Med.* 757—761. Ἀλλά σ' ὁ Μαΐας πομπαῖος ἀναξ  
 πελάσειε δόμοις,  
 ὣν τ' ἐπίνοιαν σπείδεις κατέχων,  
 πράξειας, ἐπεὶ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ,  
 Αἰγεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δεδόκησαι.

IX.—*The Anapestic Tetrameter Catalectic,*

1. peculiar to Comedy, consists of eight feet all but a syllable ; or may be considered as made up of two dimeters, of which the second is catalectic to the first. Its scansional table is given below :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
υ υ —	υ υ —	υ υ —	υ υ —	υ υ —	υ υ —	υ υ —	υ
— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	—
— υ υ	— υ υ	— υ υ		— υ υ			

One restriction as to the feet separately admissible obtains, that the two feet — υ υ υ υ —, in that order, no where concur in the long Anapestic.

2. In the long as in the short Anapestic verse Dactyls are admitted much more sparingly into the second than into the first place of the dipodia. (Elmsley, p. 93.)

3. In the 1200 (or more) Tetrameter Anapestics of Aristophanes only nineteen examples occur of a Dactyl in 2nd, the only *second* place of a dipodia which it can occupy.

In thirteen of those verses the preceding foot is also a Dactyl, as in *Nub.* 400 :

οὐδὲ Κλεώνυμον, οὐδὲ Θέωρον ; | καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἶς' ἐπίορκοι.

In the remaining six of those verses four have the Dactyl after a Spondee, as *Nub.* 408 :

ᾠπτων γαστέρα τοῖς συγγενέσιν, | κᾶτ' οὐκ ἔσχων ἀμελήσας.

The other two have the Dactyl after an Anapest, as *Nub.* 351 :

τί γάρ, ἦν ἄρπαγα τῶν δημοσίων | κατῖδωσι Σίμωνα, τί δρῶσιν ;

(Elmsley, p. 93.)

4. The last quoted verse exhibits the transition (in long Anapestics) from Anapestic movement to Dactylic in separate words. The following verses show within the same word the transition from Dactylic movement to Anapestic. Both cases are very rare :

*Vesp.* 706. εἰ γάρ ἐβουλοντο βίον πορίσαι | τῷ δήμῳ, ῥᾶδιον ἦν ᾧ.

*Ran.* 1044. Οὐκ οἶδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρώσαν | πωποτ' ἐποιήσα γυναῖκα.

5. Of all those nineteen Tetrameters described in § 3, one only is destitute of the division (or *cæsura* technically so called) after the first dipodia:

*Nubes*, 353. ταῦτ' ἄρα, ταῦτα Κλε|ώνυμον αὐται | τὸν ρίψασπιν χθὲς  
ἰδοῦσαι. (Elmsley, p. 94.)

6. This division after the first dipodia is indispensable, if the 2nd foot be a Dactyl and the 3rd a Spondee: therefore the last syllable of the Dactyl may not begin an Iambic or (— — —) Bacchean word.

The following verses, faulty on that account,

*Eccl.* 514. ξυμβούλοισιν ἀπάσαις | ὑμῖν χρήσωμαι καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοι—

*Equit.* 505. ἠνάγκαζεν ἔπη | λέγοντάς γ' ἐς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι—

have been corrected, the one by Brunck, the other by Porson, and by both from the same delicacy of ear, thus:

ξυμβούλοισιν | πάσαις ὑμῖν | χρήσωμαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοι  
ἠνάγκαζεν λέγοντας ἔπη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι.

(Vide Porson, *lix.* ix. = 53, 54.)

7. The division after the first dimeter is as strictly observed in the long Anapestic as in the long Trochaic verse (ch. vi. § 3); and, as in that, cannot take place after a preposition merely, or article belonging in Syntax to the second dimeter:

*Plut.* 487, 8. ἀλλ' ἤδη χρῆν | τι λέγειν ὑμᾶς | σοφόν, ᾧ νικήσετε τῆνδ',  
ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις | ἀντιλέγοντες· | μαλακὸν δ' ἐνδώσετε μηδέν.

These lines exhibit, beside the one necessary division after the first dimeter, that after the first dipodia also, which always gives the most agreeable finish to the verse.

8. It has been remarked, on the authority of Elmsley (vide ch. v. § 5), that the *Plutus* was written after the versification of the comic stage had assumed an appearance of smoothness and regularity quite unknown before.

The following analysis of 110 long Anapestic verses from v. 486 of the *Plutus* to v. 597 (there being no v. 566 in Dobree's edition) may very happily illustrate the truth of that remark.

In 104 of those lines, that which is here regarded as the most harmonious structure of the verse uniformly prevails.

Of the six which remain, three verses (517, 555, 586) differ only by having the Dactyl in quinto:

555. ὥς μακαρίτην, | ὦ Δάματερ, | τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ κατέλεξας.

And the other three verses (519, 570, 584), though wanting the division after the first dipodia, yet present the continuous flow of Anapestic movement throughout:

570. ἐπιβουλεύουσι τε τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολέμοῦσιν.

N.B. In the Tetrameter Anapestic verse the very same hiatus of a long vowel or diphthong sometimes occurs as in the Dimeter. (Vide ch. VIII. § 8).

For instance,

*Plut.* 528. Οὗτ' ἐν δάπισιν τίς γὰρ ὑφαίνειν ἐθελήσει, χρυσίου ὄντος;

— 549. Οὐκοῦν δήπου τῆς Πτωχείας Πενίαν φαμὲν εἶναι ἀδελφήν;

#### X.—*The Ictus Metricus of Anapestic Verse.*

1. The metrical ictus has been briefly explained at the beginning of this Introduction. Its application to the dipodias of Anapestic verse is quite clear and perspicuous: the ictus falls on the last syllable of the  $\cup\cup-$  and its companion  $--$ , and on the first of the  $--\cup\cup$  and its accompanying  $--$ .

First, in a line of pure Anapests, all but one Spondee in the 5th, which there seems to predominate:

*Aves*, 503. οβολὸν κατεβροχθισα, κατὰ κενὸν τὸν θυλακὸν οἰκαδ' ἀφειλκον.

Secondly, in a line of Anapests and Spondees:

*Plutus*, 536. καὶ παιδαιριῶν ὑποπεινωντῶν καὶ γραῖδιων κολοσυρτον;

Thirdly, in a line with Dactyls and Spondees in the first dimeter:

*Plutus*, 575. ἀλλὰ φλυαρεῖς καὶ πτερνυγίζεις. καὶ πῶς φευγούσι σε πάντες;

Fourthly, in lines of mixed movement Anapestic and Dactylic:

*Ibid.* 508. δυο πρεσβυτὰ ξυνθιασῶτα τοῦ ληρεῖν καὶ παραπαιεῖν.

529. οὔτε μυροῖσιν μυρῖσαι στακτοῖς, ὅποταν νυμφὴν ἀγαγῇσθον.

2. After this, the ictuation of the short Anapestic verse of Tragedy is very simple:

*Med.* 129, 30. μείζους δ' αἶψα, ὅταν ὀργισθῇ  
δαίμων, οἰκοῖς ἀπέδωκεν.

*Ibid.* 1080—85 (with  $\cup\cup$  in first of the Paremiac).

... ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν  
μῦθος καὶ ἡμῖν, ἢ προσομιλεῖ



|            |            |            |  
 σοφίας ἐνεκεν πασαισι μεν ου.  
 |            |            |            |  
 παυρον γαρ δη γένος εν πολλαις  
 |            |  
 εὔροις αν ισως  
 |            |            |  
 ουκ απομουσον το γυναικων.

3. Of course, we are not ignorant that Dawes has given a different ictuation to the Dactylic parts of Anapestic verse so called.

Assuming that the Anapestic movement is necessarily kept up through the whole System, to preserve that uniformity he lays the ictus on the middle syllable of the Dactyl, —  $\cup \cup$ , and on the second of the Spondee, — —. (*Miscell. Crit.* pp. 189, 122=354, 357 of Kidd's last edition.) Five lines marked by himself may suffice to show his mode of ictuation in the Dactylic dipodias.

*Equit.* 496. ΑΛΛ' ιθι χαιρων, και πραξειας  
 |            |            |            |  
 κατα νουν τον εμον και σε φυλαττοι  
 |            |            |            |  
 Ζευς αγοραιος και νικησας  
 |            |            |            |  
 αυθις εκειθεν παλιν ως ημας  
 |            |            |  
 ελθοις στεφανοις καταπαστος.

No scholar since that day appears to have doubted or discussed Dawes's account of this matter, much less to have approved and defended it. With great reluctance one dissents from so masterly a critic, whose contributions to metrical knowledge can never be estimated too highly: but much careful thought bestowed on the subject has led to that very different result which is here (§ 1) and above (ch. viii. § 1) candidly stated, and not without some confidence proposed as the plain and practical truth.

#### XI.—*The Ictus of the long Trochaic verse of Tragedy.*

4. In the ictus of Trochaic and in that of Iambic verse, which for the greater clearness, as will be seen, are taken in that order, there is no doubt or difficulty, so long as the simple feet, and the Spondees when paired with one or the other, alone are concerned.

Every Trochee has the ictus on its first, every Iambus on its second syllable; and the Spondee, as it is Trochaic or Iambic, is marked accordingly.

*Phœn.* 609. κομπος ει, | σπονδαις πεποιθως, αι σε σωζουσιν θανειν.

— 76. | πολλην αθροισας ασπιδ' Αργειων αγει.

5. Of all the resolved feet, the Tribrach in Trochaic verse with its ictus on the first syllable  $\cup\cup\cup$  is most readily recognized by the ear as equivalent to the Trochee:

*Phœn.* 618. ανοσιος πεφυκας. αλλ' ου πατριδος ως συ πολεμιος.

6. What the Tribrach is to the Trochee, the *nominal* Anapest is to the Trochaic Spondee, as its equivalent or substitute; and this Anapest of course has its ictus on the first syllable  $\cup\cup-$ :

*Orest.* 1540. αλλα μεταβουλευσομεσθα. τουτο δ' ου καλως λεγεις.

— 1529. ου γαρ, ητις 'Ελλαδ' αυτοις Φρυξι διελυμνηατο.

7. The following lines, formed artificially (like Bentley's *Commodavi*, &c. in his metres of Terence,) are calculated merely to afford an easy praxis for the ictuation of Trochaic verse:

ηλθεν ουτος ηλθεν ουτος | ηλθεν ουτος ηλθε δη.  
 αδικος ηλθεν αδικος ελθων | αδικος ηλθεν ηλθε δη.  
 ηλθεν αδικος ηλθεν αδικων | ηλθεν αδικος ηλθε δη.  
 ποτερα δεδιδε, ποτερα δεδιδε, | ποτερα δεδιδε δεδιστα;

8. Instances frequently occurring of words like those now given, αδικος, αδικων, &c. ictuated on the antepenult, may be considered, if not as positively agreeable to the ear, yet at any rate as passing without objection or offence.

But where the penultima of words like αμφοτερα or θορυβος is marked with the ictus, something awkward and hard, or so fancied at least, has even led to violations of the genuine text under pretence of improving the metre.

For example, the following genuine verse, *Iph. A.* 875 = 886,

ω θυγατερ, ηκεις επ' ολεθρω και συ και μητηρ σεθεν,

has on that very plea been disfigured (vid. ch. vi. § 4) by this alteration:

θυγατερ, ηκεις | επ' ολεθρω σφ και συ και μητηρ σεθεν.

In v. 1324 = 1345, the word *θυγατερ* occurs with the more usual, and it may be the pleasanter, ictuation:

ω γυναι ταλαινα, Ληδας θυγατερ, ου ψευδη θροεις.

A similar difference is found in the ictus of *Αρτεμιδι*:

*Iph. A.* 872 = 883.

παντ' εχεις. Αρτεμιδι θυσειν παιδα σην μελλει πατηρ.

348 = 359. Αρτεμιδι, και πλουν εσεσθαι Δαναϊδαις, ησθεις φρενας.

The two following lines from the *Persæ* also exhibit that peculiar ictus:

739. ω μελεος, οϊαν αρ' ηβην ξυμμαχων απωλεσε.

176. τουδε μοι γενεσθε, Περσων γηραlea πιστωματα.

Other varieties, and not of very rare occurrence, may be remarked in these lines:

*Agam.* 1644. δεχομενοις λεγεις θανειν σε την τυχην δ' ερωμεθα.

*Iph. A.* 852 = 863. ως μονοις λεγοις αν, εξω δ' ελθε βασιλικων δομων.

—— 900 = 911. ουκ εχω βωμον καταφυγειν αλλον η το σον γονυ.

## XII.—The Ictus of Iambic Verse in Tragedy.

9. In the Iambic dipodia (supra 4) the Iambus and the Spondee have the ictus on the second syllable. When the Tribrach stands in the place of the Iambus, and the *nominal* Dactyl in that of the Spondee, each of those feet has the ictus on the middle syllable,  $\cup \cup \cup$ ,  $— \cup \cup$ .

The ictuation therefore of Iambic verse in its resolved feet may be readily shown:

*Æd. R.* 112. ποτερα δ' εν οικοις η 'ν αγροις ο Λαϊος.

—— 26. φθινουσα δ' αγελαις βουνομοις τοκοισι τε.

—— 568. πως ουν τοθ' ουτος ο σοφος ουκ ηνδα ταδε;

*Med.* 1173. ειτ' αντιμολπον ηκεν ολολυγης μεγαν.

*Æd. R.* 719. ερριψεν αλλων χερσιν εις αβατον ορος.

*Phœn.* 40. ω ξενε, τυραννοις εκποδων μεθιστασο.

*Æd. R.* 257. ανδρος τ' αριστου βασιλεως τ' ολωλοτος.

*Orest.* 288. και νυν ανακαλυπτ' ω κασιγνητον кара.

For instance, the lines already quoted, *Æd. R.* 112, *Orest.* 288, *Æd. R.* 719, with the Cretic prefixed, become long Trochaics, and admit the Trochaic analysis :

By a similar process, the identity of the Cretic termination in both verses (ch. III. § 2. R. and ch. VI. § 5) as subject to the same canon is instantly discovered:

The correspondence, however, of the Iambic Trimeter with that portion of the Trochaic Tetrameter is then only quite perfect when the former verse has the predominant division, M. (ch. III. § 1), as in the Senarius quoted above.

11. The scansion of the Comic Tetrameter agrees with that of the Tragic, except in one point, that it admits, though very rarely, the — — in the 6th before the ∪ ∪ ∪ in the 7th; and the ictuation is the very same in both verses. Of that exception the line already quoted may afford a sufficient example:

οὐτε γὰρ ναυαγος, ἀν μὴ γῆς λαβῆται φερομένος.

XIV.—*The Ictus of Iambic Verse in Comedy.*

12. The Comic Trimeter in Scansion differs from the Tragic by admitting the — ∪ ∪ in the 5th, and the ∪ — in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th.

The Dactyl in the 5th of the Comic has the same ictus — ∪ ∪ as it has in the 1st and 3d of the Tragic Senarius, thus:

*Plut.* 55. πυθοιμεθ' αν τον χρησμον ημων, οτι νοει.

— 1149. επειτ' απολιπων τους θεους ενθαδε μενεις.

Whatever be the real nature of that licence which admits the Anapest so freely into Comic verse, no doubt can exist as to the place of its ictus on the last syllable ∪ ∪ — ; and the following lines may serve as examples:

*Nub.* 2. ω Ζευ βασιλευ, το χρημα των νυκτων οσον.

— 24. ειθ' εξεκοπην προτερον τον οφθαλμον λιθω.

— 20. οποσοις οφειλω, και λογισωμαι τους τοκους.

— 11. αλλ' ει δοκει, ρεγκωμεν εγκεκαλυμμενοι.

13. The Tetrameter of Comedy admits no feet but those which are found, and with more frequency, in the Trimeter. The ictuation on the feet in each verse is the very same, as the following lines may serve to exemplify: (Porson, xli.=38).

*Plut.* 253. ω πολλα δη τω δεσποτη ταυτον θυμον φαγοντες.

*Ranæ* 911. πρωτιστα μεν γαρ ένα γε τινα καθεισεν εγκαλυψας.

— 917. ουχ ηττον η νυν οι λαλουντες ηλιθιος γαρ ησθα.

*Thesm.* 549. εγενετο Μελανιππας ποιων Φαιδρας τε Πηνελοπην δε.

In this verse, generally, the Iambic structure so clearly predominates, that little advantage can be gained by submitting it to the Trochaic analysis; as, against the judgment of Bentley, has been lately recommended by Ilgenius. (Vide Maltby, *Lex. Gr. Pros.* p. xxxvi.)

And yet in some cases, perhaps, of resolved feet, and in verses too wanting the regular cæsura, the law of ictuation may be more correctly apprehended by applying the Trochaic scale than otherwise.

It is worth the while to observe, that of 37 Tetrameters in the *Plutus*, vv. 253—289, containing only two resolved feet, one a Tribrach, and one a Dactyl, (vid. Elmsley, u. s. p. 83,) the versification is remark-

ably smooth; and if those lines be read with the proper ictus, the Iambic movement cannot fail to be pleasantly and distinctly felt on the ear.

XV.—Note A. *On the Concurrences.*

In ch. II., where the occurrence of  $\cup\cup$  or  $-\cup$  before  $\cup-$  in the Trimeter of Comedy is condemned, a promise is given that the necessity for that limitation should be made to appear.

The true constitution of the Comic Senarius (in all its bearings) was first discerned by Dawes. In his *Emendations on the Acharnians* (*Misc. Crit.* 253—463, &c.) at v. 146,

*Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι,*

he condemns as unlawful the concurrence of feet above mentioned, and claims the credit not only of discovering that canon, but of assigning the true reason also as derived from the laws of Iambic ictuation.

As the verse stands at present, he says,

*Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι,*

you have, with gross offence to the ear, the interval of four syllables from ictus to ictus, when the lawful extent of that interval can only be three. His emendation, demanded no less by the syntax of the whole passage than by the metre of that line, has since been sanctioned by the authority of the Ravenna MS.

*Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφ', Αθηναιοι καλοι.*

On the Trochaic Scale of Scansion, it is obvious to remark, that the redundancy of a syllable in the vulgar text would be instantly detected:

*αλλα νυν εν | τοισι τοιχοις | εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι.*

One illustration more, from a false reading in Tragedy, may not be deemed superfluous.

In the *Orestes*, 499=505, the text of the old editions stands thus:

*αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα κτανών,*

which in the Iambic Scansion presents the concurrence of the  $-\cup\cup$  and the  $\cup\cup-$ . Here again the Trochaic scale affords the ready test; it instantly detects the redundant syllable:

*αλλα νυν αυ'τος κακιων | εγενετο μητε|ρα κτανων.*

The just and simple emendation of Porson need hardly be given:

*αὐτὸς κακίων μητέρ' ἐγένετο κτανών.*

XVI.—Note B. *On the Pause or Cretic Termination.*

(Vide ch. III. § 2. ch. VI. § 5.)

1. In the Iambic Trimeter, if the slightest pause or break in the sense cause the word or words which give to the verse a Cretic ending (—υ—) to be separately uttered, then the fifth foot may not be — —, but must be υ— or υυυ.

The different modes of concluding the line which reject the — — in 5th shall be first exhibited.

a. The simplest structure which rejects the — — there is the following, when the Cretic consists of a single detached word:

*Hecub.* 343. κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον | ἔμπαλιν.

*Ion* 1. Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκείουσιν | οὐρανόν.

which lines in the old editions stand thus:

κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον | τοῦμπαλιν.

Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκείοισι νώτοις | οὐρανόν.

(Vide Porson, xxx.=27.)

β. In the next case, the Cretic consists of —υ and a syllable, thus:

*Orest.* 1079. κῆδος δὲ τοῦμὸν καὶ σὸν οὐκέτ' | ἐστὶ | δῆ.

—— 1081. χαῖρ', οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο, | σοί γε | μὴν.

or the Cretic consists of an article or preposition (—) attached (in syntax or collocation) to the subsequent word:

*Hecub.* 382. καλῶς μὲν εἶπας, θύγατερ, ἀλλὰ | τῷ καλῷ.

—— 397. δεινὸς χαρακτήρ, καπίσημος | ἐν βροτοῖς.

Under this head of monosyllables are embraced τίς, πῶς, when interrogative, with ὥς, οὐ, καί, and the like. (Vide Porson, xxxi.=27.)

2. Many semblances of the Cretic termination occur, to which the Canon bears no application. Those cases, admitting the — — in 5th, may be commodiously classed under the following heads:

Where a monosyllabic word before the final Iambus belongs by collocation to the preceding word; as in enclitics:

*Hec.* 505. σπεύδωμεν, ἐγκονῶμεν· ἡγοῦ μοι, | γέρον.

*Prom. V.* 669. τί παρθελεύει δαρὸν, ἐξόν σοι | γάμου.

*Agam.* 1019. ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν | λόγῳ.

*Rhes.* 717. βίον δ' ἐπαιτῶν εἶρπ' ἀγύρτης τις | λάτρης.

*Philoct.* 801. ἔμπρησον, ὦ γενναῖε· καὶ γὰρ τοι | ποτέ.

Or in such words, not enclitic, as cannot begin a sentence or a verse :

*Prom.* V. 107. οἶόν τέ μοι τάσδ' ἐστί· θνητοῖς γὰρ | γέρα.

*Trach.* 718. πῶς οὐκ ὀλεῖ καὶ τόνδε; δόξῃ γοῦν | ἐμῇ.

*Prom.* V. 846. λέγ'· εἰ δὲ πάντ' εἴρηκας, ἡμῖν αὖ | χάριν.

*Æd. T.* 142. ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα παῖδες, ὑμεῖς μὲν | βάρων.

*Soph. Electr.* 413. εἴ μοι λέγοις τὴν ὄψιν, εἴποιμ' ἄν | τότε.

In the numerous instances of ἄν so placed, it deserves remark, that ἄν is always subjoined to its verb, and that with elision, as in the line quoted. (Vide Porson, xxvi. = 28.)

3. Where words like οὐδεῖς and μηδεῖς so given, ought in Attic orthography to be written thus : οὐδ' εἰς and μηδ' εἰς :

*Phœn.* 759. ἀμφοτέρων· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν θάτερον.

*Alc.* 687. ἣν δ' ἐγγὺς ἔλθῃ θάνατος, οὐδ' εἰς βούλεται.

(Vide Porson, xxxiv. v. = 31.)

4. And where in the plays of Sophocles, the dative cases plural of ἐγώ and σύ are exhibited as Spondees, thus, ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, when that Tragedian, however strange it may appear, employed those pronouns in his verse actually as Trochees. In that pronunciation, they are by some Grammarians written, ἡμίν, ὑμίν, but ἡμιν, ὑμιν, more generally :

*Electr.* 1328. ἡ νοῦς ἔνεστιν οὕτις ὑμιν ἐγγενής;

*Æd. Col.* 25. πᾶς γάρ τις ἡῦδα τοῦτό γ' ἡμιν ἐμπόρων.

In which two lines ὑμῖν and ἡμῖν would vitiate the metre.

(Vide Porson, xxxv. = 32.)

5. One particular case seems to have created a very needless perplexity ; namely, where the verse is concluded by a trisyllabic word with certain consonants initial which do not permit the short vowel precedent to form a short syllable. (Vide Porson, xxxviii. = 34, 5.)

The following verses, as being supposed to labour under the vicious termination, are recommended by the Professor to the sagacity of young Scholars for correction :

*Hecub.* 717. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐῶμεν, οὐδὲ ψαύομεν.

*Androm.* 347. φεύγει τὸ ταύτης σῶφρον· ἀλλὰ ψεύσεται.

*Iph. A.* 531. καὶ μ' ὡς ὑπέστην θῦμα, κατὰ ψεύδομαι.

(In these verses, also, from Euripides, the very same difficulty, if it be one, is involved :

*Bacchæ* 1284. Ὀμιωγμένον γε πρόσθεν ἢ σε γνωρίσαι.

*Electr.* 850. τλήμων Ὀρέστης· ἀλλὰ μή με κτείνετε.)

Here the word preceding the final Cretic must be either a Trochee or a Spondee. If it is a Trochee, all is well : nothing more need



to end. If it is not a Trochee, but a Spondee, what causes it to be so? Evidently the final short vowel of each word being touched in utterance by the initial  $\alpha$  of  $\psi$ , or  $\pi\alpha$ , with which the next word commences.

Then, so far from any pause or break of the sense intervening, in which condition alone the Canon operates, there is an absolute connection of sound and sense together; and the verse ends with a quiescent termination as complete as in *Phœniss.* 32. 53. where the words  $\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\gamma' \epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma$  terminate the line: even so,  $\sigma\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . This was stated so long ago as 1794 (see *Philol. Mag.* Nott. p. 164.)

Now, if we consider the line according to the connection of sound and sense, some next to be considered. The words  $\sigma\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  are fully separated, present a quiescent termination, and the combination of syllables amounts to five syllables, or

$\sigma\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \quad \omega\varsigma \quad \lambda\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \quad \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$

which does not violate the Canon: for it does not stand for a quiescent termination. But it stands far more clearly in the *Classical Edition*,— $\omega\varsigma \sigma\omicron\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$  with an ending

the following line again as clearly presents a quiescent termination of four

$\delta\omicron\kappa' \quad \delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \quad \delta' \quad \omega\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \quad | \quad \tau\eta\delta' \quad \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$

Three following instances are taken from *Electr.* 275.

$\delta\omicron\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma, \sigma\acute{\iota}\chi \alpha\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \tau\omega\delta' \quad \eta \quad \tau\acute{\iota}\chi\eta$

Here the ending is not trisyllabic; for  $\mu' \sigma\acute{\iota}\chi$  is a quiescent termination, and the enclitic  $\acute{\mu}\epsilon$  hangs upon  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ : and as  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$  in collocation is attached to the precedent  $\eta \tau\acute{\iota}\chi\eta$ , the accumulation of syllables in quiescent amounts to seven.

$\delta. \text{ Ion } 808. \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\iota\nu\alpha, \pi\rho\omicron\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha \quad \sigma\upsilon\nu \quad \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \quad \sigma\omicron\iota \quad \nu\omicron\sigma\omega$

Here the words  $\sigma\upsilon\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \sigma\omicron\iota$ , being under the vinculum of  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\iota\nu\alpha$  cannot be disjoined. And  $\sigma\upsilon\nu \sigma\omicron\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , if so read, from the quiescent collocation in words like  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , must go together. Either way the structure of the verse is legitimate, with a dissyllabic ending.

$\epsilon. \text{ Electr. } 275. \eta\rho\omicron\upsilon \tau\omega\delta'; \alpha\iota\sigma\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu \gamma' \epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma \quad \sigma\upsilon \quad \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \quad \nu\hat{\iota}\nu \quad \acute{\alpha}\kappa\mu\acute{\eta}.$

$\sigma\upsilon$  negatives  $\nu\hat{\iota}\nu$ , and of course must be uttered in the same breath it, —  $\sigma\upsilon \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \nu\hat{\iota}\nu \quad | \quad \acute{\alpha}\kappa\mu\acute{\eta}.$

Elmsley himself, (*ad Œd. Col.* 115) on the two following lines,

ζ. *Œd. Col.* 265. ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε,

η. *Electr.* 432. τύμβῳ προσάψης μηδέν· οὐ γάρ σοι θέμις,

justly remarks, that neither line contains any thing wrong: for the words σοί and δὴ, the one enclitic, the other by collocation attached to the word precedent, make a slight dissyllabic ending, as far as any separate termination exists.

7. The following line may serve to represent several others of similar construction:

*Aj. Fl.* 1101. ἔξεστ' ἀνάσσειν, ὧν ὃδ' ἡγείτ' οἴκοθεν.

(Vide Elmsley, *Mus. Crit.* Vol. i. pp. 476—480, et *ad Heracl.* 371. 530.)

"If we suppose the first syllable of οἴκοθεν to be attracted by the elision to the preceding word, the verse will cease to be an exception to Porson's Canon." At the same time, he frankly confesses, that he is not satisfied with this solution of the difficulty, and goes on with great acuteness to state his objections to it.

Now, on the other hand, we are told of Hegelochus, who acted the part of Orestes in the play so named, that when he came to v. 273, ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν' ὀρώ, wanting breath to pronounce γαλήν' ὀρώ with the delicate synalepha required, he stopped between the words, and uttered these sounds instead, γαλήν ὀρώ. (Vide Porson, *ad Orest.* 273.)

From this anecdote have we any right to conclude, that in cases like that of.....ἡγείτ' οἴκοθεν, at the close of the verse, the first syllable of οἴκοθεν was by the elision attracted to the preceding word ἡγείτο? and in all similar cases may we suppose the two words to have been so closely connected in sound as to leave no perceptible suspension of the sense whatsoever?

It is enough perhaps to have thrown out the suggestion; and there let the matter rest for the present<sup>1</sup>.

XVII.—Note C. *On the Anapest Proprii Nominis in the Tragic Senarius and on other licences of a similar description.*

Before we engage in the direct discussion of the point here proposed, let a few remarks be premised.

<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear that the aspirate at the beginning of a word was not pronounced in a synalepha unless it could be transferred to the preceding consonant, e.g. ταῦθ' ὀρώ. While then γαλήν ὀρώ would be distinctly given as *galén horó*, the articulation of γαλήν' ὀρώ must have been *galé-noró*, which would make a very perceptible difference.—J. W. D.

1. In the first place, there is a well-known distinction in music betwixt common time and triple time. To this musical distinction there exists something confessedly analogous in the difference betwixt the time of Anapestic and Dactylic verse, and that of Iambic and Trochaic.

Agreeably then to this analogy, we may be allowed for the sake of illustration to use the terms common and triple time in the pages which follow.

2. In the next place, the terms Anapest and Dactyl have been already used on two occasions palpably different.

First, as the names of the natural feet in the triple time of Anapestic and Dactylic verse, with their ictus thus,  $\cup\cup-$ ,  $- \cup \cup$ .

*Med.* 167, 8.  $\omega$  πατερ,  $\omega$  πολις,  $\omega$ ν απενασθην.  
αισχρως τον εμον κτεινασα κασιν.

Secondly, as the names of two short syllables before or after a long one, in the common time of Trochaic or Iambic verse, with a different ictus thus,  $\cup-$ ,  $- \cup$ .

*Æd. R.* 257. ανδρος γ' αριστου βασιλεως τ' ολωλοτος.

*Phœn.* 621. και συ μητερ; ου θεμις σοι μητρος ονομαζειν καρα.

In future, it may be safe and useful to call the first of these the *natural*, and the second the *nominal*, Dactyl and Anapest.

3. Thirdly, the terms Anapest and Dactyl have a different use still, to denote certain feet admissible in certain kinds of Iambic and Trochaic verse, as equivalent to the proper feet of each metre, being admitted not only into the Spondaic places of the dipodia, but into the Iambic and Trochaic likewise.

In the pronunciation of those peculiar feet, it is probable there was something correspondent to the slurring, so called, of musical notes; and since necessity demands a third name for a third character, it may justify our adoption of *slurred* Anapest and *slurred* Dactyl, as terms not inappropriate for that purpose.

Let the marks then,  $\cup (\cup) -$  and  $- (\cup) \cup$ , be permitted to represent each of those peculiarities, when each requires to be separately represented. But for reasons of convenience, which will be found very striking when we come to the practical part of the subject, we beg leave to introduce a more comprehensive method, equally suited to Iambic

and Trochaic verse; and that is, to make  $\overset{|}{-}\overset{|}{\cup}\overset{|}{-}$  the sign of the apparent syllables involved in the discussion, and  $\overset{|}{-}(\overset{|}{\cup})\overset{|}{\cup}\overset{|}{-}$  or  $\overset{|}{-}\overset{|}{\cup}\overset{|}{-}$  the sign of the real sounds as they are supposed to have been uttered.

*Nubes* 131. λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμους μαθήσομαι;  
 $\quad\quad\quad -\cup\cup-$

*Iph. A.* 882. εἰς ἄρ' Ἴφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος;  
 $\quad\quad\quad -\cup\cup-$

4. Whatever truth or probability may be found in the following attempt to account for the  $-\cup\cup-$  *Proprii Nominis* in the Trochaic or Iambic verse of Tragedy, (and for the admission of that licence with common words also into the Iambics of Comedy,) the whole merit of the discovery, if any, is due to S. Clarke, whose suggestion (*ad Il. B. v.* 811) is here pursued, enforced, and developed.

Clarke, after quoting instances of  $\cup\cup-$  *Proprii Nominis*, but only in the 4th foot of the Trimeter, proceeds to argue thus. If the Iambic verse of Tragedy, under other circumstances, rejects in the 4th the  $\cup\cup-$  as equal in time to  $--$ , and admits only the  $\cup-$  or equivalent  $\cup\cup\cup$ , then it is clear that the proper names which exhibit  $\cup\cup-$  to the eye could never have been pronounced at full length in three distinct syllables, but must have been hurried in utterance, so as to carry only  $\cup-$  to the ear.

And since long proper names (as Clarke justly observes) are from their nature liable to be rapidly spoken; in the following verses,

*Phoen.* 764 = 769. γάμους δ' ἀδελφῆς Ἀντιγόνης παιδός τε σοῦ.

*Androm.* 14. τῷ νησιώτῃ Νουπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας,

and in that above,

εἰς ἄρ' Ἴφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος;

naturally enough the names Ἀντιγόνης and Νουπτολέμῳ and Ἴφιγένειαν might be slurred into something like Ἀντ'γόνης, Νουπτ'λέμῳ, Ἴφ'γένειαν: the ear of course would find no cause of offence, and the eye takes no cognizance of the matter.

5. If this mode of solution be allowed as probable at least in the department of proper names in Tragic verse to which it bears direct application, by parity of argument perhaps it may be extended to the similar case of common words used in Comic verse also.

Take for instance the line above quoted;

λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμους μαθήσομαι;

What was the objection to the old and vulgar reading, σχινδαλμούς?

Clearly this : that it placed a — — in 4th. What then does σχινδαλάμους place there? Either ∪ ∪ — is pronounced as three distinct syllables, in what is called triple time, while the metre itself is in common, or by rapid utterance σχινδ'λάμους comes to the ear, and so the verse proceeds with its own regular movement.

Briefly, we have either σχινδαλμούς, a molossus, — — —, which murders the metre entirely;

or σχινδαλάμους, a full-sounded choriambus, — ∪ ∪ —, which contrary to the law of the verse mingles triple with common time;

or σχινδ(α)λάμους, i. e. in effect, the pes Creticus, — ∪ —, that very quantum of sound which the metre requires.

*Obs.* It may be necessary to remark, that Clarke's reasoning about the ∪ ∪ — Proprii Nominis in the 4th is just as applicable to the 2nd place also with that foot as to the 4th. And if his argument, as here stated, be sufficient to account for the licence in the 2nd and 4th places, of course, where the same licence occurs in the 3rd and 5th, its admission there also must be considered in the very same light.

For examples of the ∪ ∪ — (or — ∪ ∪ —) Proprii Nominis in all the four places, see ch. I. § 3.

6. Before advancing a step farther, it is but right to avow, that all which we at present propose is to set this question fairly a-going on its apparently reasonable and very probable ground.

High probability then favours the idea, that the Anapests (and Choriambi) of Greek Comedy (under all combinations of words and syllables) were passed lightly over the tongue without trespassing on the time allowed betwixt ictus and ictus in verses not containing those feet, i. e. in metres of common time.

Anything like a perfect enumeration of particulars commodiously classed would be found to demand a serious sacrifice of leisure and labour. The classes which are here given in specimen only, while they undoubtedly embrace a very great majority of the facts, may serve to show the nature of that extensive survey which would be necessary to make the induction complete.

7. Instances like σχινδαλάμους, it might *à priori* be calculated, are not likely to be very numerous; hardly 10 in every 100 of the Comic Trimeters: nor do all the words of similar dimensions with σχινδαλάμους present a choriambus so readily obedient to our organs at least for running four syllables into three.

*Nubes* 16. ὄν|ειροπολεῖ | θ' ἵππους ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλλυμαι,

*Plutus* 25. εὖνους γὰρ ὦν σοι | πυνθάνομαι | πάνυ σφόδρα.

Besides the instances of —υυ— in one word, which afford the strongest case for the admission of the licence, some other principal modes in which that apparent foot is made up may be classed under four heads.

A. Where a long monosyllable, from its nature more or less adhering to the word which it precedes, may be supposed to form a coalescence of this kind, |—|υυ—|.

*Plutus* 45. εἴτ' οὐ ξυνίης | τὴν ἐπίνοι|αν τοῦ θεοῦ;

*Acharn.* 52. σπονδὰς ποιείσθαι | πρὸς Λακεδαι|μονίους μόνῳ.

*Nubes* 12. ἀλλ' | οὐ δύναμαι | δείλαιος εὔδειν δακνόμενος.

B. Where either a monosyllable precedes, having from the law of collocation less adherence to what follows; or some longer word precedes, not particularly attached to the word which follows, or by syntax united to it:

*Plut.* 56. ἄγε· | δὴ πρότερον | σὺ σαυτόν, ὅστις εἶ, φράσον.

*Nub.* 25. Φίλ|ων, ἀδικεῖς· | ἔλαυνε τὸν σαυτοῦ δρόμον.

*Plut.* 148. δοῦλ|ος γεγένη|μαι διὰ τὸ μὴ πλουτεῖν ἴσως.

C. Where, after an elision, concurrences of this kind take place:

*Plut.* 12. μελαγχο|λῶντ' ἀπέπεμ|ψε μου τὸν δεσπότην.

—— 16. οὗ|τος δ' ἀκολου|θεῖ, καὶ μὲ προσβιάζεται.

—— 195. κἄν | ταῦτ' ἀνύση|ται, τετταράκοντα βούλεται.

D. Where a monosyllable by its natural position follows a longer word:

*Plut.* 688. τὸ γράδιον δ' ὥς | ᾗσθετο δὴ | μου τὸν ψόφον.

—— 943. καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ μέτωπον | αὐτίκα δὴ | μάλα.

N.B. From the very close connexion of the article with its noun, τὸ μέτωπον may be fairly taken as one word; and so, in the following line, we may consider τὰ νοσήματα:

*Plut.* 708. δείσας· ἐκείνος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ νοσήματα.

Thus v. 943 will become referable to the class A, and v. 708 to the class B, along with many combinations of the very same kind.

8. If the idea of this inquiry had struck the mind of Elmsley as worthy at all of his careful research, little or nothing would have been afterwards left for investigation. The topic was not without interest to him as an Editor of Aristophanes: and on the *Acharnians*, ad v. 178, and in reference to v. 531,

Τί ἐστίν; ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι· σπονδὰς φέρων—

Ἦστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα—

in a note of great and successful acuteness, he examines and settles a curious point in the main subject itself.

"178. Hodie hic τί ἐστ' malim, et ἡστραπτ', v. 531. Nam longe rarius, quam putaram, anapæstum in hoc metri genere inchoat ultima vocis syllaba." The whole note will amply repay the trouble of perusal.

### III. PROSODY.

#### *On Syllabic Quantity, and on its Differences in Heroic and Dramatic Verse.*

1. By *syllabic quantity* is here meant the quantity of a syllable under these circumstances: the vowel, being unquestionably short, precedes a pair of consonants of such a nature that it may any where be pronounced either distinctly apart from them, or in combination with the first of the two.

If the vowel be pronounced apart from those consonants, as in *πε-ρας*, that syllable is said to be *short by nature*.

If the vowel be pronounced in combination with the first of those consonants, as in *πετ-ρας*, the syllable then is said to be *long by position*.

2. The subjoined list comprises all the pairs of consonants which may *begin* a word, and also *permit* a short vowel within the same word to form a short syllable.

i. *πρ, κρ, τρ* : *φρ, χρ, θρ* : *βρ, γρ, δρ*.

ii. *πλ, κλ, τλ* : *φλ, χλ, θλ*.—iii. *πν, κν* : *χν, θν*.—iv. *τμ*.

The only remaining pairs, *βλ, γλ* : *δμ* : and *μν*, which are at once *initial*, and in a very few cases *permissive*, may, on account of that rarity, be passed over for the present. But the following pairs, *κμ* : *χμ, θμ* : *τν* : *φν*, though not *initial* yet within the same word *permissive*, deserve to be stated here, as they will afterwards be noticed.

3. More than twenty other combinations of consonants, (along with *ψ, ξ, ζ*,) though qualified to be *initial*, are of course foreign to the purpose, as never being *permissive* also; at least in the practice of those authors to whom these remarks are confined.

The combinations last mentioned it may be allowed in future to call *non-permissive*; and for this reason, that neither within the same word, nor between one word and another, (of verse at least,) do they permit a preceding short vowel to be pronounced distinctly apart: it seems to be coupled with them always by an irresistible attraction.

In turning from the Comic trimeter of Aristophanes to the stately hexameter of Homer, the difference of syllabic quantity must be strikingly felt: and that contrast is here purposely taken, to show more clearly in what the great difference consists betwixt the prosody of heroic and that of dramatic verse.

4. Homer seldom allows a short vowel to form a short syllable before any of those *permissive* pairs lately detailed, and only before some few of them. The following cases occur betwixt one word and another: such correptions within the same word are yet more uncommon.

- A. 113. Οἴκοι ἔχειν· καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα.  
 — 263. Οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε, Δρύαντά τε, ποιμένα λαῶν.  
 — 528. Ἦ, καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων.  
 — 609. Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ἦι Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητής.

5. Aristophanes (with very few exceptions in Anapestic verse, pointed out by Porson, pp. lx. lxi. = p. 54) never allows a short vowel *cum ictu* to form a long syllable with any permissive pair, even within the same word.

*Plut.* 449. ποι<sup>|</sup>οισιν ὄπ-<sup>|</sup>λοις ἦ δυνάμει πεποιθότες;

Such was, indeed, the vulgar reading, till Dawes (*M. C.* p. 196) anticipating, as usual, the Ravenna MS., gave the true text:

Ποι<sup>|</sup>οις ὄ-<sup>|</sup>πλοισιν ἦ δυνάμει πεποιθότες;

6. Homer, on the other hand, not only in the same word *cum ictu*, but in the same word *extra ictum*, and even between two words in the same *debilis positio*, makes the syllable long.

- A. 13. Λυσόμενός τε θυγατ-<sup>|</sup>ρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.  
 — 77. Ἦ μὲν μοι πρόφ-<sup>|</sup>ρων ἔπεισιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν.  
 — 345. Ὡς φάτο· Πατ-<sup>|</sup>ροκ-<sup>|</sup>λος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἑταίρῳ.  
 Δ. 57. ἀλλαχ-<sup>|</sup>ρῇ καὶ ἐμὸν θέμεναι πόνον οὐκ ἀτέλεστον.  
 Η. 189. γ<sup>|</sup>νω δεκ-<sup>|</sup>ληρου σῆμα ἰδὼν, γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ.

7. The only possible case in which Aristophanes might prolong such a syllable would be in the use of verbs like these, ἐκ-λύω, ἐκ-μαίνω, ἐκ-νεύω, ἐκ-ρέω, if compounds of that kind ever occur; because, from the very nature of the compound, ἐκ must always be pronounced distinct from the initial consonant of the verb.



8. In Homer, on the contrary, even the loose vowel of augment (ε) or reduplication, when it precedes πλ, κλ, κρ, τρ, &c., initial of the verb, not only *cum ictu*, but even *extra ictum*, is made to form a long syllable.

A. 46. ἐκ-λαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωρόμενοι.

— 309. Ἐς δ' ἐρετας ἐκ-ρίνεν εἰκόσιν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην.

Ξ. 176. Πεξαμένη, χερσὶ πλοκαμούς ἐπ-λέξε φαινοῦς.

N. 542. Λαιμόν τύψ', ἐπὶ οἱ τετ-ραμμένον, ὀξέϊ δουρί.

9. In Homer no dissyllabic word like πατρός, τέκνον, ὄφρα, &c., which can have the first syllable long, is ever found with it otherwise: in Aristophanes those first syllables are constantly shortened.

10. Briefly, then, it may be said, that in Homer, whatever can be long is very seldom (and under very nice circumstances) ever short: in Aristophanes, whatever can be short is never found long.

To complete the purpose of this little sketch, the tragic prosody also (of Euripides, for instance), in a few correspondent points, may as well be presented.

11. Aristophanes, even in the same word, and where the *ictus* might be available (§ 5), never makes a long syllable: Euripides, who excludes the prolongation even *cum ictu* betwixt one word and another,

(*Orest.* 64. παρθένον, ἐμῇ τε μητρὶ παρέδωκεν τρέφειν,  
i. e. not παρεδωκετ ρεφειν,)

within the same word, readily allows it:

*Med.* 4. τμηθείσα πεύκη, μῆδ' ἐρετ-μῶσαι χέρας.

— 17. προδούς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τεκ-να, δεσπότην τ' ἐμήν.

— 25. τὸν πάντα συντήκουσα δακ-ρύοις χρόνον.

12. In Euripides, even those dissyllabic words (alluded to § 9), wherever, from its position, the syllable is decisively long or short, exhibit that syllable *thrice short* to *one* case of *long*. Consequently, in certain positions (unictuated) of Iambic or Trochaic verse, which indifferently admit either quantity, there can be no reasonable ground for supposing that syllable to be lengthened: of course, therefore, the following lines are thus read:

*Med.* 226. πι-κρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ὑπο.

*Iph. A.* 891. ἐπὶ τίνος σπουδαστέον μοι μᾶλλον, ἢ τέ-κνου πέρι;

13. In cases where the augment falls as in ἐπέκλωσεν or κεκλήσθαι, or where, as in πολύχρυσος and ἀπότροποι, the short vowel closes the first part of a composite word, the prolongation of that syllable in Euripides, though not altogether avoided, is yet exceedingly rare. (R. P. *ad Orest.* 64).

14. One great cause of the many mistakes about syllabic quantity should seem to be involved in that false position of S. Clarke's (*ad Il.* B. 537), that a short vowel preceding *any* two consonants with which a syllable can be commenced may form a short syllable. Nothing was ever more unluckily asserted, or more pregnant with confusion and error.

15. To the perspicacity and acuteness of Dawes (*M. C.* pp. 90, 1, 196, 146, 7) we are indebted for the first clear statement of the principal points in this department of prosody: to the deliberate and masterly judgment of Porson (*ad Orest.* 64, and elsewhere) we owe whatever else is correctly and certainly known.

16. Some little things, however, may serve to show that an English ear, especially on a sudden appeal, is no very competent judge of *Attic correptions*, so called.

For instance, in the following lines:

*Phaen.* 1444. ἐν τῷδε μήτηρ ἡ τάλαινα προσπίτνει,

*Alc.* 434. ἐπίσταμαί γε, κούκ ᾗφνω κακὸν τόδε,

it is not from any practice of our own, certainly, that we should pronounce the words προσπί-τνει and ᾗ-φνω with precision and facility in that very way.

17. So, too, if ἀκμή and ἔσμεν were on a sudden proposed as to the shortening of the first syllable in each, it might seem to an English ear just as improbable in the noun as in the verb; although in Athenian utterance we know very well the fact was quite otherwise.

Toup (vid. *Emendd.* Vol. i. 114, 5; iv. 441) maintained in his day (what is now called) the *permissiveness* of σμ: and actually, on that ground, suggested the following as an emendation of a passage in Sophocles, for ἐμέν or ἴμεν:

*Elect.* 21, 2. .... ὡς ἐνταῦθ' ἐ-σμέν,

ἢν' οὐκέτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρός, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή,

(where ἀκμή, of course, is right enough, being pronounced ἀ-κμή). Since Porson's delicate correction of that error (u. s. p. 441) no argument has been advanced in its defence. And yet, *a priori*, why should not σμ be *permissive*, as well as θμ, for instance? "The consonants σμ can begin a word; why not commence a separate syllable? How can θμ commence a syllable, when notoriously it cannot begin a word?"

18. The plain truth, however, stands thus: that  $\kappa\mu$  and  $\theta\mu$ , (with  $\chi\mu$ ,  $\phi\nu$ ,  $\tau\nu$ ,) though never used as *initial* to any word, yet within the same words are found *permissive* much too often to admit the shadow of a doubt on that head.

*Phoen.* 351. Καὶ γὰρ μέτρ' ἀνθρώποισι καὶ μέρη στα-θμῶν  
may be taken for one undisputed example; there is no want of more.

19. How far in the different pairs of consonants which have been defined as *non-permissive* (§ 3), a physical necessity was the obstacle, in some at least, if not in others, might be a question for anatomy rather than for criticism.

### Special Rules of Quantity.

1. Ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν, when so written for ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, have the last syllable short in Sophocles. Elmsley has thus stated the case.

Solus e tragicis secundam in ἡμῖν et ὑμῖν corripit Sophocles, monente Porsono *Præfat.* p. xxxvii. Id in integris fabulis bis et quadragies extra melica fecit. Septies autem necessario produxit ante vocalem; *Œd. Tyr.* 631, *Œd. Col.* 826, *Trach.* 1273, *Aj.* 689, *El.* 355, 454, 1381. Quæ omnia emendationis egere suspicari videtur Porsonus. Ego vero casu potius quam consilio factum puto, ut tam raro ancipitem vocalem necessario produceret Noster. Nam simile quid Euripidi accidisse video. Is, ut monuit Porsonus, posteriorem horum pronominum syllabam nusquam corripuit.—Quod ad accentum correptæ formæ attinet, alii ἡμιν et ὑμιν, alii ἡμῖν et ὑμῖν scribendum arbitrantur. Hanc scripturam adhibuit Aldus in *Ajace* et *Electræ* versibus primis 357, dehinc vero ἡμιν et ὑμιν usque ad finem libri. Ἡμῖν et ὑμῖν ubique editiones recentiores, quarum scripturam post Brunckium adoptavi. Elmsley, *Præf. ad Œdip. Tyrann.* p. x.

2. I is common in ἰάομαι, ἰατρός, λίαν, ὄρνις. The quantity of this vowel varies in ἀνιά and ἀνιᾶρός.

Nomen ἀνιά, vel ἀνίη, plerumque penultimam producit, aliquando corripit, ut in quatuor exemplis a Ruhnkenio, *Epist. Crit.* II. p. 276, adductis.—Verbum ἀνιάω vel ἀνιάζω, apud Epicos poëtas secundam plerumque producit, ut et in Soph. *Antig.* 319. Verbum ἀνιῶ apud Aristophanem penultimam ter corripit, semel producit *Eq.* 348. (349, Bekk.)—Semper, nisi fallor, secunda in ἀνιᾶρός ab Euripide et Aristophane corripitur, producitur a Sophocle *Antig.* 316. Sed ubique tertia syllaba longa est. Porson. *ad Phoen.* v. 1334.

3. I is long in κόνις, -ιν, ὄφις, -ιν, e. g. *Æsch. Pers.* 1085, *Choeph.* 928.

**EXAMINATION PAPERS**

**ON THE**

**GREEK TRAGEDIANS.**



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ÆSCHYLI PERSÆ.

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TRINITY COLLEGE. *June, 1832.*

MR. THIRLWALL.

1. DEFINE your notion of epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry. What species of composition is implied in the term lyrical Tragedy? Mention the various meanings that have been derived from the etymology of the words τραγωδία and τρυγωδία. Which of these explanations is most conformable to analogy?

2. On what grounds, according to Aristotle, did the Dorians lay claim to the invention of Tragedy and Comedy? Point out the fallacy of the argument he mentions. In what Greek cities out of Attica were early advances made toward dramatic poetry? Where was any of its branches brought to its perfection earlier than at Athens? Explain the proverb οὐδὲ τὰ Στησιχόρου τρία γινώσκεις. Mention the age, country, and inventions of Stesichorus, and the character of his poetry as described by the ancients.

3. Relate the principal Attic legends concerning the introduction of the worship of Bacchus into Athens. How did the oracles contribute to this end? By what means does the worship of Bacchus appear to have become connected with that of Apollo at Delphi, and with that of Ceres at Eleusis?

4. Enumerate the Attic Dionysia, and explain the origin of their particular names. In what Attic month, and at what season of the

year, was each celebrated? To what division of the Greek nation did the month Lenæon belong? To what Attic month did it correspond? What is the origin of the name, and what inference may be drawn from it as to the place of the month in the calendar? Which was the most ancient of the Dionysia at Athens?

5. At which of the Dionysia were dramatic entertainments given? In which were the dithyrambic choruses exhibited? What were the peculiar regulations affecting the performances at each festival? In which were the τραγωδοὶ καινοί? What authority is there for believing that women were admitted to these spectacles?

6. Translate: εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τὰς τραγωδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις. Who was the author of this law, and what were its objects? Translate and explain: οἱ ποιηταὶ τρεῖς ἐλάμβανον ὑποκριτὰς κλήρῳ νεμηθέντας ὑποκρινομένους τὰ δράματα, ὧν ὁ νικήσας εἰς τοῦπιόν ἄκριτος παραλαμβάνεται. What were the particular denominations of these actors? How were the parts in the *Persæ* probably distributed among them? What was the general name for the other characters in a play?

7. Give some examples to illustrate the different light in which actors were regarded by the Greeks and by the Romans. How is the fact to be explained? From what causes did the profession of an actor rise in importance in Greece between the age of Æschylus and that of Demosthenes?

8. What part of the expense of the theatrical entertainments was defrayed by the Athenian government, and what by individuals? Mention the various duties and charges to which the χορηγοί were subject. With what powers did the law invest them in the execution of their office? Explain the origin and nature of the Θεωρικόν, the changes that took place in the distribution of it, and its political consequences. Who were the θεατρῶναι and θεατροπῶλαι? Explain the allusion in the characteristic: καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσας μὴ δούς τὸ μέρος θεωρεῖν. ἄγειν δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν.

9. Mention the various ways in which Greek Tragedy was made to answer political purposes, and produce some illustrations from the extant plays. By which Tragedian was the drama most frequently so applied? What arguments beside that of the *Persæ* were taken from events subsequent to the return of the Heracleids? How do you explain the saying attributed to Æschylus: τὰς αὐτοῦ τραγωδίας τεμάχη εἶναι τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων?

10. State the best attested dates of the birth and death of Æschylus. Enumerate his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries in the order of time. Mention the leading occurrences in his life, the honours paid to him after his death, the members of his family whose names are known, and the causes of their celebrity. Do his plays contain any intimation as to his political sentiments? What grounds have been assigned for the charge of impiety said to have been brought against him? What reason is there for believing that he made more than one journey to Sicily? When did Hiero become king of Syracuse, and how long did his reign last?

11. What were the plays that made up the Tetralogy to which the *Persæ* belonged? State the principal features of the legends connected with their names. What ground is there for supposing that the Trilogy had a common title? In what manner may the argument of the *Persæ* have been connected with those of the other two pieces? What other poets wrote plays of the same name?

12. . Quote the lines of Aristophanes which relate to the chorus of the *Persæ*. What difficulty have they occasioned? How may they be understood, without supposing them to refer to any other edition of the play than the one we have? What other references are made by ancient writers to passages of the *Persæ* not contained in the extant play of that name? How may this be accounted for, without supposing them to have dropped out of the latter? How does Stanley conjecture the chorus of the *Persæ* to have been composed? How may this conjecture be reconciled with the usual number of the tragic chorus? How is it confirmed by the distribution of the dialogue?

13. Make out a list of the Median and Persian kings, down to the fall of the Persian monarchy, noticing the variations between Æschylus, Herodotus, and Ctesias. Who was Ctesias? when did he live, and what were his sources of information? Give the pedigree of Xerxes, and show how he was related to Cyrus. How many kings of the name of Darius are mentioned in history?

14. Mention the divisions of the Persian nation according to Herodotus. How is Xenophon to be understood when he says: λέγονται Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι? Mention the divisions of the Persian empire according to Plato, Herodotus, and the Old Testament. How may the three accounts be reconciled? Trace the frontier of the empire under Darius in the last year of his reign, and mention the modern names of the countries through which it passes. Give the modern names of Susa and Ecbatana, and mention the different opinions on



these points. By what name is Susa described in the Old Testament? What is the meaning of the word? Mention the mythical and the historical person to whom the foundation of the city is attributed.

15. What is known of the circumstances and life of Darius before his accession? How does Æschylus allude to the manner in which he obtained the crown? Give a short account of his wars, and show how far their several issues justify the language of Æschylus: *νόστοι ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους ἀπαθείς εὖ πράσσοντας ἄγον οἴκους*.

16. Give an account of the invasion of Greece by the Gauls, mentioning the time, the occasion, and the leaders of the expedition. Describe the line of their march, and compare the principal incidents of the campaign with those of the Persian invasion.

17. Draw a map of Salamis and the adjacent coast, marking the situation of the towns of Salamis, Megara, and Eleusis, and the *ἄκται Σιληνίων*, the spot from which Xerxes viewed the battle, and the island of Psyttaleia. Translate: *ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατέχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νησί.* Describe the position of the three last-mentioned places.

18. Give a short account of the history of Salamis, and of the way in which it fell under the dominion of Athens. On what evidence did the Athenians found their claim to the island? What other ancient name had it? What is its modern one? Mention the meaning of each. Does Homer (as quoted by Stanley) throw any light upon the epithet *πελειοθρέμμου*? Explain the epithet in the words *ἄκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας*.

19. Translate:

Ἦρξεν μὲν, ὦ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ  
Φανείς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.  
Ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλλην. κ. τ. λ.

Who is the person here alluded to? Is he accurately described as *ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην*? How was he rewarded for his services?

20. Translate:

—— Ἕλλησιν μὲν ἦν  
Ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα  
Νεῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος.

What is the difference between the numbers of the Grecian fleet described in this passage and in Herodotus? What part of this fleet

was furnished by Greeks of Ionian extraction? Compare the statements of Æschylus and Herodotus as to the numbers of the Persian fleet. Supply the principal events omitted by Æschylus that intervened between the battle of Salamis and the retreat of Xerxes, and between his arrival at Sardis and his return to Susa.

21. Translate :

Ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου  
Κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὖμαριν αἰείρων  
Βασιλείου τιάρας  
Φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.

Explain the allusion in the last part of this passage. Is the evocation of Darius founded on Grecian or on Persian usage? Where was Darius buried?

22. Ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἔστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.

Describe the district in which this treasure lay, and mention the ancient and modern names of the principal towns in it. Give an account of the manner in which its produce was applied before and at the time of Æschylus. By what peculiar privileges did the government encourage the cultivation of it. Explain Xenophon's project for increasing its productiveness.

23. Explain the allusion in the words *ἰὰν Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος πέμψω*, and give some other examples of similar national usages. Why is Atossa made to describe Greece as *Ἰαόνων γῆν*, and afterwards to say, *ἡ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἡσκημένη, ἡ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν*? Why do the Greek writers speak of the Persian war as *τὰ Μηδικά*? Why is Xerxes described as *Σύριον ἄρμα διώκων*? Translate: *δίρῥυμά τε καὶ τρίρῥυμα τέλη*? What mention is found in history of the use of chariots in the Persian armies?

24. Translate the following passage, and arrange it in metrical order, naming the verses into which you divide it. *δολόμετιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; τίς ὁ κραιπνῷ ποδὶ πηδήματος εὐπετοῦς ἀνάσσω; φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον, παράγει βροτὸν εἰς ἀρκύστατα τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ θνατὸν ἀλύξαντα φυγεῖν.*

25. Define and exemplify the metrical terms, *arsis*, *thesis*, *basis*, *anacrusis*, *anacclasis*, *cæsura*, *prosodia*. What is meant by metres *κατ' ἀντιπάθειαν μικτά*? What is an asynartetic verse?

Explain the grounds on which Hermann objects to the ancient mode of measuring the iambic verse.

26. Explain the terms, *hyperbaton*, *zeugma*, *prolepsis*, and give an instance of each. Translate: τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν Τῶν ἀρχαλείων, ὃς τ', ἐπὶ σκηπτουχία Ταχθείς, ἄνανδρον τάξιν ἡρήμου θανών. In the lines: ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἵξεται κνέφας, Ἑλληνες οὐ μένοιεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασι Νεῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε Δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίοντον ἐκωσοίατο—what corrections have been proposed? Translate the lines as they are here written. Explain the construction of the lines: ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ', ὅπως ὅταν νεῶν Φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκωζοίατο. In what cases are adverbs of time properly followed by the indicative, in what by the subjunctive or the optative mood? When is the subjunctive, and when the optative required after a relative pronoun or adverb? Explain the distinction between the grammatical and the rhetorical ellipsis. To what figure does the construction of the following words belong? τυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνακτ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀκούομεν Θρήκης ἀμπεδιήρεις δυσχίμους τε κελεύθους. Distinguish the different meanings of the following words according to the difference of their accentuation: αἴη, βίος, βροτος, γαυλος, δημοσ, θερμος, θολος, καλος, κηρ, ληνος, λισ, νειος, νομος, τροπος.

## SOPHOCLIS PHILOCTETES.

TRINITY COLLEGE. June 1833.

MR. MARTIN.

1. (a) GIVE the dates of the birth and death and first tragic victory of Sophocles.
- (b) In what war was he engaged? What was its duration and event?
- (c) How long after the death of Sophocles and Euripides did Aristophanes produce his *Ranæ*?

(d) Translate and explain:

HPA. Εἴτ' οὐχὶ Σοφοκλέα, πρότερον ὄντ' Εὐριπίδου,  
Μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἴπερ ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;

ΔΙΟ. Οὐ πρίν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον,  
Ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὃ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω. (*Ran.* 76.)

2. (a) How far does Phrynichus appear to deserve the title of Father of Tragedy?

- (b) Why was a fine imposed upon him for his *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*?  
Where is the story related?
- (c) Translate and explain *μινυρίζοντες μέλη ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχή-  
ρατα*. (Arist. *Vesp.*)
3. (a) What do you consider to be the object of Epic, and Dramatic poetry?
- (b) What the chief characteristic of *Grecian* tragedy?
- (c) How was the Drama encouraged at Athens?
- (d) At what seasons of the year, and at which of the Dionysia, were dramatic entertainments given?
- (e) What is the controversy respecting the Lenæa?
- (f) What was the nature of the laws *περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν*? When introduced, and with what object? How does Demosthenes allude to them?
4. (a) What account does Homer give of Philoctetes? How many ships did he bring to the war?
- (b) Does he allude to his aid as requisite for the taking of Troy?
- (c) Is his fate after the fall of Troy alluded to by Homer or Virgil?
5. (a) What is the situation of Lemnos with respect to Athens?
- (b) How came it to be inhabited by the Pelasgi? (Herod. B. vi.)
- (c) How did it fall under the power of the Athenians? (*ibid.*)
- (d) Where was the island Chryse situated? What account does Pausanias give of it?
- (e) How was Hercules connected with it?
6. Explain the terms 'cæsura,' 'quasi-cæsura,' and 'pause' in the Iambic trimeter of the tragedians.
7. Ἑρμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἠγήσαιο νῶν. (v. 133).
- (a) In what sense is Mercury called *πομπαῖος* in the *Ajax*?
- (b) Illustrate *πομπαῖος* and *δόλιος* from Horace.
- (c) What is the meaning of the Homeric epithet *ἐριούνιος*?
- (d) Translate:
- Ἀλλά σ' ὁ Μαίας πομπαῖος ἄναξ  
Πελάσειε δόμοις,  
Ὦν τ' ἐπίνοιαν σπεύδεις κατέχων  
Πράξιας. (Eurip. *Med.* 755.)

8. Ὅρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μάτερ αὐτοῦ Διός,  
Ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων  
Λεόντων ἔφεδρε. (v. 389.)

- (a) Illustrate παμβῶτι Γᾶ from Lucretius (B. II). What reason does he assign for the Greek poets representing Cybele (or Tellus) in a chariot drawn by lions?
- (b) Why was she called 'Idæa Mater'? What ambiguity has the word 'Idæa' caused?
- (c) How does Euripides connect Bacchus and Rhea? (*Bacchæ*.)

9. (a) Translate :

Ἴδου δέχου, παῖ· τὸν φθόνον δὲ πρόσκυσον,  
Μή σοι γενέσθαι πολύπον' αὐτά. (v. 759.)

- (b) Does the expression τὸν φθόνον δὲ πρόσκυσον, or a similar one, occur elsewhere?
- (c) Why was Nemesis called Ἀδραστεία?

10.

—— ἐπεὶ πάρεστι μὲν  
Τεῦκρος παρ' ἡμῖν, τήνδ' ἐπιστήμην ἔχων. (v. 1038.)

- (a) In what sense, and by whom, is Teucer called ὁ τοξότης in the *Iliad*? Translate Teucer's reply οὐ γὰρ βάνανσον τὴν τέχνην ἐκτησάμην. What difference in the sense would be caused by the omission or different position of the article τήν?
- (b) Which of the Greeks at Troy was the most famous for the use of the bow? (Hom. *Od.* VIII.)
- (c) How do you account for the use of the bow being held in contempt by the Athenians?
- (d) What was their peculiar offensive weapon? (*Æsch. Pers.*)

11.

Ὕπν' ὀδίνας ἀδαῆς, Ὕπνε δ' ἀλγέων,  
Εἰαῆς ἡμῖν ἔλθοις  
Εἰαίω, εἰαίω, ὦναξ.  
Ὅμμασι δ' ἀντέχοις τάνδ' αἶγλαν,  
Ἄ τέταται τανῦν. (v. 810.)

Give Welcker's interpretation of this passage, with the grounds on which it rests.

Χῶ Κεφαλλήνων ἀναξ. (v. 262.)

What do we find respecting the Κεφαλλῆνες in Homer?

(b) Translate :

ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Τυδέως γόνος,  
Οὐδ' οὐμπολητὸς Σισύφου Λαερτίου,  
Οὐ μὴ θάνωσι. τούσδε γὰρ μὴ ζῆν ἔδει. (v. 411.)

What is the objection to Hermann's interpretation?

(c) To which of the generals in the *Iliad* is Sisyphus said to be related? (*Il.* vi.) What character is there given of him?

(d) How may οὐ μὴ θάνωσι be explained by an ellipsis?

(e) What is the chief distinction in the use of οὐ and μή? Distinguish between ψυχὴν σκοπῶν φιλόσοφον καὶ μή, and ψυχὴν σκοπῶν φιλόσοφον καὶ οὐ.

13. (a) Distinguish between φυλάσσεται στίβος (v. 48) and φυλαχθήσεται στίβος.

(b) What is the rule with respect to the use of πρὶν followed by an infinitive, or a subjunctive or optative mood? What is there remarkable in ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ? (*Herod. B.* vii.)

14. Translate the following passages and explain the construction :

(a) ὅστις νόσον Κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο. (v. 279.)

(b) τίνος γὰρ ὧδε τὸν μέγαν Χόλον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν ἐλήλυθας; (v. 325.)

(c) ὃν δὴ παλαί' ἂν ἐξ ὅτου δέδοικ' ἐγὼ Μή μοι βεβήκη, (v. 488.)

(d) πλησθῆς τῆς νόσου συνουσία. (v. 512.)

What peculiar sense does ἀναπίμπλασθαι admit? Is 'impleri' ever used in the same manner?

(e) πρὸς ποῖον ἂν τόνδ' αὐτὸς οὐδυσσεὺς ἔπλει; (v. 564.)

Explain the force of ἂν here, and in ἐνθένδε ἄνδρες οὔτε ὄντα, οὔτε ἂν γενόμενα, λογοποιούσιν. (*Thucyd.*)

15. Translate the following passages:

(a) Σκοπεῖν θ' ὅπου 'στ' ἐνταῦθα δίστομος πέτρα  
Τοιάδ', ἵν' ἐν ψύχει μὲν ἡλίου διπλῇ  
Πάρεστιν ἐνθάκησις, ἐν θέρει δ' ὕπνον  
Δι' ἀμφιτρῆτος αὐλίου πέμπει πνοή. (v. 16.)

(b) Τί χρή, τί χρή με, δέσποτ', ἐν ξένα ξένον  
Στέγειν, ἢ τί λέγειν πρὸς ἄνδρ' ὑπόπταν;  
Φράζε μοι. τέχνα γὰρ τέχνας ἐτέρας προὔχει,

Καὶ γνώμα, παρ' ὅτῳ  
Τὸ θεῖον Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἀνάσσεται. (v. 135.)

- (c) Εἰ δὲ πικρούς, ἄναξ, ἔχθεις Ἀτρεΐδας,  
Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ κείνων κακὸν τῷδε κέρδος  
Μετατιθέμενος, ἔνθαπερ ἐπιμέμονεν,  
Ἐπ' εὐστόλου ταχείας νεὼς  
Πορεύσαιμ' ἂν ἐς δόμους. (v. 504.)

- (d) Εἶρπε δ' ἄλλον ἄλλοτε  
Τότ' ἂν εἰλυόμενος,  
Παῖς ἄτερ ὡς φίλας τιθήνας, ὅθεν εὐμάρει' ὑπάρ-  
χοι, πόρον, ἀνίκ' ἐξανείη δακέθῃμος ἄτα.  
Οὐ φορβὰν ἱερᾶς γᾶς σπόρον, οὐκ ἄλλων  
Αἴρων, τῶν νεμόμεσθ' ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί,  
Πλὴν ἐξ ὠκυβόλων εἶποτε τόξων πα-  
νοῖς ἰοῖς ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν. (v. 690.)

What are the metrical names of the lines (b) and (d)?

16. Give the meaning and derivation of the following words:

ὀγμεύω, σμυγερός, παλιντριβής, ἔμπυος, ἐχθόδοπος, οὐρεσιβώτας. In what other authors does ἐχθόδοπος occur? What different forms of οὐρεσιβώτας occur in Sophocles?

## EURIPIDIS ALCESTIS.

TRINITY COLLEGE. May, 1837.

MR. DONALDSON.

1. TRACE the epic and lyric poetry of Greece to their respective sources, and show how each of them was related to the Athenian drama. Translate, *γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴ καὶ ἡ τραγωδία καὶ ἡ κωμωδία, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, κατὰ μικρὸν ηὔξήθη.* Explain and justify this statement, particularly the former part of it. What other name was given to the διθύραμβος, and why? Of how many persons did the dithyrambic chorus consist? How did it differ from or agree with the chorus in a tragedy?

2. When did Arion flourish? How could he be said *τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετὴς γενέσθαι*? Explain the word *τραγωδία* consistently with your

interpretation of this statement. What do you understand by a *lyrical tragedy*? What is known of Stesichorus, and what was his real name? Mention some of the principles which regulated the formation of proper names among the Greeks. Why was the name Aletes given to the founder of the Dorian dynasty at Corinth, and what name was for a similar reason borne by the son of Cimon? To what circumstance did the poet Euripides probably owe his name? Thucydides mentions Xenophon, the son of Euripides, as an Athenian general in the year 422 B.C.; could this Euripides have derived his name from the same cause?

3. By whom was the custom of performing tragic Trilogies introduced, and by whom was it first abandoned? What was the nature and origin of the fourth play in a Tetralogy? What place did the *Alcestis* occupy in the Tetralogy to which it belonged, and what were the other three plays? Is the inference which you might draw from the place of the *Alcestis* confirmed by any peculiarities in the play itself?

Translate:

Nunc, quam rem oratum huc veni, primum proloquar,  
 Post argumentum hujus eloquar tragoediæ.  
 Quid contraxistis frontem, quia tragoediam  
 Dixi futuram hanc? Deus sum! Conmutavero  
 Eadem, si voltis. Faciam hanc ex tragoedia  
 Comoedia ut sit omnibus isdem versibus.  
 Utrum sit an ne voltis? Sed ego stultior:  
 Quasi nesciam vos velle, qui divos siem!  
 Teneo quid animi vestri super hac re siet.  
 Faciam ut conmixta sit Tragicocomoedia:  
 Nam me perpetuo facere ut sit comoedia,  
 Reges quo veniant et Di, non par arbitror.

Of what play is this said? Mention other instances of an extravagance, similar to that on which the plot of it depends, in the dramatic literature of ancient or modern times.

4. How was the iambic trimeter derived from the dactylic hexameter? Give a scheme of the iambic trimeter acatalectic both tragic and comic. What is Porson's rule about the pause in the tragic trimeter? Can you mention any exceptions to it? We learn from Joannes Laurentius Lydus that Rhinthon wrote comedies in hexameter verse; what remarkable fact in the literature of Rome is explained by this? To what classes of Greek plays did the *prætextata*, *togata*, *Atellana* and *planipes*, respectively correspond? Explain the last word, and show



from Heracle that the *protagoras* was *genuine*. What is your opinion about the *protagoras*?

7. Translate:

Ἔγω εἰμὶ ἄνθρωπος  
καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἥλιον εἰμὶ  
Προταγόω ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον  
Κριτῶντιν ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον  
Εἴπω, ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον  
Θεοφάνης ὁ τῆς τῆς τῆς  
Ἰσοκράτους ἀνθρώπου  
Ἰσοκράτους ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος  
Ἰσοκράτους ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος

- (a) Explain and illustrate by examples the *anaphora*—*ἥλιον* and *ἄνθρωπον*—*ἄνθρωπον*.
- (b) To what extent is the *anaphora* done *anaphora* when he *anaphora* *ἄνθρωπον*?

Translate:

Ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὁποῦν ἐστὶν τῆς φύσεως οὗτος, ζῶντος σοφιστῆς,  
θεοφάνης, ἰσοκράτους, προταγόω, ἄνθρωπος,  
Κριτῶν τε ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπος μετεωροφάνης.

Explain:

Σὶ τε μετεωροφάνης ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπος τῆς φύσεως οὗτος, ζῶντος σοφιστῆς,  
θεοφάνης, ἰσοκράτους, προταγόω, ἄνθρωπος,  
Κριτῶν τε ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπος μετεωροφάνης.

And explain all the allusions in both passages. Who were the *Sophists*? What is known of the *Prodicus* mentioned in the second passage?

- (c) Give some account of *Anaxagoras* and his peculiar doctrines.

Translate:

Ἀναξαγόρας ἀπείθεος εἶναι φησι τὰς ἀρχάς· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἅπαντα τὰ  
ὁμοιομερῆ, καθάπερ ἕλκος ἢ πῦρ, οὕτω γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι φησι συγ-  
κρίσει καὶ διακρίσει μόνον, ἄλλως δ' οὔτε γίνεσθαι οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
ἔσθαι.

ἔσθαι δὲ οὕτω διακεκριμένων γινώσκειν χρὴ ὅτι πάντα οὐδὲν ἐλάσσον  
πλέον· οἱ γὰρ ἀντιστὸν πάντων πλέον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἴσα αἰεὶ.

What was the connexion between Euripides and Anaxagoras? Mention any instances in which Euripides has expressed the opinions of this philosopher.

(d) What are the *σανίδες Θρήσσαι* here alluded to?

(e) In what metre are these lines written?

6. Describe the general features of a Greek dramatic representation. Where was the Theatre of Athens situated? Quote instances of allusions made by the dramatists to the locality of the Theatre and the surrounding scenery.

7. What was *χορὸν διδόναι*? When did the tragic contests take place? In what year did Euripides bring out the Tetralogy to which the *Alcestis* belonged, and what was his fortune on this occasion? What play in this Tetralogy was continually ridiculed by Aristophanes, and why? How is it parodied in the *Acharnians*?

Translate:

Σὺ δὴ με ταῦτ', ὦ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδῃ  
Καὶ πτωχόποιε καὶ ῥακιοσυρῥαπτάδῃ;

What was probably the object of Aristophanes in composing the *Frogs*?

Translate and explain:

ΞΑ.

καῖπειτα πῶς

Οὐ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνου;

ΑΙ. Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἔκυσε μὲν Αἰσχύλον,

Ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθε, κἀνέβαλε τὴν δεξιάν,

Κἀκεῖνος ὑπεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θρόνου.

8. Give the general rule for the construction of verbs with the particle *ἄν*. What do you conceive to be the origin of this word? Show that there is no need of alteration in *οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἄν εἰ πείσαιμί νιν*, and confirm this reading by adducing a similar construction in Latin.

9. Τί σεσίγηται δόμος Ἀδμήτου;  
Οὐ τ' ἄν φθιμένας γ' ἐσιώπων.

Distinguish between *σιγᾶν* and *σιωπᾶν*. Which of these words corresponds to *tacere* and which to *silere*?

10. Translate:

Κλύει τις ἢ στεναγμὸν, ἢ  
Χερῶν κτύπον κατὰ στέγας,  
Ἡ γόον ὡς πεπραγμένων;

Οὐ μὰν οὐδέ τις ἀμφιπόλων  
 Στατίζεται ἀμφὶ πύλας.  
 Εἰ γὰρ μετακύμιος ἄτας,  
 ὦ Παιάν, φανείης.

.....  
 Πυλᾶν πάροιθε δ' οὐχ ὁρῶ  
 Πηγαῖον, ὥς νομίζεται,  
 Χέρνιβ', ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις.  
 Χαίτα τ' οὐτίς ἐπὶ προθύροις  
 Τομαῖος ἄ δὴ νεκύων  
 Πένθει πίτνει, οὐδὲ νεολαία  
 Δουπεῖ χεῖρ γυναικῶν.

Explain the words *στατίζεται*, *μετακύμιος*, and *χέρνιβα*. Why does Elmsley object to *πιτνεῖν* and *ρίπτειν*, and how are these forms supported by Hermann and Lobeck? What is, according to Hermann, the difference between *ρίπτειν* and *ρίπτειν*? Is it borne out by usage? What is generally the difference in signification between contracted and uncontracted verbs from the same root in Latin? Explain the formation of *δυστυχεῖν* from *τυγχάνειν* and of *belligerare* from *gerere*. The MSS. give *νεολαία*, Dindorf reads *νολαία*, Monk *νεολαία*. Which is right, and why?

11. Translate:

Τί χρὴ γενέσθαι τὴν ὑπερβεβλημένην  
 Γυναῖκα; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξαιτό τις  
 Πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλουσ' ὑπερθανεῖν;

What is the difference in Plato between *ἐνδείκνυσθαι* and *ἐπιδείκνυσθαι*? What was the *ἐπίδειξις* of a Sophist? In what cases could an *ἐνδειξις* be brought according to the Athenian law, and how was it connected with an *ἀπαγωγή*?

12. Λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἃ βούλομαι.

Distinguish accurately between *θέλειν* and *βούλεσθαι*. Translate: *ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε*. Which is the older form, *θέλειν* or *ἐθέλειν*? What is the oldest form of *βούλεσθαι*?

13. Translate:

Καὶ πῶς ἐπεσφρῶ τήνδε τῷ κείνης λέχει;—  
 Καὶ μὴ ἰγλήμης τοῖσδε μητρυνᾶν τέκνοις.—

And,

ὅς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι, τῇ σὺνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικαίευσεν εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μητρυνᾶν τῇ Φρονίμῃ.

What is the force of ἐπὶ in these passages? What different signification does it bear in the word ἐπιγαμία? Give some account of the marriage-law at Athens. How does Æschylus use the word μητρυνὰ metaphorically?

14. Translate, explain, and compare the following passages:

Σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν  
Εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται,  
Ὅμι προσπεσοῦμαι καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας  
Ὅνομα καλῶν σὸν τὴν καλὴν ἐν ἀγκάλαις  
Δόξω γυναῖκα καίπερ οὐκ ἔχων ἔχειν,  
Ψυχρὰν μὲν, οἶμαι, τέρψιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως βάρος  
Ψυχῆς ἀπαντλοίην ἄν· ἐν δ' ὀνείρασι  
Φοιτῶσά μ' εὐφραίνοις ἄν. ἡδὺ γὰρ φίλους  
Κὰν νυκτὶ λεύσσειν ὄντιν' ἄν παρῇ χρόνον.

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Πόθω δ' ὑπερποντίας  
Φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.  
Εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν  
Ἐχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,  
Ὅμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις  
Ἐρῶει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.  
Ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες  
Πάρεισι δόξαι φέρονσαι χάριν ματαίαν.  
Μάταν γὰρ εὐτ' ἄν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὀρᾷν  
Παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν  
Βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον  
Πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.

15. Translate:

Πολλά σε μουσόπολοι  
Μέλιψουσι καθ' ἐπτάτονόν τ' ὀρείαν  
Χέλυν ἐν τ' ἀλύροις κλέοντες ὕμνοις,  
Σπάρτα κυκλὰς ἀνίκα Καρνείου περινίσσεται ὥρα  
Μηνὸς ἀειρομένας  
Παννύχου σελάνας  
Λιπαραισί τ' ἐν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις.

What was the origin and nature of the Carnea, and in what month were they celebrated? Why is the epithet λιπαρὸς applied to Athens?

16. How is the legend about the death of Alcestis and the servitude of Apollo to be explained?

Translate:

Οὐμὸς δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἤγε πρὸς μύλην. (Soph. *Adm.*)

What is probably the meaning of the name Ἄδμητος as applied to this mythical King? How do you account for the introduction of Hercules? Was he a Dorian divinity? How does it appear from this play that Apollo and Death were dressed? How are they represented in ancient works of art?

17. Translate:

καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὀθούνεκα  
Τοῦ νῦν σκυθρωποῦ καὶ ξυνεστῶτος φρενῶν  
Μεθορμιεῖ σε πίτυλος ἐμπεσὼν σκύφου.

And,

ὃ τε ἐκ γῆς πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων, ἰσορρόπου τῆς ναυμαχίας καθεστηκυίας,  
πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἶχε.

Explain the word πίτυλος. Does μεθορμίσασθαι usually govern the genitive? If so, mention some instances.

18. Translate:

Ἄλλ' εὐτυχοίης, νόστιμον δ' ἔλθοις πόδα.  
Ἄστοις δὲ πάσῃ τ' ἐννέπω τετραρχία  
Χοροὺς ἐπ' ἐσθλαῖς συμφοραῖσιν ἰστάναι  
Βωμούς τε κνισᾶν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς.

And the following oracle:

Αὐδῶ Ἐρεχθίδαῖσιν, ὅσοι Πανδιόνοσ' ἄστυ  
Ναίετε, καὶ πατρίοισι νόμοις ἰθύνεθ' ἐορτὰς,  
Μεμνήσθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐρυχόρους κατ' ἀγνιάς  
Ἰστάναι ὥραίων Βρομίῳ χάριν ἄμμιγα πάντας  
Καὶ κνισᾶν βωμοῖσι, κάρη στεφάνοις πυκάσαντας.

- (a) What was the Tetrarchy here alluded to? Give some account of the ethnography and old constitution of Thessaly. Who were the Aleuadae, and where did they reign? Where was the kingdom of Admetus?
- (b) Why does κνισᾶν govern an accusative in one of these passages and a dative in the other?
- (c) What relation subsisted between Bacchus and Demeter? When was the worship of the former introduced into Attica, and when and by what means established at Athens?

19. Are μάπτω and εὐμαρής connected? What is the root, and where does it appear in its simplest form? Derive ἀραμεῖν, πλημμυρίς,

(what is the quantity of the penultima in Homer?), μονάμπυξ, ὀκνῶ, ὀρφανεύειν, κεδνός, σεμνός, and ἀνάγκη. Which is right, οἶδας or οἶσθα? What is the syntax of πρίν? Distinguish between ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτός, and ὁ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος. Is οὗ σοι μὴ μεθέξομαί ποτε an allowable construction? If so, what do these words mean? Are there any other instances of a similar construction? If so, adduce and explain them. Accentuate the following words according to their different significations: μητροκτονος, αθως, σιγα, ποιησαι, νυμφιος, μυριοι, πειθω, and λιγυς. What are the futures of ἐσθίω and πίνω?

20. Translate the following passages, and point out any peculiarities which you may think deserving of notice:

- (a) συμμέτρως δ' ἀφίκετο  
Φρουρῶν τόδ' ἡμάρ ᾧ θανεῖν αὐτὴν χρεών.
- (b) Πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, Φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης.
- (c) Πόλλ' ἂν σὺ λέξας οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον λάβοις.  
'Η δ' οὖν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους.
- (d) 'ΗΡΑ. Τίνος δ' ὁ θρέψας παῖς πατρὸς κομπάζεται;  
ΧΟΡ. Ἄρεος, ζαχρύσου Θρηκίας πέλτης ἄναξ.
- (e) Τί χρῆμα κουρᾷ τῇδε πενθίμῳ πρέπεις;
- (f) Ἄ, μὴ πρόκλαι' ἄκοιτιν, ἐς τόδ' ἀναβαλοῦ.
- (g) Τοί γαρ φυτεύων παῖδας οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοις.
- (h) 'ΑΔΜ. Ὡς μήποτ' ἄνδρα τόνδε νυμφίον καλῶν.  
'ΗΡΑ. Ἐπήνεσ' ἀλόχῳ πιστὸς οὐνεκ' εἶ φίλος.
- (i) 'ΗΡΑ. Τόλμα προτεῖναι χεῖρα καὶ θιγεῖν ξένης.  
'ΑΔΜ. Καὶ δὴ προτείνω, Γοργόν' ὥς κατατόμῳ.

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## SOPHOCLIS ANTIGONE.

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TRINITY COLLEGE. June, 1860.

MR. HAMMOND.

1. QUOTE Horace's account of the origin of the Greek Tragic Drama. Point out its errors. What writers composed tragedies at Athens before the time of Sophocles? What improvements in tragic art were successively introduced by them? What changes are attributed to Sophocles?

Quote passages from Aristophanes in which allusion is made to Sophocles and his predecessors.

2. Give the dates of Sophocles' birth and death and of his first tragic victory. What was the title of his first Tragedy, and what the circumstances attending its representation? Discuss the date of the *Antigone*. Point out any passages which seem to you to refer to the political state of Athens. How does this play serve to connect Sophocles with Herodotus? What further evidence have we in support of this connection?

3. Give a general description of a Greek theatre, and show how it differed from a Roman theatre. Explain the terms:

θυμέλη—λογεῖον—προσκήνιον—περίακτος—βουλευτικόν.

Describe the locality of the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, and quote passages from the dramatists in which special allusion is made to its situation and construction.

4. Discuss the following questions, (1) The number of Dionysia at Athens: (2) The time of year at which each festival was held: (3) The peculiar circumstances and regulations affecting the audience and the performances at each festival.

5. How were the general expenses of the Dionysiac performances defrayed? What portion fell upon the choragus? What were the duties, privileges and powers attached to this office? To whom were the actors allotted? Mention the names of any who performed in Sophocles' dramas. Assign the several parts of the *Antigone* to their respective actors. Is there any change of scene in this play? Is the Eccyclema employed?

6. (α) Ἐτι δὲ τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα τὸν μέλλοντα ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀναγνωρίσαι πρὶν ποιῆσαι καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως. ἢ γὰρ πρᾶξαι ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ· καὶ εἰδότας ἢ μὴ εἰδότας. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν γινώσκοντα μελλῆσαι καὶ μὴ πρᾶξαι χεῖριστον. τό τε γὰρ μιὰρὸν ἔχει καὶ οὐ τραγικόν· ἀπαθὲς γάρ. διόπερ οὐδεὶς ποιεῖ ὁμοίως εἰ μὴ ὀλιγάκις· οἷον ἐν Ἀντιγόῃ τὸν Κρέοντα ὁ Αἴμων.

Translate this passage and explain the allusion. How does the Scholiast excuse the incident? What is your own opinion on the subject?

(β) XOP. Ἀμφω γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ κατακτεῖναι νοεῖς;

KP. οὐ τήν γε μὴ θιγοῦσαν· εὖ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις.

Give the substance of Hermann's comment on these lines. How would you explain their introduction by Sophocles?

Assuming the coexistence of an *ethical* and an *artistic* element in this play, show how Sophocles attempts to satisfy the requirements of both in the development of the plot and of the two leading characters.

7. Quote Horace's lines on the duties of the Chorus, and apply them to the particular case of the Antigone. Distinguish between the terms *πάροδος*, *στάσιμον*, and *ἐμμέλεια*, and explain the connexion existing between the odes in this play and the dramatic action of the piece.

8. Τοῦ πρὶν θανόντος Μεγαρέως κλεινὸν λάχος.

By what name is Megareus known in the *Phaenissa*? How is his story introduced into that play? Does his death precede or follow that of Eteocles? Do you suppose that Sophocles intended to follow the ancient legend in all the subordinate incidents of this play? Mention an instance from the *Œdipus Coloneus* in which he has departed from the account of the Cyclic Thebais. In which of his plays has Sophocles violated the so-called Unities of Time and Place?

9. Draw a map which shall contain Bœotia, the islands of Eubœa and Naxos, and the Saronic Gulf.

10. Translate the following passages, and, wherever the meaning or the text is a matter of dispute, give your own opinion on the subject and your reasons for it:

(1) ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα,  
ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν  
ὅποιον οὐχὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαι τελεῖ;  
οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ  
οὔτ' αἰσχροῦ οὔτ' ἄτιμόν. ἐσθ' ὅποιον οὐ  
τῶν σῶν τε καμῶν οὐκ ὅπως ἐγὼ κακῶν.

(2) Τοῖος ἀμφὶ νῶτ' ἐτάθη  
πάταγος Ἄρεος ἀντιπάλῳ  
δυσχείρωμα δράκοντι.

(3). Καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων ὑπὴνεμοι,  
ὅσμην ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ βάλη πεφευγότες,  
ἐγερτὶ κινῶν ἄνδρ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιρρόθοις  
κακοῖσιν, εἴ τις τοῦδ' ἀφειδήσοι πόνου.

(4) Ἄλλ' εἴτ' ἀδελφῆς εἴθ' ὁμαιμονεστέρα  
τοῦ παντὸς ἡμῖν Ζηνὸς ἐρκείου κυρεῖ  
αὐτὴ τε χῆ ξύναιμος οὐκ ἀλύξετον  
μόρου κακίστου.



- (5) Ἄλλ' εἶκε θυμῷ καὶ μετάστασιν δίδου.
- (6) Ἔρωσ, ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις.
- (7) Ἐψαυσας ἀλγεινοτάτας ἐμοὶ μερίμνας,  
πατρὸς τριπόλιστον οἶκτον,  
τοῦ τε πρόπαντος ἀμετέρου πότμου  
κλεινοῖς Λαβδακίδαισιν.
- (8) Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλὰ,  
παθόντες ἂν ξυγγοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες·  
εἰ δ' οἷδ' ἀμαρτάνουσι, μὴ πλείω κακὰ  
πάθοιεν ἢ καὶ δρῶσιν ἐκδίκως ἐμέ.
- (9) Βωμοὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐσχάrai τε παντελεῖς  
πλήρεις ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ κυνῶν βορᾶς  
τοῦ δυσμόρου πεπτῶτος Οἰδίπου γόνου.
- (10) ὦ πρέσβυ, πάντες, ὥστε τοξόται σκοποῦ,  
τοξεύετ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε, κούδ' ἐ μαντικῆς  
ἄπρακτος ὑμῖν εἰμί, τῶν ὑπαὶ γένους  
ἐξημπόλημαι κάκπεφόρτισμαι πάλαι.
- (11) ὦ πάντες ἀστοί, τῶν λόγων ἐπρησθόμην  
πρὸς ἔξοδον στείχουσα, Παλλάδος θεᾶς  
ὅπως ἰκοίμην εὐγμάτων προσηγόρος·  
καὶ τυγχάνω τε κλῆθρ' ἀνασπαστοῦ πύλης  
χαλῶσα καὶ με φθόγγος οἰκείου κακοῦ  
βάλλει δι' ὧτων.
- (12) Παραστάντες τάφῳ  
ἀθρήσαθ' ἄρμὸν· χώματος λιθοσπαδῇ  
δύντες πρὸς αὐτὸ στόμιον, εἰ τὸν Αἴμονος  
φθόγγον συνίημι ἢ θεοῖσι κλέπτομαι.

11. Discuss the grammatical peculiarities of the following passages:

- (1) Ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν  
ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν  
ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβῆς φανῇ.
- (2) Ὡς ἂν σκοποὶ νῦν ἦτε τῶν εἰρημένων.
- (3) Τεᾶν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν  
ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι;
- (4) Ἄλλ' ἄνδρα, κεῖ τις ἢ σοφός, κ.τ.λ.

Explain the use of the negatives in the following :

- (α) Ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε,  
οὐτ' ἂν δυναίμην μήτ' ἐπισταίμην λέγειν.
- (β) Ἦτις τὸν αὐτῆς αὐτάδελφον ἐν φοναῖς  
πεπτῶτ' ἄθαπτον μήθ' ὑπ' ὤμηστῶν κυνῶν  
εἷας' ὀλέσθαι, μήθ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τινός.

Accentuate the word *οποια* in the line

ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ὅποια σοι δοκεῖ.

12. Derive, illustrate, or otherwise explain the following words :

τανταλωθείς—δεξιόσειρος—πάσασθαι—περιβρύχιος—ὑπὶλλουσι—περι-  
σκελής—καταρτύειν—ἐπήβολος—ἐρεμνός—θυστάς—ὄργια—παστάς—κνώ-  
δοντες.



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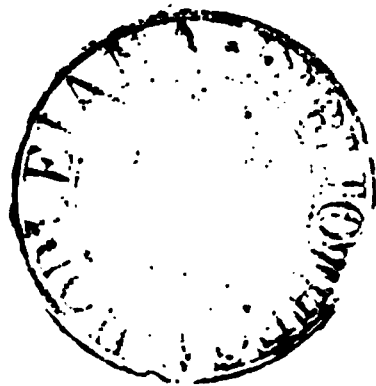
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THE END.



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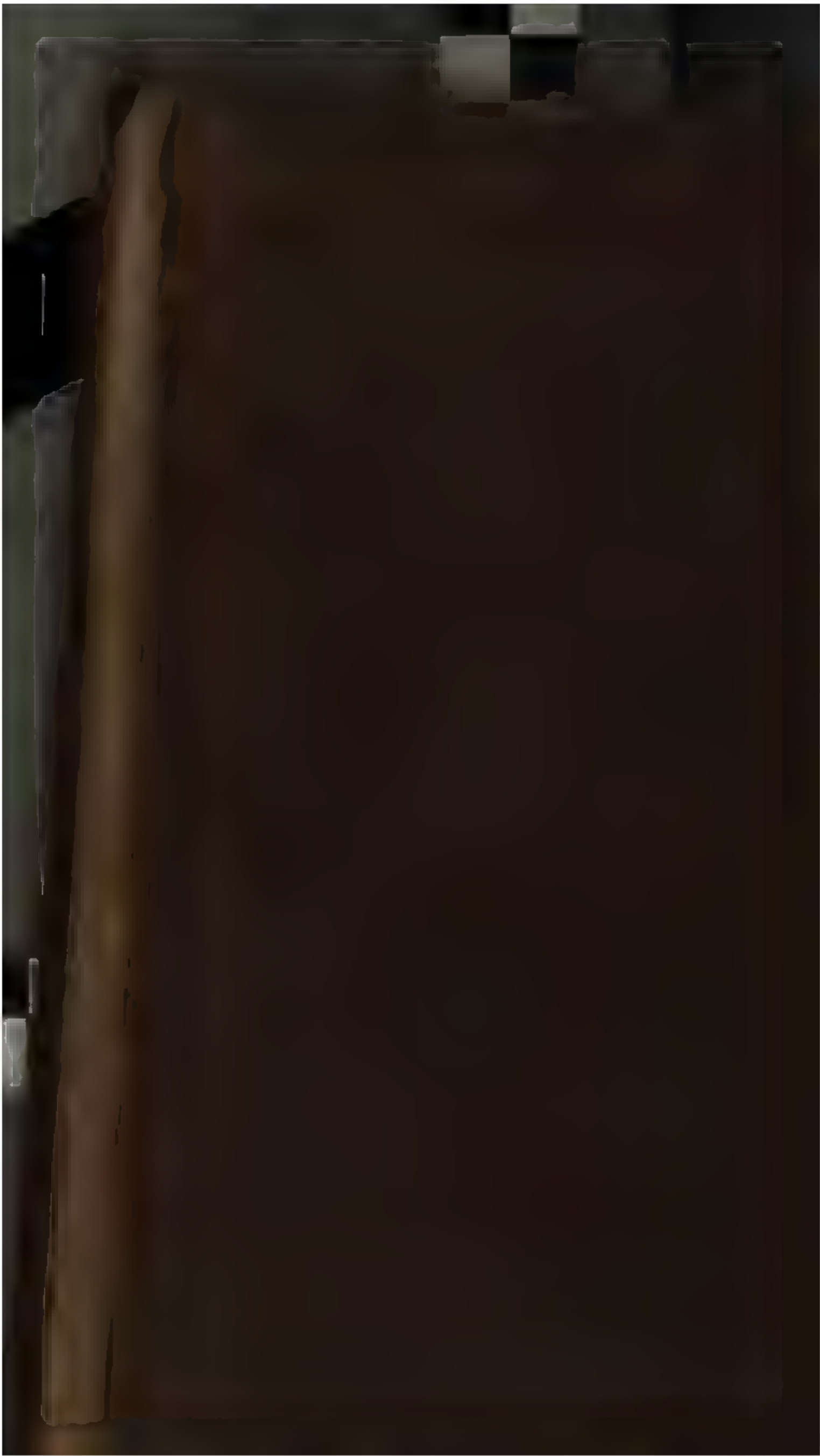
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DIE  
**SKENE DER HELLENEN.**

EIN VERSUCH

VON

**A. SCHÖNBORN**

PROFESSOR AM KÖNIGL. FRIEDRICH-WILHELMS-GYMNASIUM  
IN POSEN.

NACH DEM TODE DES VERFASSERS HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

**Dr. CARL SCHÖNBORN**

DIRECTOR DES MAGDALENEN-GYMNASIUMS IN Breslau.

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LEIPZIG,  
VERLAG VON S. HIRZEL.  
1858.

293. e. 89.



## VORWORT.

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Es ist dem Verfasser des vorliegenden Buches, meinem geliebten Bruder, nicht vergönnt gewesen, den Druck zu erleben. Nachdem er zu seiner Freude die Zusage des Herrn Verlegers erhalten hatte, erbat er sich das Manuscript nochmals zurück, um einige kleine rathsam scheinende Ergänzungen zu machen. Aber er hatte in der heroischen Standhaftigkeit, mit welcher er, der ganzen Gefahr seiner schweren Herzkrankheit sich vollkommen bewusst, seines Amtes bis zum Beginn der Sommerferien des Jahres 1857 und so lange gewartet hatte, bis die physische Unmöglichkeit eintrat zu unterrichten, dem Körper zu viel zugemuthet. Zwar beschäftigte er sich selbst in den letzten überaus schweren Wochen seines Lebens noch mit den Vorbereitungen zu den kleinen Zusätzen; zu manchen wünschte er noch einige seltene Kupferwerke auf der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin einzusehen. Aber als das Manuscript, welches ich während seines Entstehens nach und nach Gelegenheit gehabt hatte zu lesen, nach seinem am 1. September 1857 erfolgten Tode in meine Hände zurückkam, fand ich nichts hinzugesetzt als die Dedication.

So blieb mir nichts übrig als für einen getreuen Abdruck zu sorgen. Die Verspätung ist theils aus zufälligen Umständen, theils aus dem auch von dem Verfasser gehegten Wunsche entstanden einige erläuternde Abbildungen zu geben.

Diese Untersuchungen über die Skene der alten Theater sind nämlich nicht allein Combinationen aus den Stellen des Vitruv's, des Pollux und der Scholiasten und aus den erhaltenen

Dramen mit gelegentlicher Berücksichtigung eines oder des anderen Grundrisses der meist nur mangelhaft erhaltenen Theater, sondern sie beruhen wesentlich auch auf der eigenen Anschauung und Untersuchung der vielen in Kleinasien vorhandenen Ruinen antiker Theater. Mein Bruder hat zwei Reisen dorthin gemacht. Er verfolgte dabei zunächst zwar geographische Zwecke; er wünschte zur Erforschung dieses uralten Culturlandes etwas beizutragen, welches dennoch ausser einzelnen Karavanenstrassen und schmalen Küstenstrecken grossentheils so unbekannt war, wie kaum irgend ein anderes. Aber die Entdeckungen einzelner Reisenden, namentlich in Lykien, zeigten, dass sich dort auch so viele Reste aus dem classischen Alterthume erhalten hatten, wie fast nirgends. Der Schluss schien erlaubt, es müssten von den vielen griechischen Städten, die nach den alten Geographen etc. in den von den Küsten wenig entfernten Berglandschaften gelegen hatten, um so bedeutendere Ruinen erhalten sein, als die schwache Hirtenbevölkerung, die jene Gegenden im Sommer durchzog, geringe Veranlassung hatte die Reste des Alterthums absichtlich zu vernichten, wie dies in Griechenland und Italien geschehen war, und in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen noch jetzt geschieht. Namentlich äusserte er wiederholt gegen mich die Hoffnung, dort auch noch ein oder das andere Theater ganz erhalten zu finden, was er um so mehr wünschte, als er nicht nur den grossen Dramatikern der Griechen ein ernstes Studium zugewendet hatte, sondern auch mit den antiquarischen Fragen über die Einrichtung der Skene sich viel beschäftigte. Endlich reizte ihn das Räthsel der lycischen Sprache, wenn es sein könnte, zu seiner Lösung etwas beizutragen. Er war auch mit den semitischen Sprachen seit vielen Jahren bekannt genug, um sich der Hoffnung hinzugeben, wenn es nur gelänge, recht viele Inschriften genau zu copiren, so würde es möglich sein, einen ersten Schritt zu ihrer Entzifferung zu thun.

Mit solchen Absichten wurde nach den umfassendsten Studien der ihm zugänglichen literarischen Hülfsmittel und nachdem er mit unbeugsamer Willenskraft seinen Körper zur Ent-

behrung vieler uns gewöhnlichen Bequemlichkeiten des Lebens und zur Ertragung von Beschwerden gewöhnt hatte, die Reise in Gesellschaft der Herren Dr. Kiepert und Dr. Löw in der Mitte des Jahres 1841 unternommen. Die Reisenden trennten, verschiedene Zwecke verfolgend, sich nicht lange nach der Ankunft in Kleinasien, und nur ein Theil des folgenden Winters wurde von meinem Bruder in Gesellschaft des Herrn Dr. Löw in Rhodus zugebracht. Ausser dem ihm bereitwillig gewährten Urlaube von seinem Amte hatte er sich auch einer Geldunterstützung von Seiten des Staates zu erfreuen. Wenn aber der Hauptzweck der Reise erreicht werden sollte, die geographischen Verhältnisse der in vieler Hinsicht wenig bekannten Landschaften von Karien, Lykien, Pamphylien, Pisidien etc., namentlich den Lauf der Flüsse und die Gebirgszüge zu erforschen und die Reste der alten Wohnsitze aufzusuchen, so war es nöthig, die Hauptstrassen eher zu vermeiden als ihnen zu folgen, und die Gegenden nach den verschiedensten Richtungen zu durchstreifen. Dies war bei der Beschränktheit der vorhandenen Mittel und der Kürze der gewährten Zeit nur bei der einfachsten Reiseart ausführbar. Mein Bruder durchzog daher, von einem einzigen Türken der Gegend begleitet, der die Sorge für die zwei oder drei Pferde hatte, das Land, und kam oft erst nach Verlauf mehrerer Wochen in eine der Städte an der Küste.

Von der ersten Reise im Sommer 1842 zurückgekehrt ging er, so viel sein mühsames Schulamt zuließ, bald an die Bearbeitung des gewonnenen Materials. Aber eine schleunige eigene Bekanntmachung der Resultate lag nicht in seiner Weise; das so berechtigte Streben, sich die Priorität der mit Aufbietung der äussersten Kraft gemachten Entdeckungen zu sichern, war ihm sehr fern. Mit grosser Bereitwilligkeit hatte er den Herren Fellows, Forbes, Spratt, Texier, mit denen er in Kleinasien zusammengetroffen war, willkommene Mittheilungen über die von ihm zuerst durchreisten Gegenden gemacht, und ebenso bereit war er, seine Untersuchungen der neuen schönen Karte von Kleinasien, welche Herr Dr. Kiepert 1844 in sechs

Blättern herausgab, zu Gute kommen zu lassen. Er selbst veröffentlichte nur in dem Programme des Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums in Posen vom Jahre 1843 die Abhandlung: über einige Flüsse Lykiens und Pamphyliens nach Mittheilungen des Prof. Dr. Löw und nach eigenen Notizen, und in dem vom Jahre 1849 die Abhandlung: Beiträge zur Geographie Kleinasiens.

Meinem Andringen zu umfassenderen Publicationen begegnete er meist mit dem Wunsche, zuvor nochmals einzelne Theile der Südküste Kleinasiens zu besuchen, um über Zweifelhafte ins Klare zu kommen. Für diese zweite Reise vom 21. August bis zum Ende des Jahres 1851 versah er sich auch mit einem photographischen Apparate, um besonders von einzelnen Bildwerken oder Ruinen Ansichten aufzunehmen. Aber die Umstände waren viel ungünstiger. Uebermässige Hitze hatte nicht nur die Quellen oft im Umkreise von mehreren Meilen ausgetrocknet, so dass das auch für die Pferde unentbehrliche Wasser nur mit grossen Kosten und vielem Zeitaufwande herbeigeschafft werden konnte, sondern auch Misswachs und damit grosse Noth hervorgebracht. Dazu kam die seit 1841 merklich fortgeschrittene Desorganisation des türkischen Reiches. In Karien waren sehr zahlreiche Räuberbanden, englische Reisende waren in früher ganz sicheren Gegenden ermordet worden, die türkischen Behörden erklärten, sie seien zum Schutze zu schwach. Leider kam auch ein heftiger Krankheitsanfall hinzu.

Ich habe nicht die Absicht einen Abriss der Reisen zu geben. Mein Bruder war nicht so glücklich, für die ausführliche Beschreibung einen Verleger zu finden. Um die mühsam erlangten Resultate der Wissenschaft zu erhalten, stellte er im Gefühl des schnell herannahenden Lebensendes das Manuscript dem Herrn Professor Carl Ritter, der ihm viele Beweise der wohlwollendsten Theilnahme gegeben hatte, zur unbeschränkten Benutzung bei der von allen Seiten so lebhaft erwarteten Schilderung Kleinasiens, und hatte die Genugthuung, noch drei Tage vor seinem Tode von diesem competentesten Richter mit der herzlichsten Anerkennung des Werthes seiner Forschungen

erfreut zu werden. Ich habe dies Alles erwähnen zu müssen geglaubt, da mein Bruder nach seiner bescheidenen Weise unterlassen hat in dem vorliegenden Buche auszusprechen, dass er die bis 1851 bekannt gewordenen kleinasiatischen Theater der von ihm durchreisten Gegenden zum Theil wiederholt gesehen und mehrere auf das genaueste untersucht hat.

Manche seiner Angaben weichen von denen namhafter Reisenden ab. Wohl ist Irrthum bei den oft sehr schwierigen Untersuchungen von solchen Ruinen leicht möglich. Ich hoffe aber, spätere gründliche Forscher werden finden, dass der auf sich allein beschränkte deutsche Gelehrte richtiger aufgefasst und geschildert hat, als andere unter viel günstigeren äusseren Verhältnissen gesehen und zum Theil abgebildet haben.

Die photographischen Ansichten, die mein Bruder mitbrachte, konnten, da sie durch einen Dilettanten unter den erschwerendsten Umständen entstanden waren, sich mit den vollendeten Erzeugnissen der letzten Jahre nicht messen; indessen waren sie immer werthvolle Erläuterungen der Beschreibung. Namentlich wünschte er eine Ansicht der Skene von Aspendos beizufügen. Leider ist sie unter den umfangreichen Sammlungen eines an der Reise und ihren Ergebnissen lebhaften Antheil nehmenden Mannes verlegt worden, und konnte bisher nicht wieder aufgefunden werden. Gern hätte ich nun wenigstens die im Nachlass vorhandenen Abbildungen einzelner Theile der Skenenfront, namentlich der Balkons, gegeben; aber sie bedürfen, um richtig vom Zeichner aufgefasst zu werden, einer Erklärung, wie sie der Verstorbene noch im Herbste des Jahres 1856 mir in genügendster Weise gab. Damals hielten wir beide den Tod für nicht so nahe, und hofften auch auf diese weniger gelungenen und nur zur Darstellung gewisser Details aufgenommenen Photographien nicht zurückgehen zu dürfen. Ich getraue mich jetzt nicht mehr, Zeichnungen darnach anfertigen zu lassen.

So möge denn dieses von seinem Verfasser mit grosser Liebe ausgearbeitete Buch ohne den Schmuck bildlicher Darstellungen sich Freunde suchen! Hoffentlich bringt es wenig-

stens einen Theil der über die Theater der Alten noch schwebenden Fragen ihrer Entscheidung näher, und trägt dazu bei nachzuweisen, dass die Kunst der Griechen wie überall so auch auf diesem Gebiete sich festen Schranken unterwarf, ohne dadurch an unsterblichen Werken gehindert zu werden.

**Dr. Carl Schönborn.**



## Übersicht des Inhaltes.

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**MEINEM GELIEBTEN BRUDER**

**DEM GYMNASIAL-DIRECTOR**

**DR. CARL SCHÖNBORN**

**ZUM ANDENKEN.**



**ERSTE ABTHEILUNG.**

**DIE THEORIE.**

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Das Theater der alten Hellenen besteht aus zwei Haupttheilen, dem für die Zuschauer bestimmten Raume und dem eigentlichen Bühnengebäude. Die Gestalt und Einrichtung des Zuschauer- raumes ist ziemlich bekannt; viele antike Theater haben gerade in diesem Theile sich erhalten, und da es überdies nicht an Notizen bei den alten Schriftstellern fehlt, die diesen Theil, das eigentliche *θέατρον*, betreffen: so dürften nur wenige Fragen von Belang sein, die sich nicht mit Sicherheit und vollständig beantworten liessen. Anders sieht es mit dem Bühnengebäude aus. An dahin einschlagenden Bemerkungen der alten Schrift- steller fehlt es freilich ebenfalls nicht; ja Vitruvius giebt uns eine sehr bestimmte Anweisung, wie es anzulegen und einzu- richten sei. Da man aber keine vollständig erhaltene antike Bühne vor Augen hatte, mit der man die Beschreibung des Vi- truv hätte vergleichen und sich klar machen können; da die nur in ihren niedern Theilen, nicht selten nur in den Fundamenten erhaltenen Skenen vielfach von den Bestimmungen des alten Baumeisters abzuweichen schienen, wenn sie ihnen nicht geradezu widersprachen: so ist man nicht dazu gelangt, die Construction der antiken Skene mit gleicher Sicherheit, wie die des Zuschauer- raumes, zu ermitteln. Nicht nur ist eine Reihe von Fragen übrig geblieben, über die sich die namhaftesten Gelehrten nicht haben vereinigen können (ich erinnere vor Allem an die Zahl der Thüren in der Skene, an das Auftreten der Schauspieler, an die Beschaffenheit der Decorationen), sondern wenn man beson- ders versuchte, im Einzelnen zu bestimmen, wie die uns erhalte- nen Dramen auf der Bühne dargestellt worden sind, stiess man auf mancherlei Schwierigkeiten, sah sich zu Nothbehelfen ver- anlasst und war namentlich ausser Stande, eine durchgreifende Consequenz für alle Stücke zu handhaben. Bald hiess es, die altattische Bühne sei verschieden von der spätern, die hölzerne von der steinernen gewesen, bald rechnete man es der Unwissen- heit des Vitruvius zu, dass man nicht zum gewünschten Ziele kam. Und doch ist es möglich, auch hierin zu festen Resultaten zu kommen; freilich erst jetzt, nachdem sich ein Theater gefun-

den hat, dessen Skene von den Fundamenten bis zum Dache sich erhalten hat; es ist dies das Theater von Aspendos. Zwar ist es nur ein Römisches; dennoch lässt sich aus ihm, wie ich meine, auch die Beschaffenheit der Hellenischen Skene vollständig erkennen; denn einige Abweichungen in den Dimensionen und der Stellung einzelner Bühnentheile abgerechnet war die Skene der Hellenen, wie sich später zeigen wird, eben so beschaffen, wie die der Römer. Lässt sich nun überdies darthun, dass die Skene dieses Theaters so eingerichtet ist, wie Vitruvius es verlangt, und dass sämtliche Dramen der Hellenen, die uns erhalten sind, Trauerspiele wie Lustspiele, sehr wohl und ohne alle Schwierigkeit auf einer derartigen Bühne sich aufführen liessen: so steht zu hoffen, dass man auch in Bezug auf die antike Bühne zu grösserer Klarheit und zu festeren Resultaten, als bisher der Fall gewesen ist, gelangen wird. Als ein Versuch, nach dieser Seite hin unsere Kenntniss der Hellenischen Skene zu erweitern, wollen die folgenden Auseinandersetzungen gelten.

Dem Gesagten zufolge könnte es zweckmässig scheinen, bei der weitem Untersuchung von dem Theater zu Aspendos auszugehen, danach die Regeln des Vitruvius zu erklären, und endlich die Anwendung hiervon auf die uns erhaltenen Dramen zu machen. Bei einem solchen Verfahren dürfte indess leicht der Verdacht rege werden, als würde dem genannten Monumente Alles, so gut es angehe, angepasst. Darum scheint es angemessener, von den Bestimmungen des Vitruvius auszugehen und sie zu erklären, ohne, so weit es angeht, dabei weder auf das genannte Theater, noch auf die in den antiken Dramen enthaltenen Andeutungen Rücksicht zu nehmen; mit den auf diesem Wege gefundenen Resultaten alsdann das zu vergleichen, was das Theater zu Aspendos und andere theilweise erhaltenen Monumente dieser Art zeigen; danach, wenn so eine feste Grundlage gewonnen ist, anderweitige die Skene betreffende Nachrichten der Alten zu berücksichtigen, und hierauf darzuthun, dass die so construirte Bühne vollständig ausreichte, um sämtliche Dramen des Aischylos, Sophocles, Euripides und Aristophanes auf ihr zur Darstellung zu bringen.

Obgleich es aber, wie oben angegeben worden ist, nur die Bühne der Hellenen ist, auf welche ich im Folgenden näher einzugehen gedenke: so lässt sich doch auch die Einrichtung der Römischen Bühne nicht ganz mit Stillschweigen übergelassen. Vitruvius geht bei seiner Construction des Theaters von dem



Römischen aus, und die Einrichtung des Hellenischen erwähnt er nur in so weit, als sie von der der Römer abweicht. Es wird darum nöthig, auch die Regeln zu berücksichtigen, die er für die Römische Bauweise aufstellt.

Das Grundschema für das Römische Theater ist nach Vitruvius in folgender Weise zu entwerfen: man schlage einen Kreis mit einem Radius, wie er der Grösse der zu bildenden Orchestra angemessen ist; hierauf trage man vier gleichseitige Dreiecke dergestalt in den Kreis ein, dass die Ecken derselben in die Peripherie des Kreises, und zwar in gleichem Abstände von einander fallen, und bestimme eine der Dreieckseiten, in deren Richtung die Skene liegen soll. Die gewählte Seite des Dreiecks wird alsdann die den Zuschauern zugekehrte Seite der Skene begrenzen, und eine Linie, die mit der bezeichneten parallel durch den Mittelpunkt des Kreises gezogen wird, wird die Grenze des Logeion oder pulpitum gegen die Orchestra hin bezeichnen. Die Länge der Skene ist dem doppelten Durchmesser der Orchestra d. h. dem vierfachen Radius des Kreises gleich. Die in der Skene anzubringenden Thüren werden durch die fünf Ecken der Dreiecke bestimmt, welche in den Bereich der Skene fallen, während die übrigen sieben Ecken für die Anlage der aus der Orchestra zu den Sitzreihen der Zuschauer führenden Treppen zu benutzen sind.

Die Orchestra bildet demnach im Römischen Theater einen Halbkreis; die vordere Grenze des Proskenion ist von der gegenüberliegenden Seite der Orchestra einen Radius, die vordere Seite der Skene einen und einen halben Radius fern; die Länge der Bühne beträgt vier Radien, die Breite einen halben Radius; die vordere Seite der Skene bildet eine gerade Linie, und in dieser Front befinden sich fünf Thüren. Die Tiefe des Bühnengebäudes d. h. die Ausdehnung desselben von der Front der Skene bis zu der nach der Strasse oder Aussenseite hin liegenden Seite derselben wird von Vitruvius nicht bestimmt; das Bedürfniss des grösseren oder geringeren Raumes innerhalb des Bühnengebäudes musste also hier maassgebend sein.<sup>1)</sup>

Bei der Construction des Hellenischen Theaters geht Vitruvius von drei Quadraten aus, die, entsprechend den vier Dreiecken des Römischen Theaters, so in den Kreis gelegt werden, dass die Ecken derselben in die Peripherie fallen und zugleich gleich weit von einander entfernt sind. Wenn man hierauf eine

beliebige Quadratseite als Grenze des Proskenion gegen die Zuschauer hin bestimmt hat: so bezeichnet eine mit dieser Linie an der gleichen Seite des Kreises parallel gezogene Tangente den Ort der eigentlichen Skene, *scenae frons*. — Demnächst ist eine Linie dem Proskenion parallel durch das Centrum der Orchestra im Kreise zu ziehen, und von den in die Peripherie fallenden Endpunkten dieser Linie sind Bogen mit dem Radius des ursprünglichen Kreises durch die Linie zu schlagen, welche die vordere Grenze des Proskenion bestimmt. Man erhält auf diese Weise die Länge der Skene.<sup>2)</sup> Ueber die Zahl und Lage der Thüren giebt Vitruvius keine Bestimmungen; in der Beziehung kann also auch keine Verschiedenheit vom Römischen Theater stattgefunden haben. Eben so fehlt bei Vitruvius hier wie bei dem Römischen Theater eine Angabe, wie tief das Bühnengebäude sein soll. Dagegen dürfen die intervalla, die Zwischenräume, nicht übersehen werden, deren Vitruvius freilich nur beiläufig als am Hellenischen Theater befindlich gedenkt.

Dem Schema des Vitruvius zufolge umfasst demnach die Orchestra im Hellenischen Theater mehr als einen Halbkreis, die vordere Grenze des Proskenion ist von der gegenüberliegenden Seite der Orchestra  $1\frac{5}{7}$  Radius, die vordere Seite der Skene (die *scenae frons*) zwei Radien fern; die Länge der Bühne beträgt etwas über drei Radien, die Breite  $\frac{2}{7}$  Radius; die vordere Seite der Skene bildet eine gerade Linie, und in dieser Front befinden sich fünf Thüren. Die Tiefe des Bühnengebäudes ist nicht bestimmt; das Bühnengebäude endlich ist von dem eigentlichen *θέατρον* durch Zwischenräume, von denen an jeder Seite der Bühne einer sich befindet, getrennt, und beide Theile bilden also keine zusammenhängende Masse, wie im Römischen Theater.

Vergleicht man hiermit die Verschiedenheiten vom Römischen Theater, die Vitruvius selbst erwähnt,<sup>3)</sup> um daraus zu ersehen, ob seine Constructionen von den beiderlei Theatern richtig aufgefasst worden sind, so treffen sie vollständig zu: die Orchestra der Hellenen ist grösser als die der Römer, die Skene tritt bei jenen weiter von der Orchestra zurück, als bei diesen, und das Logeion oder *pulpitum* ist im Hellenischen Theater schmäler als im Römischen. — Indess hierbei dürfen wir nicht stehen bleiben; denn es ist offenbar, dass Vitruvius keineswegs alle Verschiedenheiten, welche zwischen dem Hellenischen und dem Römischen Theater bestehen, aufführt. Da es aber überdies nicht blos darauf ankommt, die genannten Verschieden-

heiten kennen zu lernen, sondern vor Allem darüber Sicherheit zu erlangen, ob die Grundsätze des Vitruvius auch richtig sind, d. h. ob sie auch in den antiken Theatern zur Anwendung gekommen sind: so ist demnächst nöthig, die Construction der Theater, die uns aus dem Alterthume erhalten sind, mit den Vorschriften des alten Baumeisters zu vergleichen. Stimmt die Einrichtung der Theater mit Vitruvs Lehre, so wird man wohl eben so wohl die Richtigkeit der Construction Seitens des Vitruvius wie die Richtigkeit der so eben gegebenen Erklärung derselben anerkennen müssen. Stimmt dagegen die Construction der Theater mit den so eben aufgestellten Vitruvischen Lehrsätzen nicht überein, so sind entweder die Grundsätze selbst falsch, oder sie sind nicht richtig gedeutet worden, und es wird dann näher zu untersuchen sein, wo der Fehler liegt.

Bevor wir aber zu der Vergleichung der Monumente schreiten, ist wohl nöthig darauf zu achten, in welchem Verhältnisse Vitruvius mit seiner Lehre zu den Monumenten steht, um unsere Forderungen rücksichtlich der Uebereinstimmung der Regeln mit den Resten der uns erhaltenen Theater nicht zu hoch zu spannen. Die alten Theater sind fast über alle Länder, die einst von den Hellenen cultivirt, von den Römern beherrscht wurden, zerstreut. Sie sind ferner im Laufe von mehr als einem halben Jahrtausend entstanden, während welcher Zeit die Beschaffenheit der Schauspiele, die auf den Theatern zur Darstellung kamen, sich gewaltig änderte. Ich schweige von den Veränderungen, welche die Dramen selbst erfuhren, und die nicht ohne Rückwirkung auf die Theater blieben. Die Dramen wurden allmählich durch Mimen und Pantomimen, durch musikalische und anderweitige Kunstproductionen verdrängt; und doch benennen wir die Gebäude, in denen alle diese Schauspiele gegeben wurden, mit dem Namen: Theater. Natürlich konnten und durften diese Gebäude nicht sämmtlich einer und derselben Bauweise angepasst sein; sie mussten, um dem Zwecke zu genügen, den man bei ihrer Erbauung vor Augen hatte, eine von einander abweichende Einrichtung erhalten. Die wechselnde Mode der Zeit, die allgemach sich steigernde Prachtliebe, die Armuth und Verarmung, die sich an andern Orten, zu andern Zeiten kund gab, that das Ihrige hinzu, dass die Gebäude auch in mancher Beziehung, wo eine Aenderung nicht gerade durchaus nothwendig war, eine solche dennoch erfuhren. Es wäre mithin verkehrt zu verlangen oder vorauszusetzen, dass Vitruvs Vorschriften mit der Construction aller der Gebäude,

die wir unter dem Namen Theater befassen, übereinstimmen sollen; es wäre um so verkehrter, da Vitruvius nicht nur weiss, dass die Praxis in vielfacher Beziehung von seinen Regeln abweicht, sondern auch eine Reihe Abweichungen geradezu gestattet und rechtfertigt.<sup>4)</sup> Es kann demnach nicht fehlen, dass nicht mancherlei Abweichungen von den Bestimmungen des Vitruvius in den Resten der alten Theater<sup>5)</sup> sich finden werden; und wenn sich daher nur zeigen lässt, dass die Grundsätze des Vitruvius im Allgemeinen in ihnen beobachtet, dass sie namentlich in den besten Zeiten der Kunst, dass sie in den hervorragendsten Theatern jener Zeit zur Anwendung gekommen sind: so werden wir uns nicht veranlasst sehen können, die Autorität des Vitruvius, der überdies der einzige Schriftsteller des Alterthums ist, durch den wir überhaupt etwas über die Construction der alten Theater erfahren, zu verachten oder zu verdächtigen. Wissen wir doch nicht einmal, wen in solchem Falle unser Tadel eigentlich trifft. Denn dass es nicht des Vitruvius eigene Erfindung ist, was er als Schema für das Hellenische und Römische Theater mittheilt, dürfte doch wohl nicht bezweifelt werden, da der eklektische Charakter seines Werkes nicht verkannt werden kann. Gewiss werden es demnach auch hier fremde Regeln und Constructionen sein, die uns durch ihn mitgetheilt werden. So lange aber nicht ein Architect Schemata ausfindig macht, die besser und genauer als die Vitruvischen die bei dem Theaterbau der Alten beobachteten Verhältnisse darlegen, so lange werden wir wohl an den Grundsätzen des Vitruvius festzuhalten haben. — Da es aber ferner die zur Aufführung von Dramen bestimmten Gebäude sind, auf welche sich die weitere Untersuchung beziehen soll, wie denn auch die Anweisung des Vitruvius sich nur auf sie bezieht: so müssten eigentlich, bevor zur Vergleichung der Monumente mit Vitruvs Anweisung geschritten wird, alle diejenigen Gebäude aus der Zahl der Theater ausgeschieden werden, welche nicht zu dramatischen Aufführungen bestimmt, dazu nicht eingerichtet waren. Dennoch, um jeden Schein von Willkür zu vermeiden, und da sich in der That oft nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmen lässt, welchen Zweck man bei der Aufführung jedes Gebäudes der Art durchaus oder vorzugsweise im Auge hatte, sollen auch sie, also namentlich die Odeien, ferner die Gebäude, deren Skenen nur eine oder keine Thür haben, und die mithin jedenfalls nicht zur Aufführung von Dramen bestimmt waren, bei der Vergleichung nicht ganz unbeachtet bleiben. Aber natürlich dürfen wir

Abweichungen von den Vitruvischen Regeln, die sich in ihnen vorfinden, nicht dieselbe Wichtigkeit beimessen, als denen, die bei eigentlichen Theatern vorkommen, namentlich bei solchen Theatern, die durch die Stadt, in der sie sich befinden, oder durch die Zeit, in der sie entstanden sind, die Vermuthung für sich haben, dass sie Muster für andere Gebäude der Art gewesen sind.<sup>6)</sup> — Endlich darf nicht ausser Acht gelassen werden, dass nicht alle Grundrisse, auf Grund deren die Vergleichung angestellt werden soll, gleich sorgfältig angefertigt worden sind, mithin die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass eine Abweichung von den antiken Schematen der Unvollkommenheit unserer Hülfsmittel, nicht dem Vitruvius zur Last fällt. Namentlich ist aber die Unsicherheit gross in Bezug auf die meisten Grundrisse von Römischen Theatern. Die vornehmsten dieser Gebäude lagen in Italien und sind im Mittelalter, so weit sie, namentlich die Skenen, sich über der Erde befanden, fast ganz zu Grunde gegangen. Die später angefertigten Grundrisse stützen sich daher oft ganz auf das, was man in Folge von Nachgrabungen sah oder zu sehen glaubte. Aber bevor dergleichen Nachforschungen gründlich angestellt wurden, wurden von vielen dieser Theater auch die in der Erde befindlichen Baureste anderweitig verwendet, und so lässt sich eine Reihe von Grundrissen jener Theater in Bezug auf ihre Richtigkeit nicht mehr controlliren, was um so wünschenswerther wäre, da Revisionen anderer Grundrisse zu nicht wenigen Veränderungen in ihnen Anlass gegeben haben. — Demungeachtet wird die folgende Vergleichung zeigen, dass das Resultat, welches aus der Vergleichung der Theater mit der Construction des Vitruvius sich ergibt, überaus günstig für den alten Baumeister ist, und mithin kein Grund vorhanden ist, die von ihm in Bezug auf das Theater mitgetheilten Regeln zu verdächtigen oder gar gering zu achten. — Die Vergleichung wird übrigens dem vorgesteckten Zwecke gemäss sich nur auf die Orchestra und das Skenengebäude erstrecken.

Was zuerst die Gestalt der Orchestra, die dem Vitruvius zufolge im Römischen Theater einen Halbkreis bilden, im Hellenischen den Halbkreis überschreiten soll, anlangt: so stimmen die Monumente, und zwar die Theater eben so wohl wie die den Theatern ähnlichen Gebäude fast durchaus mit dieser Regel überein; nur freilich ist die Verlängerung der cornua über den Halbkreis hinaus bei einigen Hellenischen Gebäuden (es sind dies aber im Ganzen wenige) nicht sehr erheblich. Die

Verlängerung der cornua geht gewöhnlich in der Bahn der Kreisperipherie fort, und die Orchestra verliert demnach bei ihrer Annäherung an das Proskenion an Breite. Da hier die Peripherie die Grenze der Orchestra bildet, so ist auch dies mit Vitruvs Anweisung, der die Peripherie des Kreises ebenfalls als Grenze der Orchestra benutzt, in Uebereinstimmung. Eine Erweiterung, ein Breiterwerden der Orchestra gegen das Proskenion hin, die man in einigen Grundrissen wahrnimmt, scheint mir noch nicht sicher und unzweifelhaft zu sein. Eine Verschmälerung der Orchestra nach der Skene hin in der Weise, dass die sie begrenzende Bogenlinie entweder plötzlich abbricht, und statt ihrer eine gerade Linie sie begrenzt, oder die Bogenlinie allmählich in eine gerade Linie übergeht, ist nur selten; von 5 dieser Kategorie zufallenden Gebäuden ist nur eines sicher ein Theater. In Bezug auf die an die Orchestra anstossenden Sitzreihen lässt sich übrigens noch ein Unterschied zwischen dem Hellenischen und Römischen Theater wahrnehmen, den Vitruvius nicht andeutet. Im Römischen Baue nämlich endigen die Sitzreihen gegenüber den Seitenflügeln der Skene in einer Linie, die dem Proskenion parallel ist; im Hellenischen Baue hingegen treten die Sitzreihen an jener Stelle, je höher sie liegen, desto mehr gegen das Proskenion vor.<sup>7)</sup> Wenn Vitruvius ferner im Hellenischen Theater intervalla, freie Räume, die sich zwischen dem Proskenion und den Enden der Zuschauer-sitze befinden, bemerklich macht, im Römischen Theater dagegen das Proskenion bis an die Enden der Sitzreihen vortreten lässt, so dass hier das Bühnengebäude und der für die Zuschauer reservirte Raum Eine Masse bilden: so bewährt sich auch dieser Unterschied fast durchgehends an den Monumenten.<sup>8)</sup>

Die Entfernung der Vorderseite des Proskenion von der gegenüberliegenden Seite der Orchestra zu bestimmen, ist, abgesehen von den Theatern, deren Skenen ganz oder fast ganz zerstört sind, in allen denen unthunlich, denen Seitenflügel an der Skene fehlen, oder die Pfeilerporticus an den Seiten der Skene haben. Die Zahl der Theater, an denen sich daher eine Vergleichung mit den desfallsigen Bestimmungen des Vitruvius anstellen lässt, ist daher nicht gross; aber bei diesen wenigen ist das Resultat für Vitruvius günstig. Eine genaue Uebereinstimmung mit den Vitruvischen Festsetzungen findet zwar nur selten statt. Denn bei den Römischen ist die genannte Entfernung nicht selten etwas grösser, bei den Hellenischen zum Theil etwas geringer, als es Vitruvius verlangt. Aber nur sehr selten ist



die Zunahme der Entfernung in den Römischen, und die Abnahme derselben in den Hellenischen Theatern so gross, dass der Unterschied der beiderlei Bühnen in der Beziehung ganz verschwindet. Wo noch grössere Abweichungen als die angegebenen vorkommen, da wird theils die Richtigkeit der Risse angezweifelt, theils findet es an Bauten statt, die sehr späten Zeiten angehören, oder, obgleich Hellenischen Ursprungs, von den Römern umgebaut worden sind.<sup>9)</sup>

Entschieden ungünstiger für Vitruvius sind die Verhältnisse in den Skenen der meisten Theater, und hier kann es allerdings scheinen, als thue man am besten, die Vorschriften des alten Baumeisters gar nicht zu beachten. Denn während die Entfernung des Skenengebäudes vom Kreismittelpunkte im Römischen Theater einen halben Radius betragen soll, ist sie in fast allen grösser und erreicht in nicht wenigen die für das Hellenische Theater festgesetzte, ja sie übertrifft noch dieselbe. Umgekehrt ist die Skene in einer ganzen Reihe von Hellenischen Theatern weniger als einen Radius, den Vitruvius als Norm ansetzt, vom Kreismittelpunkte fern, übersteigt in andern das Maass und ist nur in wenigen normal.<sup>10)</sup>

Etwas mehr stimmen die Maasse zu rücksichtlich der Länge der Skene; aber auch hier herrscht weit grössere Mannigfaltigkeit, als man nach den Regeln des Vitruvius erwarten sollte. Namentlich fällt der Unterschied in der Länge, den Vitruvius zwischen dem Römischen und Hellenischen Theater ansetzt, oft ganz fort, und wie es Hellenische Theater giebt, deren Skene länger als 4 Radien (das für die Römische Skene geforderte Maass) ist: so giebt es nicht wenige Römische Theater, die eben so wie auch eine Reihe Hellenischer weit unter drei Radien in Bezug auf die Länge ihrer Skenen herabsinken, während dem Vitruvius zufolge die Hellenische Skene etwas über 3 Radien lang ist.<sup>11)</sup>

Sondert man aber die Hellenischen Gebäude aus, die nicht für das Drama errichtet worden sind: so stimmen die Angaben des Vitruvius auch in Bezug auf die Skene theils ganz und gar, wie namentlich an den Theatern zu Side, Patara, Myra und wie es scheint auch zu Termessos, theils weichen sie so wenig ab, wie die Entfernung der Skene zu Jasos, oder diese und die Länge der Skene in Kibyra, dass Vitruvius in Bezug auf die Hellenische Bühne hierin vollständig gerechtfertigt ist; denn die genannten Skenen sind zugleich die einzigen, welche ein endgültiges Urtheil hierüber abgeben können. — Wie misslich es aber ist,

den Vitruvius nach den erhaltenen Römischen Theatern beurtheilen zu wollen, ist schon früher bemerkt worden; sie sind mit Ausnahme der Theater des Pompejus und Marcellus sämmtlich aus jüngerer Zeit, und die beiden genannten sind so vielfach umgebaut und erneuert worden, von beiden hat sich so wenig erhalten, dass weder das Zutreffen noch Abweichen von Vitruvs Bestimmungen ein entscheidendes Moment abgiebt. Daher lege ich keinen grossen Werth darauf, dass die fraglichen Verhältnisse im Theater des Marcellus fast vollständig die von Vitruvius angegebene Norm einhalten. Wichtiger dagegen scheint mir zu sein, dass der alte Riss des Eugubinischen Theaters fast durchaus damit zu stimmen scheint, überdies auch das Theater zu Aspendos nicht bedeutend davon abweicht. Mithin sind die Maasse des Vitruvius gewiss nicht blosse theoretische Hirngespinnste; zumal da es ziemlich klar zu Tage liegt, warum die Römer in der Construction ihrer Bühne andere Maasse als die Hellenen anlegten. Da die Orchestra als Raum für die auftretenden Künstler für sie wegfiel, die Bühne allein den Schauspielern übrig blieb, auf der Bühne Mimen und Pantomimen, und vor Allem grossartige Prunkzüge stattfanden: so musste die Bühne in Länge und Breite vergrössert werden. Man musste aber auch suchen, sie den Zuschauern näher zu rücken, um die musikalischen Genüsse Allen vernehmbar zu machen, um die Kunst in den Tänzen, Kunststücke und die verschwenderisch bei Aufzügen verwendete Pracht dem Publikum zur vollen Anschauung zu bringen; und ich glaube daher, dass kein Grund vorhanden ist, auch in diesen Beziehungen die Angaben des alten Baumeisters zu verdächtigen oder gar zu verwerfen, wenngleich sie nicht bei allen Bauten der Art angewendet worden sind. —

Die Breite der Skene trifft, so weit sich darüber urtheilen lässt, in fast allen Hellenischen Theatern mit Vitruvs Bestimmung zusammen, und ist, wenn von wenigen nicht Italischen Theatern abgesehen wird, demgemäss immer geringer als im Römischen Theater. Von letzteren zeigt das Theater von Aspendos  $\frac{1}{2}$  Radius Breite, wie Vitruvius verlangt; ein gleiches Verhältniss zeigt sich in mehreren andern Italischen, während bei der grösseren Zahl der Theater die Skene auch in dieser, wie in anderer Beziehung, etwas ausgedehnter ist, ohne dass man aber, zumal bei den wichtigeren, darum zu dem Verdachte sich veranlasst sieht, dass die Bestimmung des Vitruvius falsch oder willkürlich angenommen sei.<sup>12)</sup>

Die Normalzahl Vitruvs für die Thüren wird fast von allen



Hellenischen Theatern bestätigt; 4 und 6 Thüren zeigt nur je ein Gebäude der Art, und gewiss sind diese Zahlen der Thüren nicht behufs dramatischer Aufführungen gewählt worden. Drei Thüren finden sich, das Odeion von Pinara abgerechnet, nur in Laodikeia, d. h. an einem Römischen Skenengebäude. Vitruvs Bestimmung gemäss sollten freilich auch an den Römischen Theatern 5 Thüren sein; aber bei weitem die Mehrzahl derselben hat in der That nur 3. Ich sehe darin keine Ungenauigkeit Vitruvs oder ein Missverständniss seiner Construction, sondern das durchaus begründete Streben der Römer, die Zahl der Thüren zu beschränken, zu einer Zeit, als die Aufführungen der Dramen gegen die von Mimen, Pantomimen und musikalischen Leistungen in den Hintergrund traten. Als vollgültigen Beweis dafür sehe ich es an, das die Odeien seit ältester Zeit d. h. schon bei den Hellenen 3 Thüren, wenn auch nicht immer und jedesmal, haben. Inwiefern man aber selbst den eigentlichen Theatern 3, nicht 5 Thüren geben konnte, darüber lässt sich erst später sprechen, wo die Bedeutung der Thüren in der Skene entwickelt werden muss.<sup>13)</sup>

Der Forderung des alten Baumeisters, dass die Skene eine gerade Linie bilde, ist man in allen ältern Hellenischen Theatern, die zur Aufführung von Dramen dienten, nachgekommen. Abweichungen hiervon finden sich fast durchgängig nur erst in den Gebäuden späteren Datums; und sie sind auch hier meist von der Art, dass man einsieht, wie auch dabei die gerade Linie als Norm zu Grunde gelegen hat. Selbst in den ältern Römischen Theatern ist diese Norm festgehalten worden, und auch in der Beziehung ist demnach das Grundschema von Vitruvius gerechtfertigt. Dass man später in mannigfacher Weise hiervon abgegangen ist, kann nicht geleugnet werden; aber auch bei dem überhandnehmenden Vor- und Zurücktreten einzelner Bühnentheile ist überall nicht zu verkennen, dass die Hauptrichtung die einer geraden Linie geblieben ist.<sup>14)</sup>

Was endlich die Seitenflügel der Skene anlangt, so finden sich dieselben in den Römischen Theatern fast stets vor, nicht minder auch in den Hellenischen; einige Skenen Römischen oder Hellenischen Ursprungs in Kleinasien, in Grossgriechenland und eine in Melos haben inzwischen keine Flügel; eben so fehlen sie den Theatern, die Porticus, durch Pfeiler gebildet, haben, also vornehmlich den Kretischen.<sup>15)</sup> Auch hier erfahren wir demnach durch Vitruvius, was Regel gewesen ist.

Das Resultat aus alle dem ist also ein für Vitruvius durch-

aus günstiges. Seine Regeln zeigen sich an den Hellenischen Theatern fast durchgängig, an den Römischen bei denjenigen beobachtet, welche wegen ihrer Lage oder ihres Alters vorzugsweise Beachtung verdienen; und demzufolge kann ich nicht glauben, dass die Regeln, welche Vitruvius in Bezug auf die Einrichtung der Theater aufstellt, willkürliche Bestimmungen, „beengende Vorschriften“ (Geppert griech. Bühne p. 93) sind, von denen man am besten thue sich ein für allemal loszusagen. Nebenbei aber dürfte die Uebereinstimmung, welche wir zwischen den Lehrsätzen des alten Baumeisters und den Monumenten finden, einige Gewähr dafür abgeben, dass die Deutung der Vitruvischen Anweisung wenigstens in der Hauptsache nicht verfehlt sein könne. Ein weit höherer Grad von Gewissheit in der Beziehung würde sich freilich ergeben, wenn wir durch anderweitige Nachrichten der Alten in den Stand gesetzt würden, die Bestimmungen des Römischen Baumeisters auch mit diesen zu vergleichen. Aber wie mannigfach auch die Notizen sind, welche das Theater in den Schriften der alten Autoren betreffen, wie reich auch daran namentlich Pollux ist, eine Analyse des Theatergebäudes in der Art, dass sie auch die Lage und das gegenseitige Verhältniss der einzelnen Bühnenthile berücksichtigte und klar machte, geht uns ab. Nur in Betreff der Thüren ist von Wichtigkeit, was uns Pollux mittheilt, und um so wichtiger, weil gerade hierin nicht wenige Monumente von den Bestimmungen Vitruvs abweichen. Pollux kennt nämlich ebenfalls 5 Thüren auf der Skene. Die Art und Weise aber, wie er sich darüber ausspricht, lässt kaum daran zweifeln, dass er auch Theater mit drei Thüren kannte; und da er dies von Gebäuden ausspricht, die zur Aufführung von dramatischen Werken bestimmt waren: so kann dem Vitruvius kein Vorwurf daraus erwachsen, dass seine Angabe nicht mit der Beschaffenheit aller Monumente stimmt.<sup>16)</sup> Es herrschte darin keine Uebereinstimmung; Vitruvius aber nimmt 5 Thüren als Normalzahl an. Die Gründe, die ihn dazu bestimmten, werden alsbald, wo es gilt, die Bedeutung der Thüren zu erörtern, hervortreten. Manches, was darauf Bezug hat, ist freilich schon beiläufig erwähnt worden; mancherlei Missverständnisse aber, an denen es hierbei nicht gefehlt hat, nöthigen auch das bereits Erwähnte nochmals aufzunehmen.

Ich gehe hierbei von den durch Vitruvius gegebenen Andeutungen aus. Dem alten Baumeister kam es zwar nur auf die Zahl und Lage der Thüren an, nicht darauf, warum und

wozu sie da sein müssen. Er ist daher in letzterer Beziehung wortkarg, und Pollux geht weit mehr hierin ein. Aber eben die Kürze, deren Vitruvius sich befleissigt, erleichtert das Verständniss seiner Angaben; und werden sie richtig gedeutet, so dürften damit mancherlei Missverständnisse, zu denen die Worte des Pollux die Veranlassung gewesen sind, von selbst wegfallen. — Vitruvius nun bezeichnet die Mittelthür als die *valvae regiae*; und wenn man sich erinnert, dass die Schicksale der alten Königsgeschlechter der Hauptgegenstand der antiken Tragödie sind, mithin die Handlung meist in der Nähe der königlichen Burgen und Paläste vor sich geht: so kann man sich nicht wundern, dass der Ausdruck: Pforte zum königlichen Palaste, der eigentlich nur der Thür im Hauptstücke der Decoration, in der Mitte der Skenenfront, zukam, allmählich auch auf die Thür der Skene selbst, welche gerade dahinter lag, übertragen wurde. War aber einmal diese eine Uebertragung gäng und gäbe geworden, so ist es natürlich, dass sie auch bei den andern Thüren sich geltend machte, und auch diese nach dem benannt wurden, was die vor ihnen angebrachte Decoration darzustellen pflegte. Neben dem Königshause wurde aber in der Regel die Darstellung anderer zur Herrscherwohnung gehörigen Gebäude nothwendig, namentlich die der Gastwohnungen; und dieser Ausdruck ist denn auch in der That auf die beiden der Mittelthür zur Seite liegenden Thüren übergegangen, Vitruvius nennt sie *hospitalia*. Die zwei Eckthüren endlich bezeichnet Vitruvius als *itinera* und *aditus*, und auch diese Benennungen beruhen auf derselben Uebertragung; denn die vor ihnen befindlichen Decorationen pflegten keine Gebäude darzustellen, sondern die Umgebung von Wegen, und zwar die eine die Umgebung des nach dem Forum, die andere die Umgebung des in die Fremde führenden Weges. — Weit genauer ist Pollux, der auch darauf Rücksicht nimmt, dass der Schauplatz der Handlung keineswegs immer das Königshaus ist, und selbst da, wo dies der Fall ist, doch die Umgebung desselben nicht immer die gleiche sein kann, dass ferner die Komödie einen andern Schauplatz verlangt als die Tragödie. Er führt daher mancherlei an, was die Decoration, oder, nach der aus Vitruvius bereits bekannten Ausdrucksweise, die Thüren in der Skene der vor ihnen befindlichen Decoration zufolge bedeuten können,<sup>17)</sup> verfolgt aber hierbei sicher nicht den Zweck, vollständig aufzuzählen, was den vorhandenen Dramen zufolge jede Thür dargestellt hat und darstellen konnte, sondern neben dem, was am häufigsten vorkam,

das herauszuheben, was ihm etwa besonders auffallend und daher am bemerkenswerthesten erschien. Um aber nicht dem Missverständnisse Raum zu geben, als wolle er Vollständigkeit in seinen Angaben erstreben, oder die Thüren nur auf die Oertlichkeiten beschränkt wissen, die er namentlich anführt: so fasst er auch die Geltung der drei mittlern Thüren, auf welche die vielfache Bedeutung der Thüren sich vorzugsweise beschränkt, in mehr allgemeinen Ausdrücken zusammen, die ihr Verhältniss zu dem Hauptschauplatze der Handlung, zu der Mittelthür, bestimmen; und diese allgemeinen Bestimmungen sind es gerade, welche man als die Hauptsache bei allen Angaben nicht aus den Augen lassen darf, da die speciell angeführten und alle andern nicht ausdrücklich genannten Bedeutungen dieser Norm sich unterordnen müssen. Berücksichtigt man dies, so findet kein Widerspruch zwischen seinen Bestimmungen und denen des Vitruvius statt, vielmehr eine völlige Uebereinstimmung, und man sieht deutlich, dass auch dem Pollux die Mittelthüre der Skene diejenige ist, welche zur Wohnung des Königs oder zum Hauptschauplatze der Handlung führt, die zwei nächsten, ihr zur Seite, die dem Hauptschauplatze zunächst liegenden Umgebungen darstellen, die zwei äussersten Thüren, die Eckthüren, von ihm ganz so wie von Vitruvius aufgefasst werden. Wie aber Pollux in Bezug auf die Bestimmung der Mittelthür genauer als Vitruvius ist: so ist er es auch namentlich in Bezug auf die ihr zunächst liegenden Thüren; und wo hier ein bemerkenswerther Unterschied in Bezeichnung der Oertlichkeit einzutreten hatte, theilt er der rechts liegenden, die er auch als die zur Gastwohnung führende hervorhebt, den zweiten Rang zu, so dass, was dem Hauptschauplatze am nächsten liegend zu denken ist, hier gerade vorgestellt wurde; Unerheblicheres dagegen, was in weniger unmittelbarer Beziehung und Nähe zum Hauptschauplatze zu denken ist, überweist er der dritten Thür.<sup>18)</sup>

Ausser den 5 an der Skenenfront gelegenen Eingängen gab es für die bei der Aufführung von Dramen thätigen Personen noch 2 Eingänge, welche an den Enden der Bühnenflügel lagen; es sind dies die unter dem Namen Parodoi bekannten Seiteneingänge. Sie lagen im Hellenischen wie im Römischen Theater an gleicher Stelle; ihr Aussehen aber war nicht in beiden gleich. Im Hellenischen Theater bildeten sie zwischen den Flügeln der Skene und den Enden der Zuschauersitze entweder oben ganz offene Zugänge, die nur an den Seiten mit Pfeilern versehen, auch mit Thoren verschlossen waren, um das Innere

des Theaters gegen die umliegende Oertlichkeit abzuschliessen, oder sie waren an dem äussern Ende durch eine einfache Mauer geschlossen, in der ein überwölbtes Thor angebracht war. Im Römischen Theater führten sie dagegen unter den Sitzen der Zuschauer als ein bedeckter Gang in die Orchestra, und die Sitzreihen der Zuschauer gingen hier demnach an jeder Seite über die Parodos hinweg bis an die Seitenflügel der Skene.<sup>19)</sup> Ueber die Bestimmung und Bedeutung der Parodoi sagt Vitruvius nichts; er begnügt sich mit der Construction derselben. Pollux hingegen weist der rechten Parodos zu, den von der Seite der Stadt oder des Hafens d. h. von der Seite der Heimat her eintretenden Chor in die Orchestra zu bringen; tritt dagegen der Chor von der Seite der Fremde her auf, so erscheint er durch die linke Parodos. Zugleich darf nicht unbeachtet bleiben, dass die rechte Parodos und der neben der linken Periakte auf der Skene befindliche Eingang, der ebenfalls die Seite der Stadt bezeichnete, an einer Seite des Theaters, den Zuschauern zur Rechten, anderseits die linke Parodos und der rechts neben der Periakte auf der Skene befindliche Eingang, der die Seite der Fremde anzudeuten hatte, an der andern Seite des Theaters, den Zuschauern zur Linken, gelegen waren.<sup>20)</sup>

Nachdem die Zahl, Lage und Bedeutung der Thüren festgestellt worden ist, scheint es angemessen, die Frage über das Auf- und Abtreten der Schauspieler zu erörtern. Es ist bekannt, dass dieselbe in neuerer Zeit zu mancherlei Erörterungen Anlass gegeben hat. Während Genelli und Geppert ein Auftreten der Schauspieler aus den Thüren der Skene nur als Ausnahme statuirten, waren fast alle Anderen, welche über diese Frage sich erklärt haben, der Ansicht, dass die Schauspieler nie in anderer Weise auf die Bühne gekommen seien, nie anders von ihr sich entfernt haben, als durch die an der Skene befindlichen Thüren. Was man aber auch in Beziehung auf das Auftreten der Schauspieler überhaupt für eine Ansicht haben mag, so viel scheint ausser allem Zweifel zu sein, dass diejenigen Personen des Drama, die am Orte der Handlung selbst ihren Wohnsitz haben, wenn sie aus ihrer Behausung kommen, oder in dieselbe sich zurückbegeben, keine andere Thür brauchen, keinen andern Weg einschlagen können, als den durch die 3 Mittelthüren an der Skenenfront ihnen gebotenen. Denn da diese 3 Thüren mit der sie umgebenden Decoration dazu da sind, um den Ort der Handlung zu veranschaulichen: so hiesse es alle

Illusion vernichten, wenn die Personen, deren bleibenden Aufenthalt man vor Augen hat, nicht von daher erschienen. Wenn schon von anderwärts her Kommende, die in das Haus des Herrschers oder der Hauptperson eintreten wollen und eintreten, nirgends anders wohin, als durch die Mittelthür der Skene von der Skene sich entfernen können: so müssen jedenfalls die dort heimischen Personen, wenn sie in der Heimat, am Orte der Handlung, bleiben, ebenfalls der 3 Mittelthüren sich bedienen. Für die genannten Personen scheint mir demnach unter den angegebenen Voraussetzungen das Auf- und Abtreten durch die Skenenthüren fast unzweifelhaft, und zwar geschieht dies nicht ausnahmsweise und selten, wie Geppert (über die Eingänge zu dem Proscenium und der Orchestra pg. 3) anzunehmen scheint, sondern sehr oft, da die Handlung meist bei den Wohnungen der zunächst an der Handlung beteiligten Personen vor sich geht. — Die Frage, ob die Schauspieler auch durch die Orchestra zur Bühne hinangingen und auf dem gleichen Wege von ihr sich entfernten, ist also eigentlich nur für diejenigen Personen aufzuwerfen, die aus der Fremde oder von Stadt und Hafen her sich dem Orte der Handlung nähern, nach der Fremde und Stadt hin sich entfernen; sie bewegt sich darum, ob zu dem Zwecke die Wege durch die Parodoi und die Orchestra, oder die neben den Periakten befindlichen Eckthüren der Skene, die bekanntlich auf allen Hellenischen Skenen sich befinden, benutzt worden sind. Aber auch hier sollte man meinen, müsse sich Jeder alsbald dafür entscheiden, dass die Schauspieler nicht von der Orchestra her auf die Bühne gekommen seien. Die Fremde und die dem Orte der Handlung benachbarte Stadt oder Heimat werden nicht nur in der Nähe dieser Thüren herkömmlicher Weise angenommen, die nach diesen Oertlichkeiten führenden Wege und Strassen werden auch auf den Periakten sinnlich durch Malerei dargestellt. Wenn eine dieser Oertlichkeiten wechselt, tritt dem Zuschauer ein anderes Bild an der Periakte vor Augen, um ihm recht anschaulich zu machen, was jene Seite der Skene fortan bedeuten solle; und der Schauspieler selbst, der von jener Oertlichkeit herkommt, er sollte nicht von daher erscheinen? Die Handlung des Stückes, die Illusion verlangt es, die dazu nöthigen Thüren sind da — alle diese Vortheile sollten die Hellenen aus Muthwillen oder Eigensinn nicht benutzt haben? Ist es denkbar, dass 2 dazu durchaus passend gelegene Thüren unbenutzt blieben, 2 fernere Eingänge durch die Orchestra, wo eine Decoration, also eine



Andeutung der Oertlichkeit nicht stattfand, dazu gebraucht worden sind? Soll der Schauspieler demzufolge an einem andern Orte erscheinen, als da, wo der vorhandenen Decoration gemäss es zu erwarten ist? Nein, sind Decorationen auf der Skene gewesen, so muss das Auf- und Abtreten der Schauspieler in möglichst genauer Verbindung mit diesen stattgefunden haben; dieses ist bei den 3 Mittelthüren geschehen; es kann demnach auch bei den Eckthüren nicht anders gewesen sein.<sup>21)</sup> Naturam, sagt G. Hermann, imitabantur Graeci. Atqui naturae legem constat esse, quod paucis fieri possit, non efficere per multa, hoc est, ut aliis verbis dicam, nihil instituere, quod non sit necessarium. Demgemäss scheint mir für die Hellenische Skene vollständig begründet, wenn Boeckh (über die Antigone 3. Abth. p. 80) sagt: „dass alle Schauspieler, inwiefern sie nicht aus dem Palast (oder, setze ich hinzu, aus dessen nächster Umgebung) kommen, ihren Ein- und Ausgang nicht durch die Orchestra, sondern durch die Seiten-Decorationen des Vordergrundes nehmen müssen;“ und Tölken (ebendasselbst p. 55): „dass die auf der Bühne thätigen Künstler ihren Eingang auf dieser selbst entweder durch eines der drei Hauptthore nahmen, wenn sie aus dem Palast oder dessen Nebengebäuden auftraten, oder durch die Thüren zu beiden Seiten auftraten.“ Bot doch die Bühne den Schauspielern so vielfache Gelegenheit dar, auf ihr zu erscheinen, von ihr nach verschiedenen Seiten hin durch die an der Skene befindlichen Thüren sich zu entfernen, dass man wahrlich nicht nöthig hatte, sich nach anderweitigen Wegen für diesen Zweck umzusehen oder dergleichen zu gestatten. — Wenn endlich trotz alle dem das Auftreten der oben genannten Schauspieler durch die Parodoi erfolgt wäre, so hätten die Hellenen sicher bei der Anlage ihrer Theatergebäude, in denen man tief durchdachte Schöpfungen des Hellenischen Geistes in keiner Beziehung verkennen kann, darauf Rücksicht genommen; man würde sicher eine möglichst directe Verbindung zwischen den Räumen hinter der Skene, wo die Schauspieler sich befanden, und den Parodoi um der Schauspieler willen erstrebt und angelegt haben; es würden, wie sich dies in der That in einigen Römischen Theatern findet, Gänge aus dem Skenengebäude nach den Parodoi hin geführt haben, um nicht die Schauspieler zu nöthigen, beim Auftreten durch die Parodoi das Bühnengebäude gänzlich zu verlassen. Dergleichen Gänge und Thüren finden sich aber in den Hellenischen Theatern nicht vor, und auch dieses weist entschieden darauf hin, dass sie nicht nöthig gewe-

sen sind. — Aber es fehlt überdies nicht an directen Beweisen, dass die Schauspieler von den Eckthüren der Skene aus die Bühne betreten, durch sie sich entfernt haben;<sup>22)</sup> und zwar entnehme ich den ersten dem Namen, den die Eckthüren führen. Vitruvius giebt bekanntlich allen Thüren der Skene Namen, je nach dem was die vor ihnen befindlichen Decorationen darstellten. Nun nennt er aber die Eckthüren *aditus* und *itineria*, Namen, die ihnen nur dann zukommen, wenn Wege und Zugänge zur Skene sich dort befunden haben und in der Decoration bemerklich gemacht worden sind. Ist aber das geschehen, so müssen sie auch im Drama benutzt worden sein, d. h. es müssen Schauspieler von dorthier aufgetreten sein. — Dass dies geschehen ist, ersieht man aber auch ferner daraus, dass Pollux ausdrücklich erwähnt, die Meergötter seien von der einen Eckthür her aufgetreten; es versteht sich also wohl von selbst, dass Gleiches auch bei menschlichen Individuen werde geschehen sein, sobald sie aus der Fremde oder aus der Stadt zu erscheinen hatten. Das Auftreten der Meergötter an dieser Stelle wird nur darum noch besonders genannt, weil es von dem Erscheinen anderer Gottheiten, die an andern Stellen der Bühne sichtbar wurden, abweicht. Ich sehe es demnach für unzweifelhaft an, dass die Schauspieler in den Hellenischen Theatern regelmässig nur aus den auf der Bühne befindlichen Thüren her eingetreten sind; die wenigen Ausnahmen aber von dieser Regel, welche sich wahrnehmen lassen, erregen keine Zweifel in dieser Beziehung, sondern zeigen vielmehr, wie streng man an der Regel festgehalten hat.<sup>23)</sup> — Ganz anders liegt dagegen die Sache bei den Theatern, deren Skene nur 3 Thüren zeigt. Hier fehlen die Eckthüren, durch welche die dem Orte der Handlung sich Nähern den bei den mit 5 Thüren versehenen Skenen eintreten. Da nun überdies die 3 mittlern Thüren für die am Orte der Handlung anzudeutenden Localitäten nicht zu entbehren sind, so leuchtet von selbst ein, dass für die von anderwärts her Erscheinenden auf der Bühne keine Zugänge vorhanden sind; sie mussten also auf andern Wegen erscheinen, auf andern sich entfernen, und dies kann demnach nur durch die *Parodoi* und die *Orchestra* hin geschehen sein. Diese Wege waren auch in der That dazu sehr wohl geeignet. Sie wurden vom Chore bei seinem Ein- und Austreten aus der Orchestra benutzt, aus der Orchestra führten Stufen zum Proskenion hinan; es hinderte also die Schauspieler nichts, diese Wege ebenfalls zu benutzen, da ihnen andere nicht offen standen, und für sie wie für den



Chor erhielten die Parodoi durch die neben den Wegen an den Periakten der Bühne angebrachten Decorationen die eine die Bedeutung eines nach der Fremde, die andere die Bedeutung eines nach der Stadt hin führenden Weges. Wenn aber die Parodoi in der angegebenen Weise auch von den Schauspielern benutzt wurden, - so muss man freilich erwarten, dass aus dem Bühnengebäude Gänge mit Pforten unmittelbar zu den Parodoi hinführten, damit es den Schauspielern möglich wurde, leicht und schnell zu den Parodoi zu gelangen. Solche Pforten und Gänge finden sich nun auch in der That in nicht wenigen Römischen Theatern, so namentlich in denen zu Antium, Otricoli, Ferentum, Nora, Cuiculum, in dem Theater auf der Villa Hadrians bei Tibur und in dem Odeion des Herodes zu Athen; und da man nicht annehmen kann, dass diese Anlagen ohne besondern Zweck gemacht worden sind, und sie darauf hinweisen, dass die im Bühnengebäude befindlichen Personen auf diese Weise schnell zu den Parodoi gelangen mussten: so wird ein derartiges Auftreten der Schauspieler hierdurch um noch viel mehr gesichert. Wie sehr aber die Römer an eine derartige Einrichtung sich gewöhnten, ersieht man daraus, dass dergleichen Pforten auch in mehreren Theatern sich vorfinden, die 5 Thüren an der Skene haben; so eine im Theater zu Aspendos, 2 in dem zu Eugubium, und, falls ihm 5 Thüren mit Recht beigelegt werden, in dem zu Tusculum. — Ein Auftreten und Abgehen der Schauspieler durch die Orchestra war also in den Theatern mit 3 Skenenthüren durch die Nothwendigkeit geboten; aber für eben so gewiss sehe ich es an, dass es in den Theatern mit 5 Thüren nur durch die auf der Skene befindlichen Thüren erfolgte. Eine Veranlassung, zu dem Zwecke die Parodoi zu brauchen, ist nicht vorhanden; der desfallsige Gebrauch der Parodoi wäre also höchst auffällig gewesen. — Das veränderte Auftreten der Schauspieler durch die Orchestra hängt übrigens höchst wahrscheinlich mit der spätern Umänderung des Drama und mit dem allmählichen Abkommen desselben zusammen. Je seltener dramatische Werke aufgeführt wurden, je mehr Pantomimen, musikalische Productionen und Aehnliches in den Vordergrund traten, desto entbehrlicher wurden die Seitenthüren der Skene; sie wurden es um so mehr, weil man den Chor nicht mehr in der Orchestra verbleiben, sondern von da aus auf die Bühne steigen sah. Er zeigte und bahnte gewissermassen den Schauspielern den Weg durch die Orchestra, und da die Illusion auch bei dieser Art des Auftretens nicht

verletzt, sondern bewahrt wurde: so wurden die Skenen in späteren Zeiten wohl durchgängig nur mit 3 Thüren versehen, und die Einrichtung derselben mit 5 dürfte je später, desto mehr abgekommen sein.

Es ist bisher fast durchaus von den Verhältnissen der Skene in horizontaler Richtung die Rede gewesen; von nicht minderer Wichtigkeit sind aber die verticalen Verhältnisse, das Aussehen und die Beschaffenheit der Skene. Auch in dieser Beziehung theilt Vitruvius eine sehr bestimmte Anweisung mit; aber selbst Baumeister haben wenig darauf geachtet, sei es dass sie die Regeln nicht verstanden, oder ihnen nicht trauten. Da die Bestimmungen sehr einfach sind, so dürfte wohl mehr das Letzte den Anlass sie zu vernachlässigen gegeben haben. Ein Monument, welches die Vorschriften des alten Baumeisters bestätigte, war nicht vorhanden; der Aufriss, den man aus den Bestimmungen des Vitruvius versuchte, schien wenig Gefälliges darzubieten; man sah nicht ein, wozu die eigenthümliche Einrichtung der Skenenfront nöthig sei; man schob die Schuld davon auf des Vitruvius Eigensinn und schlechten Geschmack und „sagte sich von den beengenden Vorschriften los“ — zu grossem eigenen Schaden. Denn die Skenenansichten, die man auf eigenes Ermessen und nach eigenem Belieben hin entwarf, stellten alles Andere eher dar, als eine antike Skene. Es konnte aber auch nicht anders sein. Man trug die Regeln, die für grosse und prächtige Gebäude und Paläste gelten, auf die Skene über, gab ihr zwei Flügel, drei Thüren, brachte ausserdem an, was sonst die Aussenseite eines Palastes schmücken kann, und glaubte alsdann, es sei dies ein getreues Abbild der antiken Skene. Man überlegte nicht, dass das antike Theater nicht in der Weise, wie die unserigen es oft sind, ein Prachtbau gewesen ist. Das antike Theater trägt seine Bestimmung, die Auführung von Dramen vor einer meist sehr grossen Zahl von Zuschauern zu ermöglichen, offen zur Schau und ist diesem seinem Zwecke gemäss bis in alle einzelnen Theile hinein construirt; keineswegs ist es das schöne Aussehen, das bei dessen Einrichtung maassgebend war. Die hohe, massige, fast ganz schmucklose und fensterlose Mauer, welche die Sitzreihen von aussen umfasst, wenn die Sitzreihen nicht an den Abhang eines Hügels sich anlehnen, erinnert weit mehr an den Thurm einer Festung, als an einen Prachtbau. Die vordere Front des Bühnengebäudes ist meist so schmucklos, dass sie weit mehr überhaupt ein weitläufiges Gebäude, eine Kaserne oder eine Fabrik

als einen den Musen geweihten Sitz erwarten lässt. Es kann demnach nicht auffallen, wenn die Alten auch bei dem Ausbau und der Anlage des Theaters im Innern ihr Augenmerk vor allem auf das Nützliche und Nothwendige gerichtet haben, und erst, nachdem diesen Forderungen in ihrem ganzen Umfange genügt war, auch an die Verzierung dieser Theile dachten, und zwar, wie die Monumente bezeugen, nur sehr allmählig, und ohne dass die Verzierungen durch auffallende Grösse und beträchtlichen Umfang sich auszeichneten. Dass der spätere Luxus die Theater, also auch die Skenen, mit Schmuck reichlich begabt, oft überladen hat, daran lässt sich freilich nicht zweifeln, aber der Baustyl dieser Zeit ist nicht derjenige, von dem wir die Regeln für die Einrichtung der Hellenischen Bühne hernehmen werden. Ueberdies hat sich auch von diesen Prachtbauten keiner so erhalten, dass es leicht wäre, ihn bis ins Einzelne genau nachzuconstruiren. Unter solchen Umständen bleibt mithin nichts übrig, als Belehrung über Beschaffenheit und Einrichtung des Skenengebäudes aus dem anzunehmen, was uns Vitruvius in dankenswerther Weise darüber mittheilt. Sollten wir dabei das Richtige nicht durchweg vollständig treffen, so werden wir wenigstens vor grossen Missgriffen, wie sie bei mehreren der neuesten Skenenansichten, namentlich auch bei der von Strack gelieferten, vorgekommen sind, bewahrt bleiben. — Die Vorschriften des Vitruvius in Bezug auf die Skenenfronte sind aber, namentlich Alles was die Gesimse betrifft, rein architectonischer Art; was dahin einschlägt, kann nur ein der Architectur Kundiger genügend erläutern, und ich verzichte auf die specielle Erklärung dieser Bestimmungen. Die anderweitigen Bestimmungen desselben kann ich dagegen nicht übergehen; es sind folgende <sup>24)</sup>: das Podium von der Höhe des Pulpitum an sei einschliesslich der ihm zugehörigen Gesimse hoch ein Zwölftheil von dem Durchmesser der Orchestra. Das über dem Podium befindliche erste Stockwerk soll haben 1) Säulen, die einschliesslich der Capitälern und Basen so hoch sind, als ein Viertel von dem Durchmesser der Orchestra beträgt, 2) darüber Epistyle mit Gesimsen, ein Fünftheil so hoch, als die Länge der Säulen beträgt. Im zweiten Stockwerke soll das Pluteum sammt den Gesimsen halb so hoch als das untere Pluteum sein, die darauf aufgesetzten Säulen sollen um ein Viertel niedriger sein als die unteren, das Epistylum mit dem Gesimse soll ein Fünftheil der Säulenhöhe haben. Wird noch ein drittes Stockwerk, Episkenos, aufgesetzt, so soll die

Höhe des Pluteum nur die Hälfte der Höhe des darunter befindlichen betragen; die Säulen sollen um ein Viertel niedriger als die des zweiten Stockwerkes sein, das Epistylum endlich sammt den Gesimsen soll ein Fünftheil von der Höhe der Säulen haben. — Die Anweisung zur Skenenfront scheint demnach und ist auch in der That, wenn man von den Gesimsen absieht, höchst einfach; und fast scheint es, als habe die Vorderseite jedes palastähnlichen Hauses auch zu einer Skenenfronte benutzt werden können. Denn es scheint wesentlich nichts nöthig zu sein, als dass eine durch mehrere Stockwerke sich erhebende Mauer mit Säulen verziert ist und Plutea an ihr angebracht sind, da die Verhältnisse, welche von Vitruvius hinsichtlich der Säulen, Gesimse und Architrave angegeben werden, nimmer als wesentliche Bestimmungen gelten können, sondern ebenso anzusehen sind, wie die Maasse, welche er für die Dimensionen der Orchestra und der Skene angegeben hatte. Es sind die nach seinem Ermessen passendsten Maasse und Gesimse, die aber je nach dem wechselnden Geschmack der Zeiten oft Veränderungen erlitten, wie auch Vitruvius selbst anerkennt, wenn er unmittelbar nach seiner Anweisung fortfährt: „Jedoch können nicht in jedem Theater alle diese Verhältnisse so genau einander entsprechen, sondern der Baumeister muss beurtheilen, inwiefern dies möglich ist, und inwiefern er wiederum auf Beschaffenheit des Ortes und Grösse des Werkes Rücksicht zu nehmen hat.“<sup>25)</sup> Wenn aber auch alles das, was die Vorderseite ansehnlicher Häuser zur Zeit des Vitruvius zeigen mochte, in der Vorderfront der Skene wiederkehrt: so findet doch der bedeutende Unterschied statt, dass ein Theil, welcher an Palästen ein rein accessorischer ist, für die Front der Skene ein wesentlicher ist, nämlich das Pluteum. Bei Häusern und Palästen kann dieser Theil wegfallen, und sie bleiben doch, was sie gewesen sind. Die Skenenfront wird erst durch dasselbe das, was sie ist. Das Pluteum an der Skenenfront ist aber, wie darauf die eigentliche und uneigentliche Bedeutung des Wortes mit Sicherheit hinführt, eine auswärts angebrachte Plattform, ein Gang oder fortlaufender Balcon, dergleichen in manchen Gebirgsgegenden der Schweiz und Deutschlands noch jetzt an den Häusern sich befinden; und dieser Theil ist es, der erst die Front der Skene befähigt, zur Aufführung von Dramen zu dienen. Es wäre sehr gut, wenn Vitruvius über diesen Theil der Front ausführlicher sich erklärt hätte; er sagt aber nichts, als das, was angegeben worden ist. Wir bleiben also in Un-

sicherheit, wie breit und lang er die Plutea haben will, ob sie mit Geländern eingefasst waren oder nicht, ob und wo Thüren zu ihnen von innen herausführten. Vitruvius hält sich blos an die Hauptsache; die Beschaffenheit der Theile im Einzelnen setzt er entweder bei seinen Lesern voraus, oder es lag ausser seinem Plane, auch diese ausführlich zu besprechen. Was aber die Frage, welche die Monumente uns nahe legen, anlangt, ob in jedem Stockwerke nur ein die ganze Façade entlang gehender freier Gang war, oder mehrere einzelne Balcone neben einander liegend anzunehmen sind: so muss man sich wohl dafür entscheiden, dass Vitruvius jedem einzelnen Stockwerke nur ein Pluteum zuweist, da er im Gegensatz zu den Säulen, die er immer in der Mehrzahl nennt, von dem Pluteum jedes Stockwerkes nur in der Einzahl spricht, und' er das für Balcone sonst übliche Wort *maeniana*, dessen er sich anderwärts bedient, hier nicht braucht. Wozu die Plutea dienten, und die Nothwendigkeit derselben an der Skenenfront, lässt sich, obgleich es Vitruvius nicht sagt, mit grosser Sicherheit errathen. Durch sie wurde es möglich, die Handlung auch an die höheren Theile der Bühne hin zu verlegen, wie z. B. im Prometheus und mehreren Aristophanischen Scenen nothwendig wurde. Sie gewährten ferner passende Haltpunkte für die Decorationen; endlich mögen sie auch gebraucht worden sein, um gewisse Maschinen dort aufzustellen, oder von da aus zu handhaben. — Ueber die Zahl der Säulen sagt Vitruvius nichts; sie war gewiss sehr wechselnd. Von der ungeheuren Zahl derselben, die, wie wir wissen, in einzelnen Römischen Theatern verwendet wurden, mag freilich ein beträchtlicher Theil zur Ausschmückung des übrigen Theaters, nicht der Skene, verwendet worden sein; aber gewiss war die Skene als Haupttheil nicht der mit ihnen am wenigsten verzierte Theil. Da aber die Säulen als ein blosser Schmuck gewiss mehr den späteren als den früheren Zeiten zukommen, so wäre es interessant zu erfahren, wie viele Vitruvius bei der Skenenfront verwendet wissen will. Er sagt aber darüber nichts, und es werden also die Monumente darüber befragt werden müssen. — Eine vollständige Skenenfront, an der die Vitruvischen Regeln in Bezug auf ihre Richtigkeit sich prüfen lassen; hat sich aber, so viel ich weiss, nur an dem Theater zu Aspendos erhalten; überdies ist dieses ein Römisches Theater und eignet sich also um desto mehr zur Vergleichung mit den Vitruvischen Vorschriften. Eine solche Vergleichung soll demnach sofort folgen. Da ich aber die

Verhältnisse, die bei der Gliederung der Skenenfront zu Aspendos angewendet worden sind, in Zahlen nicht anzugeben vermag: so kann ich die Vergleichung nur auf die Haupttheile der Bühne ausdehnen.

Die Skenenfront zu Aspendos ist an den Enden von Flügeln, die rechtwinklig gegen die Orchestra vortreten, begrenzt und erhebt sich in drei Stockwerken über dem Unterbau. In dem ersten Stockwerke befinden sich fünf Thüren, von denen aus Stufen in die Orchestra hinabführen. Neben allen Thüren der Front befinden sich grosse Steinwürfel; zwei dergleichen stehen ausserdem noch in den Ecken der Front, und jeder der letzteren trug einst eine unkannelirte bis an das nächst höhere Stockwerk reichende Säule. Ausserdem befinden sich im ersten Stockwerke neun Fenster; fünf derselben stehen über den Thüren und werden in dem Maasse grösser, als die Thüren nach den Seiten zu kleiner werden; vier grössere befinden sich zwischen den fünf Thüren. Die Fenster sind übrigens hier und im höheren Stockwerk blosser Blenden, und gehen also nicht durch die Mauer hindurch. Im zweiten Stockwerke treten zunächst, senkrecht über jedem Steinwürfel des Podium, Steinplatten wagerecht aus der Mauer hervor; jede derselben wird durch je zwei vorstehende Steinbalken getragen. Es sind mithin der Platten zwölf, die in Länge und Breite genau die Dimensionen der unter ihnen befindlichen Steinwürfel haben. Thüren befinden sich im zweiten Stockwerke drei; sie sind weit kleiner als die des Unterstockes; Fensterblenden sind acht vorhanden, gerade über denen des Unterstockes; nur über der Mittelthür ist keine Blende, sondern eine Thür. Das dritte Stockwerk hat Balcone oder vielmehr vortretende Steinplatten wie das zweite, und zwar senkrecht über letzteren; dagegen fehlen ihm alle Thüren und Fenster, und es schliesst oben mit einer Bekrönung von gegen 16 Zinnen ab<sup>26</sup>). — Es ist wohl nicht zu verkennen, dass diese Skenenfront mit der durch Vitruvius gegebenen Beschreibung im Ganzen übereinstimmt. Aber gerade der für die Skene charakteristische Theil ist hier wenigstens von anderer Form, als der Ausdruck *Pluteum* erwarten lässt. Um deswillen aber dem Worte *Pluteum* eine andere Bedeutung unterzulegen und statt fortlaufender Gänge vor den höheren Stockwerken Reihen einzelner Balcone in die Beschreibung des Vitruvius einzuschwärzen, halte ich für unerlaubt. Denn wenn auch ein *Pluteum* nach seinen horizontalen Dimensionen nicht grösser zu sein braucht, als jeder einzelne Balcon



ist: so steht doch der Singularis, dessen sich Vitruvius durchgängig für diesen Theil in jedem Stockwerke bedient, wie schon erwähnt, dem entschieden entgegen. Ueberdies trifft die in Aspendos erwähnte Abweichung mehr die Form als die Sache. Denn da es sehr leicht anging, da wo einzelne Balcone nicht genügten, die Balcone durch aufgelegte Bretter in fortlaufende Gänge zu verwandeln, und da ferner die Balcone ebenso gut einzelne Maschinen aufnehmen und Haltpunkte für die Decoration abgeben konnten, wie ein zusammenhängendes Pluteum: so ist die Abweichung zu Aspendos eine unwesentliche. Von Geländern hat sich an den Balconen nichts erhalten; auch vermag ich nicht anzugeben, ob Spuren vorhanden sind, dass sie einst dergleichen gehabt haben. — In Bezug auf die Säulen ist zu bemerken, dass in dem Theater zu Aspendos nur zwei vorhanden sind, und gewiss auch nicht mehrere einst vorhanden waren. Da aber der alte Baumeister über die Zahl der Säulen keine Bestimmung trifft, so kann man nicht sagen, dass jenes Theater darin von der Vorschrift des Vitruvius abweicht. Es stimmt vielmehr in der Hauptsache durchaus mit ihm überein.

Doch die Vorschriften des Vitruvius in Bezug auf den Aufriss der Skene beziehen sich nur auf das Römische Theater, und die Skene zu Aspendos gehört ebenfalls einem Römischen Theater an. Ist nun wohl einige Sicherheit vorhanden, dass die Skene im Hellenischen Theater eben so beschaffen war? Mancherlei Verschiedenheiten zwischen beiderlei Theatern sind schon bemerklich gemacht worden; leicht möglich, dass auch hierin eine Differenz zwischen beiden bestanden hätte. — Ein gewiss nicht von der Hand zu weisender Beweisgrund, dass dem nicht so gewesen, ist aber daraus zu entnehmen, dass Vitruvius einer in ihrem Aeussern anders gestalteten Skene bei der Construction des Hellenischen Theaters nicht gedenkt. Da er nicht unterlassen hat, im Uebrigen die wesentlichen Unterschiede in der Construction des Hellenischen Theaters hervorzuheben, überdies die Einrichtung der Skene fast den Haupttheil des Theaters betrifft: so ist wohl der vom Stillschweigen des Vitruvius hergenommene Schluss gerechtfertigt, dass in der Skene eine wesentliche Differenz zwischen beiden nicht stattgefunden hat. — Dazu kommt: die Einrichtung der Skene, die Vitruvius vorschreibt, ist von der Art, dass alle Hellenischen Tragödien und selbst alle Komödien, die uns erhalten sind, auf ihr aufgeführt werden konnten. Es ist also

nicht abzusehen, warum einerseits die Hellenen eine andere Einrichtung derselben sollten gehabt haben, als die Römer, anderseits warum die Römer, die eine so zweckmässig eingerichtete Skene von den Hellenen überkamen, dieselbe sollten geändert haben. — Zu diesen allgemeinen Schlüssen kommt endlich noch ein faktischer Beweis hinzu. Wenn nämlich auch keine andere Skenenfront als die zu Aspendos sich ganz erhalten hat, so finden sich doch noch Reste von andern Skenen vor. Es sind dies Skenen, die theils nur halb zerstört sind, theils zwar ganz in Ruinen liegen, aber deren Material in ziemlicher Vollständigkeit sich erhalten hat. Da die weit vorstehenden Steinbalken und die an ihren Rändern, oft auch an ihren Unterseiten verzierten Steinbalken, die zu Balconen dienten, wegen ihrer Form und Decoration nicht zweifeln lassen, welche Lage sie an den Skenen gehabt haben: so ist es möglich, aus diesen ganz und halb zerstörten Skenen mit völliger Sicherheit das Vorhandensein und die Lage dieser Theile, also die Beschaffenheit der Skenen zu erkennen. Skenen, die in einem derartigen Zustande sich befinden, giebt es mehrere, und glücklicher Weise nicht nur solche von Römischen, sondern auch von Hellenischen Theatern; unter ihnen die des Theaters zu Myra, von dem sich früher herausgestellt hat, dass es in Bezug auf seine Dimensionen und Formen den besten Hellenischen Theatern an die Seite zu setzen ist. Was wir aber in allen diesen Theatern sehen, stimmt durchaus mit dem Theater in Aspendos überein, und es wird uns dadurch, wie ich meine, völlige Sicherheit darüber, wie die Hellenische Bühne beschaffen war, zu Theil. Was ich in dieser Beziehung hervorzuheben habe, ist Folgendes: vortretende reich verzierte Steinbalken finden sich noch in der Skenenmauer des Römischen Theaters zu Perge; also haben Balcone jener Skene nicht gefehlt. In dem Theater zu Myra befindet sich in der Ostocke der Skenenfront eine Steinplatte noch ebenso aus der Mauer vorstehend, wie in dem Theater zu Aspendos; sie ist an ihrer Unterseite mit Kassetten verziert. Ausserdem befinden sich hier auch zwei Säulen, wie in Aspendos. Da nun weder hier noch in Aspendos irgend Theile von mehreren Säulen sich vorfinden, die Stellung der vorhandenen in den Ecken der Skenenfront aber durchaus sicher ist: so hat also die alte Skene gerade nur zwei Säulen gehabt, und in allen diesen Einzelheiten stimmt also das Hellenische Theater zu Myra mit dem Römischen in Aspendos überein. In dem Hellenischen Theater zu Tlos



finden sich grosse an der Unterseite mit Reliefs verzierte Steinplatten überaus häufig, ausserdem viele unkannelirte Säulen in und bei der Skene. Wo auch die letzteren mögen gestanden haben, die Steinplatten lassen auch hier, wenn nicht auf fortlaufende Plutea (etwas, worüber ich Rechenschaft zu geben nicht im Stande bin), doch auf vortretende Balcone schliessen; und alles dieses zeigt uns, dass die Reste der alten Theater wie die Anweisung des Vitruvius uns wirklich in den Stand setzen, die Beschaffenheit der Skenenfront uns vorzustellen, vor und an welcher die Aufführung der grossartigen Hellenischen Dramen stattfand. — Welche Gestalt die Bühnenfront am obern Ende gehabt hat<sup>27)</sup> und wie das Dach eingerichtet gewesen ist, welches dem Skenengebäude gegeben wurde, darüber erfahren wir weder durch Pollux noch durch Vitruvius etwas. Wie man aber geneigt gewesen ist, der Skenenfront ganz das Aussehen eines im grossartigen Style erbauten Hauses zu geben: so hat man auch nicht verfehlt, das Dach eines solchen auf das Theater zu übertragen. Es finden sich aber nur sehr geringe Spuren von einer derartigen Bedachung bei den Theatern vor. Dagegen weisen die Monumente in der Regel darauf hin<sup>28)</sup>, dass das Dach ein flaches gewesen ist, und zwar so, dass es am Rande durch eine darüber hervorragende und zugleich mehrfach durchbrochene Mauer, namentlich durch Zinnen, verdeckt worden ist.

Die Bühne, der Raum, auf dem die Schauspieler agirten, war bei den Hellenen nach der Angabe des Vitruvius um 10 bis 12 Fuss, bei den Römern um höchstens 5 Fuss über der Orchestra erhöht<sup>29)</sup>. Da in den älteren Theatern keine Reste von Stein gefunden werden, welche vermuthen lassen, dass die Bühne eine bleibende gewesen sei, vielmehr der anderweitige Gebrauch des Theaters ausser der Festzeit wünschenswerth machen musste, dass der innere Raum des Theaters eine Fläche bildete, ausserdem die steinernen Stufen vor den Skenenthüren der Art sind, dass sie bis auf die Fläche der Orchestra hinabgehen: so ist wohl anzunehmen, dass die Bühne nur für die kurze Zeit der dramatischen Aufführungen aus Holz hergestellt wurde. Die späteren Zeiten brachten darin freilich eine Aenderung herbei. Denn wenn auch der Fussboden selbst, auf dem die Schauspieler auftraten, aus Holz bestand: so dienten doch als Unterlagen desselben Mauern, die natürlich bleibend sein mussten. Nicht wenige Römische Theater, ausserdem auch ursprünglich Hellenische, deren Skenen von Seiten der Römer

bedeutende Veränderungen erfahren haben, sind vorhanden, an denen die Substructionen des Logeion bald mehr bald weniger sich noch erhalten haben<sup>30)</sup>. — Die Ausdehnung des Logeion hängt von den Dimensionen und der Lage der Skene und deren Flügel ab und ergibt sich aus dem, was über die Construction der Skene gesagt ist, von selbst. Da die Anweisung, welche Vitruvius in dieser Beziehung giebt, vielfache Bestätigung in den Monumenten findet, namentlich insoweit sie das Hellenische Theater betrifft: so ist nicht zu billigen, wenn man namentlich in neuester Zeit die Ausdehnung des Logeion in Bezug auf seine Breite sehr beschränkt hat<sup>31)</sup>.

Die Grenze des Logeion gegen die Orchestra hin wird von Vitruvius durch eine gerade Linie bezeichnet; diese Form der Begrenzung wird also auch festzuhalten sein<sup>32)</sup>. An der dadurch gebildeten Vorderfront des Logeion Verzierungen anzubringen, ist weder nach dem, was die alten Schriftsteller sagen, erlaubt, noch ist es überhaupt zweckmässig, indem dadurch der Raum in der Orchestra beengt, oder, wenn die Verzierungen grösser und umfangreicher sind, die Aussicht auf das Logeion dadurch behindert wird. Da aber überdies auch das Logeion möglichst frei von Ornamenten, die grossen Raum in Anspruch nehmen, bleiben muss, damit nicht die Action der Schauspieler gehindert werde: so kann die Ausschmückung des Logeion nur auf die Skenenfront und deren nächste Umgebung sich beschränkt haben<sup>33)</sup>.

Was die Decoration anlangt, so stimmen jetzt wohl Alle darin überein, dass sie der Hellenischen Bühne nicht gefehlt hat. Wozu hätten auch die Hellenen eine besondere Skene nöthig gehabt, wenn man die Oertlichkeit, welche den Zuschauern in den Dramen vorschweben sollte, nicht zur Anschauung bringen wollte<sup>34)</sup>? Das Dasein der Skenenfront stellt also ausser Zweifel, dass eine Decoration vorhanden war. Verschiedenheit der Ansichten tritt dagegen hervor, wenn man mehr ins Besondere geht; denn darüber, welcherlei Art die Decoration der Skene gewesen ist, welche Ausdehnung sie gehabt hat, nach welchem Principe sie gebildet war, sind sehr verschiedene Ansichten zum Vorschein gekommen. Ueber diese Verschiedenheit braucht man sich freilich nicht zu wundern. Unsere directen Nachrichten in Betreff der Scenerie sind äusserst dürftig und beschränken sich auf wenige Notizen. Dennoch dürfte es möglich sein, auch in den angegebenen Beziehungen meist zu ziemlich bestimmten Resultaten zu gelangen,

wenn man neben diesen Nachrichten die Fingerzeige nicht unbenutzt lässt, welche die Dramen selbst uns liefern, und wenn man Schlüsse aus analogen Verhältnissen nicht von der Hand weist.

Was zuerst die Ausdehnung der Decoration anlangt, so fragt es sich, ob nur die Bühne allein oder auch die Orchestra mit derselben ausgestattet worden sei. Der letzteren Ansicht müssen im Allgemeinen diejenigen sich zuneigen, welche annehmen, dass auch die Orchestra in der Art mit der Handlung des Drama in Verbindung gestanden hat, dass einzelne Vorgänge, bei denen Schauspieler betheiligt waren, nicht auf der Bühne, sondern in der Orchestra stattgefunden haben, so namentlich Opfer und Aehnliches; und hier ist es besonders die Thymele, die nach der Ansicht jener Männer dazu benutzt worden ist. Sie sagen: wenn die Orchestra und Thymele dazu diene, dann hat sie auch der daselbst vorzunehmenden Handlung in ihrem Aeussern entsprechen müssen <sup>35</sup>). — Allerdings musste sie das, wenn die genannten oder ähnliche Handlungen dort vor sich gingen. Da ich aber entschieden in Abrede stellen muss, dass die Orchestra zu derlei Handlungen gedient hat, und nur zugeben kann, dass sie in vereinzelt Fällen, die anderer Art sind, nur ausnahmsweise, von Schauspielern betreten worden ist: so muss ich auch jede die Orchestra selbst oder einen in ihr befindlichen Theil betreffende Decoration in Abrede stellen. Denn es ist durchaus kein Anlass sie zu decoriren da, indem selbst der Chor mit seiner Aufmerksamkeit und mit Allem, was er thut, nur auf die auf der Skene vor sich gehende Handlung gerichtet ist. Das Decoriren der Orchestra wäre ein reiner Prunk gewesen, und der ist gewiss unterblieben. Der Beweis dafür, dass fast sämtliche Handlungen, die man in die Orchestra verlegt hat, auf der Bühne vor sich gehen, gehört nicht hierher; es wird bei der Analyse der einzelnen Dramen das Nöthige darüber gesagt werden. Die wenigen Fälle aber, in welchen die Orchestra ausnahmsweise Ort der Handlung für Schauspieler ist, machen nie eine besondere Decoration in der Orchestra nöthig. Die Schauspieler sind da stets mit allen ihren Gedanken, wenn sie dieselben ihrer Umgebung zuwenden, auf das gerichtet, was auf der Bühne vorgeht, nicht auf einen Ort in der Orchestra.

Weiter ist behauptet worden, nicht die ganze Skene sei, wie dies bei uns der Fall ist, durch Decorationen geschmückt und mit ihnen umkleidet worden, sondern es sei nur so viel

geschehen, als unumgänglich nothwendig gewesen sei. Der königliche Palast, neben ihm die Gastwohnungen waren dieser Ansicht zufolge schon durch die feste gemauerte Skene dargestellt. Wenn demnach die Skene nichts Anderes als eben dieses darzustellen hatte (und das sei oft der Fall gewesen), sei die Skenenwand ohne alle Verhüllung geblieben<sup>36</sup>). Aber auch diese Ansicht scheint mir nicht richtig zu sein. Die Skene stellte freilich ein grossartiges Gebäude vor, aber nur Eines, und zwar eines, das nicht in einzelne Abtheilungen, geschweige denn in verschiedene Häuser, zerfiel. Die Skene zeigte also in ihren festen Theilen auch nicht entfernt das, was man sehen sollte. Den Zuschauern lagen an der Façade Eines Gebäudes drei Thüren neben einander vor Augen; darin drei Gebäude zu sehen, das hiess den Zuschauern viel zugemuthet. Konnte man diese Anforderung an die Einbildungskraft der Zuschauer stellen, so hätte man bei der Mauer des Hauses auch wohl an Felsen oder jeden anderen Gegenstand denken und die Mauer dafür ansehen können. Um der Illusion willen war wenigstens nicht nur die gesammte Decoration, es war auch die Skene überhaupt überflüssig, und man begreift nicht, wozu die Hellenen eine so kunstvolle Skene sich eingerichtet haben. Dazu kommt, dass die auf den Periakten angebrachten Seitendecorationen nie fehlten. Sind aber diese nie, selbst dann nicht, wenn sie keine besonders ausgezeichnete Oertlichkeit darzustellen hatten, weggefallen, wie es in der That nicht sein konnte, weil die dazu verwendeten Maschinen ein bleibender Theil der Hellenischen und der antiken Bühne überhaupt waren: so ist noch viel weniger anzunehmen, dass man sich für den Mittelpunkt der Handlung mit einer allgemeinen Andeutung, wie die Skenenfront sie darbot, werde begnügt haben. Denn das, was die Skenenfront in der That darstellte, ein grosses Gebäude, welches von einer Periakte bis zur andern reichte, konnte begreiflicher Weise in keinem Drama der Ort des Schauplatzes sein.

So wenig nun aber die Decoration der Breite nach beschränkt oder nur an einem einzelnen Theile der Skene vorhanden sein konnte, vielmehr über die ganze Breite der unteren Skenenwand sich erstrecken musste, ebenso wenig konnte sie nur die untere Hälfte der Skenenwand einnehmen. Unumgänglich nothwendig scheint zwar die Verkleidung der Skene bis oben hin nur in den Dramen, wo, wie im Prometheus des Aischylos, die Haupthandlung in der Höhe vor sich gehen musste, in den Vögeln des Aristophanes und ähnlichen Scenen.

Aber es konnte dies auch in allen den Dramen nicht unterbleiben, in denen Göttererscheinungen von oben her erfolgten. Denn wenn die Hellenen es ertragen konnten, die Götter von dem Dache eines Hauses her erscheinen zu sehen, und sich dabei doch vorstellen konnten, dass dieselben aus grosser Ferne, vom Himmel her kämen, dann begreift man wiederum nicht, wozu sie überhaupt noch auf dem unteren Theile der Skene einer Decoration bedurft haben; denn es war nicht schwerer, sich am obern Ende der Skene etwas einzubilden, was nicht da war, als am unteren. Dass aber die Decorationen nicht blos in den genannten Arten von Dramen, sondern in allen die ganze Höhe der Skene einnahmen, lässt sich wiederum aus dem folgern, was wir an den Periakten sehen. Wenn diese, welche nur die Neben-, nicht die Hauptdecoration trugen, bis an das obere Ende der Skene hinaufreichten und bis oben hin decorirt waren: so können die Decorationen an der Hauptwand nicht eher aufgehört haben. Wie hoch aber die Periakten mit Gemälden bekleidet waren, dafür liefert der Prometheus des Aischylos ein evidentes Beispiel. Denn was die Okeaniden von dem Wege, den sie zurücklegen, mittheilen, setzt, wenn es angeschaut werden sollte, nothwendig voraus, dass die Periakte, in deren Nähe sie herabschweben, mit Gemälden bis oben hin versehen war. Sichtbar aber musste sein, was die Okeaniden erwähnen. Denn es lässt sich kaum etwas Ungeschickteres denken, als wenn der Dichter das, was nicht da war, ausdrücklich als sichtbar in dem Liede der Göttinnen hervorgehoben, und somit jede Illusion recht absichtlich zerstört hätte. Nun reichten aber die Periakten, um die Seitenflügel der Skene zu verdecken, bis ans obere Ende der Skene; also musste auch die Decoration an ihnen in allen Stücken ebenso hoch hinaufreichen; und was hier geschah, konnte an der Skenenwand selbst nicht unterlassen werden.

Mehrfach habe ich mich bereits darauf berufen, dass man um der Illusion willen mancherlei nicht habe unterlassen dürfen, und ich glaube, dies mit Fug und Recht gethan zu haben. Wie wenig die Hellenen geneigt waren, dieselbe im Drama aufzugeben, sieht man vor Allem daraus, dass sie selbst kleinere Veränderungen in Bezug auf die Oertlichkeit nicht der Einbildungskraft der Zuschauer überliessen, sondern auch sie durch Umwenden der Periakten andeuteten. Wenn ein Bote von einer anderen Gegend her seitwärts auftrat, als ein anderer, der vor ihm aus der Fremde erschienen war, so deutete es, um

der Illusion willen, die Periakte durch eine neue Decoration an. Wo die Einheit des Ortes im Drama aufhörte, hätte es genügt, die Scenerie vor den drei mittleren Thüren der Skene zu ändern und allenfalls die die Stadtseite darstellende Periakte zu drehen. Der Weg, das Feld oder Gebüsch, was etwa an der linken Periakte dargestellt war, erhielt damit von selbst eine andere Beziehung, der neuen Scenerie der Mitte entsprechend. Aber damit begnügten sich die Hellenen nicht. Sie wollten den Zuschauern nicht zumuthen, eine Gegend, die so eben einer bestimmten Localität zugetheilt war, ohne weiteres mit ihrer Phantasie einer anderen Localität einzuverleiben. Es ergiebt sich daraus, wie wenig man den antiken Geschmack trifft, wenn man die Decorationen auf ein Minimum in den Dramen beschränkt. Das Bestreben der Alten ging sichtlich dahin, das, was den Zuschauern im Drama als sichtbar bezeichnet war, ihnen auch in der That vor Augen zu bringen. — Eben darauf führt auch die Verkleidung der Schauspieler. Wie vielfach und zusammengesetzt ist nicht die Bekleidung, die die Hellenen den Schauspielern gegeben haben! Sie werden nicht, was sie in einer Beziehung gethan, in anderer, wo es galt, dasselbe zu erreichen, unterlassen oder vernachlässigt haben; sie werden den Zuschauern nicht zugemuthet haben, im Mittelpunkte der Decoration an der Hauptfront ihren Augen zum Trotz sich etwas ganz Anderes vorzustellen, als was sie vor Augen hatten; und es giebt uns dies volle Gewähr dafür, dass die Hellenen der Illusion in jeder Weise durch die Decoration zu Hülfe gekommen sind, dass die Decoration in allen Stücken ohne Ausnahme da gewesen ist, dass sie in allen sich auf die gesammte Bühne erstreckt hat <sup>37</sup>).

Die nächste Frage ist die, von welcher Beschaffenheit die Decoration gewesen ist. Hier ist zunächst durch Genelli, und annähernd auch durch einige Andere, die Ansicht verfochten worden, dass ein bedeutender Theil der Decoration an dem untern Theile der Bühne nicht durch gemalte Tapeten oder Vorhänge dargestellt worden, sondern dazu natürliche Bäume, Sträucher, Steine, aufgezimmerte Gebäude verwendet worden seien <sup>38</sup>). Genelli bringt eine Menge von Dingen auf die Bühne, deren Forträumen am Ende des Stückes viel Arbeit machen, noch grössere Verlegenheit in der Mitte des Stückes, wenn eine Veränderung der Scenerie einzutreten hatte, hervorrufen musste. Eine Nothwendigkeit zu alle dem ist aber gar nicht vorhanden. Denn dass man in Häuser treten, aus ihnen herauskommen konnte,



wenn sie auch nur auf einer Tapete dargestellt waren, ist einleuchtend. So gut es heute geschehen kann, so gut damals. Dass Wald- und Felsen-Parthien, aus denen die Schauspieler heraustraten, in die sie plötzlich sich zurückziehen konnten, sich auch durch Malerei herstellen liessen, ist eben so wenig zu bezweifeln. Was hätte also die Hellenen veranlassen sollen, die Decoration aus soliden Bäumen, Häusern, Felsen zu bilden? Wäre es doch selbst eine unnöthige Arbeit gewesen, wenn sie die Bühne mit soliden Altären, Bildsäulen und ähnlichen Dingen beschwert und angefüllt hätten, wo das blosse Bild dieselben Dienste leistete. Ueberdies für die in der Höhe befindliche Scenerie giebt Genelli selbst zu, es sei nur Malerei gewesen, durch welche die Gegenstände dargestellt worden seien; um so weniger also kann im Untergeschosse dem gleichen Bedürfnisse hinsichtlich der Decoration auf andere Weise abgeholfen worden sein. Zudem, wenn Dramen den ganzen Tag hindurch, wie es der Fall war, aufgeführt wurden, wobei natürlich gar verschiedene Seenerien zum Vorschein kommen mussten: so steigerte sich die Arbeit und die beim Aufbauen und Wegräumen einer derartigen Scenerie nothwendig eintretende Verwirrung ungemain. Erträglich wäre dies allenfalls bei unserem Theater, welches einen Vorhang besitzt, durch welchen in den Pausen die Skene den Zuschauern verhüllt bleibt, so dass das allmähliche Fortschaffen und Aufbauen der Scenerie uns verborgen bleibt.

Die alten Hellenen hatten keinen Vorhang (Genelli freilich sieht sich genöthigt, einen solchen eben um der Arbeit willen, die auf der Skene eintreten musste, anzunehmen), und der Uebelstand wäre daher bei ihnen unendlich grösser gewesen und hätte doch nur etwas, was sich leicht abändern liess, betroffen; denn all die Mühe fiel weg, wenn man, statt Bäume, Felsen, Zelte und Häuser auf die Bühne zu schaffen, das Mittelstück der untern Skene aus Tapeten bildete, auf denen das Erforderliche eben so dargestellt war, wie die Periakten es an den Seiten, und wie Tapeten, nach dem Zugeständnisse von Genelli selbst, an den obern Theilen der Bühne es anschaulich machten. Keinesfalls ist also die Idee Genelli's eine glückliche zu nennen. Sie ist aber ohne Zweifel in ihm auch nur darum entstanden, weil er von dem Aussehen der Bühnenfront kein richtiges Bild hatte. Er wusste nichts von den einfachen Mitteln, deren sich die Hellenen zur Befestigung der Scenerie bedienten, und dies veranlasste ihn wohl, ein Auskunftsmittel dafür aufzusuchen;

seine Wahl ist auf kein geeignetes gefallen. — Ganz besonders aber geräth Genelli natürlich ins Gedränge, wenn die Handlung in der Höhe vor sich geht, wie im Prometheus des Aischylos. Hier ist er genöthigt, die Zimmerarbeit bis in grosse Höhe fortsetzen zu lassen; und wie die Arbeit dabei gewaltig erschwert wird, so auch die des Wegräumens; und zwar ohne alle Noth. — Inzwischen wenn auch eine aus soliden Gegenständen zusammengesetzte Scenerie zu verwerfen ist: so kann doch nicht geleugnet werden, dass einzelne Dinge, die in den alten Dramen auf der Skene vorkommen mussten, nicht durch eine gemalte Scenerie sich herstellen liessen. Das brennende und einstürzende Philosophenhaus bei Aristophanes, einzelne Altäre, auf denen Opfer angezündet wurden, Steine und Felsstücke, auf denen Personen sich niederliessen, und Aehnliches musste auf andere Weise als durch ein Bild hergestellt werden. Dessen ist aber so wenig, und es ist dergleichen so selten erforderlich, dass es zu den Ausnahmen gehört, wenn die gemalte Scenerie nicht ausreichte. Es liegt hierin gerade ein bedeutender Unterschied der modernen und der antiken Scenerie. Während bei uns selten eine erscheint, bei der nicht zu dem von den Coullissen dargestellten Bilde noch mancherlei Zubehör auf die Bühne hinausgetragen oder geschoben wird: so ist es bei den Hellenen eine grosse Seltenheit, wenn zu dem, was die gemalte Decoration zeigte, noch andere Gegenstände auf die Bühne gebracht oder vielmehr geschoben werden. Denn dass etwas von besonderen Theaterdienern hinaus getragen wurde, dafür fehlt jede Spur; und da mancherlei Maschinen genannt werden, vermittelst deren man Dinge auf die Skene hinausschieben oder rollen konnte: so ist wohl anzunehmen, dass auch alle diese Dinge hervorgeschoben oder gerollt, und eben so von der Bühne entfernt worden sind.

Die Beschaffenheit der Decoration betrifft es auch, wenn gefragt wird, ob die alten Hellenen bestrebt waren, ein getreues Bild der Wirklichkeit in dem Bilde der Decoration wiederzugeben oder nicht. Auch in dieser Beziehung haben sich fast entgegengesetzte Ansichten geltend zu machen versucht. Während G. Hermann die Naturwahrheit in der Decoration gering achtet, war Geppert bemüht darzuthun, dass die Alten sie sehr erstrebt haben <sup>39)</sup>, und er verwendet grossen Fleiss darauf zu zeigen, dass die Dramen, deren Skene namentlich in Hellas liegt, auch eine Scenerie gehabt haben, die mit der wirklichen Beschaffenheit des Ortes übereinkam. — Es ist hier nicht der Ort, die grosse,



Zahl von Stücken durchzugehen, welche Geppert in dieser Beziehung einer Musterung unterwirft, und zu untersuchen, ob und in wie weit der Dichter die Handlung des Drama der natürlichen Lage und Beschaffenheit der Orte angepasst hat; es wird sich dazu bei der Auseinandersetzung der Scenerie in den einzelnen Stücken Anlass genug darbieten. Hier gilt es nur, das Princip, nach dem die Hellenen verfahren, festzustellen, und da trage ich kein Bedenken, ganz der Ansicht Hermann's beizupflichten. Bekannt ist, dass die Hellenen in den frühern Zeiten, von denen hier die Rede ist, nicht einmal in Bildsäulen nach Portraitähnlichkeit strebten. Wird demnach das, was man bei dem Bilde des Menschen nicht besonders erstrebte, von dem Abbilde eines Ortes verlangt worden sein? Allerdings liebte der Hellene, wie Geppert bemerkt, phantastische Willkür nicht; aber wird er, um nicht diesem Fehler anheim zu fallen, seine Maler nach den Orten hingeschickt haben, die es galt, darzustellen? Ich meine, der Hellene stellte dar, was nöthig war, d. h. was die Handlung erforderte. Mehr als dies zu sehen, um deswillen besuchte man das Theater nicht; und Stücke, die bloß um der Pracht der Scenerie willen gesehen wurden, kannten die alten Hellenen nicht. — An dieser schlichten, natürlichen Weise der Darstellung in Bezug auf Localitäten hat sie aber auch sicher nicht gehindert, dass der Boden, auf dem viele ihrer Dramen spielen, ein heiliger war. War der Boden heilig, so noch weit mehr das Ereigniss, welches auf dem Boden vorgegangen war. Man sollte demnach erwarten, wenn dem ange deuteten Principe Folge gegeben wurde, dass eine Aenderung in den den heroischen Zeiten angehörigen Ereignissen etwas Unerhörtes war. Dennoch ist es bekannt, wie die Tragiker sich in dieser Beziehung verhalten haben. Wenn sie auch im Ganzen dem Mythos treu blieben, haben sie sich doch nicht gescheut, wenn die dramatische Behandlung des Stoffes eine Aenderung nöthig zu machen schien, eine solche eintreten zu lassen. Gerade so werden sie es auch mit dem Terrain gehalten haben, und sie werden eine Aenderung in Bezug auf dasselbe nicht ängstlich vermieden haben. Ja sie haben darin weit öfter ändern müssen, als Geppert zu glauben geneigt ist. Denn wenn man versucht, das wirkliche Terrain auf die Decoration zu übertragen: so finden sich bei den allermeisten Stücken Schwierigkeiten in Bezug auf das Auf- und Abtreten der Personen, und in Bezug darauf, wo die einzelnen der Handlung einverleibten Localitäten dargestellt worden sind. Dazu kommt end-

lich noch: die die Heroenzeit darstellenden Dramen versetzen die Zuschauer in eine Zeit, die um mehrere, selbst viele Jahrhunderte hinter ihnen lag. Hier lag wohl Jedem der Gedanke nahe, dass, wenn auch die Umrisse im Grossen in den einzelnen Localitäten geblieben seien, doch der Ort im Einzelnen mancherlei Veränderungen möge erfahren haben. In der Bebauung, den Baulichkeiten, in der Vegetation mussten unausbleiblich grosse Verschiedenheiten hervorgetreten sein, und auch darum kann wohl kein Verständiger die Forderung geltend gemacht haben, jene sogenannten heiligen Orte sollten gerade so aussehen, wie sie zu der Zeit waren, als die Handlung ihnen auf dem Theater vorgeführt wurde. Ich glaube daher mit Hermann, dass man nach Naturwahrheit gewiss nicht ängstlich gestrebt, ihr nicht mit vielen Kosten nachgejagt hat. Aber man wird sie, wo sie der Maler passend und der Handlung angemessen fand, auch nicht vernachlässigt haben. Gewiss aber war und blieb den Hellenen Naturtreue in der Decoration etwas sehr Untergeordnetes; die Hauptrücksicht ist jedenfalls gewesen, die Hauptgegenstände der Handlung des Drama entsprechend darzustellen; im Uebrigen hat der Maler wohl ziemlich freie Hand gehabt.

Wie vollkommen oder unvollkommen die Malerei in den Decorationen war, darüber zu urtheilen fehlen uns die nöthigen Angaben. Wenn aber Agatharchos bereits zu des Aischylos Zeit die perspectivische Malerei wissenschaftlich zu begründen suchte, wenn uns Nachfolger desselben in diesem Kunstzweige genannt werden: so glaube ich, treffen diejenigen nicht das Richtige, welche meinen, dass diese Malerei sehr roh und unvollkommen gewesen sei. In dem Maasse als alle anderen Mittel, die bei den dramatischen Aufführungen in Anwendung kamen, ihrem Zwecke vollkommen entsprachen und genügten, möchte ich geneigt sein, dies auch von der Skenenmalerei zu behaupten.

Auch darüber, auf welchen Stoff die Gemälde aufgetragen waren, und woraus also die Decorationen bestanden haben, sind wir nicht ganz ununterrichtet. Denn Pollux<sup>40)</sup> meldet, dass die auf den Periakten angebrachten theils aus Holz theils aus Zeug bestanden haben. Die der Skenenwand zugehörigen bestanden, wie wir durch Servius und Pollux erfahren, aus Zeug<sup>41)</sup>. Die auf den Periakten befindlichen wurden, wie aus ihrem Namen hervorgeht, von oben herabgelassen, und kamen durch Drehen der Periakte den Zuschauern vor Augen. Die

an der Skenenfront befindlichen wurden vor Beginn des Drama, so viele deren erforderlich waren, ausgespannt; und es kam, sobald die obere Decoration nach beiden Seiten hin fortgezogen war, alsbald das Gemälde der darunter befindlichen zum Vorschein. Es ist hieraus zu ersehen, dass die Hellenen jede Veränderung der Decoration sehr leicht und sehr schnell bewirken konnten. Sie bedurften deshalb auch nicht einmal eines Vorhanges, und das neuere Theater hat daher in Bezug auf Decorationswechsel nichts vor dem alten voraus. Wie die Vorhänge an der Skenenfront befestigt waren, darüber enthalte ich mich jeder Vermuthung. Da viele Balcone oder die Pulpita weit aus der Skenenfront vortraten, so kann es nicht an Punkten gefehlt haben, um die vor der Mauer schwebende Decoration, so weit es nöthig war, zu befestigen.

Die Periakten waren grosse Maschinen in Form dreiseitiger Prismen, die an den beiden Seiten der Bühne und zwar auf der Bühne aufgestellt waren; sie waren beweglich<sup>42)</sup> und wurden gedreht, wenn eine Veränderung der Oertlichkeit der Handlung des Drama gemäss an der Seite der Fremde oder auf der gesamten Bühne einzutreten hatte; und zwar bezeichnete die Drehung der rechten Periakte, welche den Zuschauern zur Linken lag, dass der nach der Fremde hin gehende Weg ein anderer werde, als der, welcher bisher in dem Bilde der Periakte sich gezeigt hatte, indem eine andere Decoration der Periakte zum Vorschein kam. Wenn beide Periakten umgewendet, und also auch die Hauptdecoration an der Skene zugleich geändert wurde, dann wurde die Einheit des Ortes aufgehoben; die Handlung des Stückes war nach vollendeter Drehung an einen anderen Ort hin verlegt, als wo sie bisher stattgefunden hatte<sup>43)</sup>. Dass die Periakten auch noch anderweitig gebraucht wurden, ersieht man aus Vitruvius; er erwähnt, dass durch das Drehen derselben auch der die Göttererscheinungen begleitende Donner zu Stande gebracht wurde. Da die hohlen Prismen jeden Ton und jedes Getöse, das in ihrem Innern vorging, ungemein verstärken mussten, so waren die Periakten dazu gewiss sehr geeignet, und es ist also kein Grund vorhanden, die Wahrheit der Bemerkung in Zweifel zu ziehen. Wie man dabei zu Werke ging, weiss ich nicht anzugeben; auch gehört dies in eine Auseinandersetzung über die Theatermaschinen, in die ich mich nicht einlassen will.

Dagegen mag es wohl gestattet sein, nachdem die zur antiken Bühne gehörigen Theile und ihre Verhältnisse im Einzel-

nen betrachtet worden sind, einige Hauptpunkte zusammenfassend auf mehrere Unterschiede, welche zwischen der antiken und der modernen Bühne bestehen, aufmerksam zu machen. Das Logeion der Hellenen ist im Verhältniss zu dem Römischen, noch weit mehr im Vergleich zu der modernen Bühne ein Streifen von sehr geringer Tiefe, von äusserst bedeutender Breite; denn die Seitenflügel der Bühne, welche diese Breite bestimmen, liegen etwa an der Hälfte der Sitzreihen. Hätten die Hellenen in dieser Gestaltung eine Unvollkommenheit ihrer Skene erkannt, sie hätten leicht abhelfen können; sie haben es nicht gethan. Der Genius, der sie in der Anlage des gesammten Theaters geleitet hat, ist ihnen auch hier treu geblieben. Bei der grossen Breite ihrer Bühne und dem geringen Vortreten der Seitenflügel war es möglich, dass eine unverhältnissmässig grosse Zahl von Zuschauern, selbst die, welche an den Enden der Sitzreihen fast seitwärts von der Bühne sassen, die in der Mitte des Logeion vorgehende Handlung vollkommen überschauen konnten, und dass man selbst an den entferntesten Plätzen im Theater hören konnte, was auf der Bühne gesprochen wurde. Die geringe Tiefe der Bühne musste aber auch von dem wesentlichsten Einflusse auf die gesammte Gruppierung der darstellenden Künstler sein; sie war wesentlich reliefartig, und entsprach so vollkommen dem Hellenischen Wesen, das sich in ihrer gesammten Kunst so stark ausspricht, dem Plastischen. Ja, es ist dieses auch in der Gruppierung und den Bewegungen, die dem Chor in Rücksicht auf die ihn von allen Seiten umgebenden Zuschauer oblagen, wohl zu erkennen. Trotz der geringen Tiefe, welche die Hellenische Bühne hatte, war sie doch vollkommen gross genug, um selbst festliche aus vielen Personen bestehende Aufzüge und zwar in der ganzen Ausdehnung, die sie haben mochten, und so, dass der grösste Theil der sie bildenden Personen ganz überschaut werden konnte, den Zuschauern vor Augen zu bringen; ja sie leistete in der Beziehung unendlich mehr, als uns bei unserer schmalen Bühne irgend erreichbar ist. Wenn dennoch die Zahl der auf der Bühne zusammentreffenden Schauspieler im Hellenischen Drama eine sehr beschränkte ist: so liegt der Grund dazu nicht in der Beschaffenheit ihrer Bühne. Das Auftreten der Schauspieler auf derselben war nicht nur so ungehindert als möglich, auch alle Richtungen, von denen her eine Person kommen mochte, um in die Handlung einzugreifen, waren hinlänglich angedeutet. Die Periakten und die wandelbare Decoration der Hauptfront

machten es möglich, die Localität der Handlung ebenso schnell und leicht zu ändern, als wir es bei einem Scenenwechsel zu thun vermögen. Ja die Hellenen konnten sogar des Vorhanges ganz entbehren, weil die Handlung ihrer Dramen vor den Häusern, im Freien, vor sich geht, und daher die Menge solider Geräthe, Ornamente und Wirthschaftssachen, die ein nothwendiges Zubehör unserer Bühnendarstellungen sind, von selbst wegfiel. Dem plastischen Sinne der Hellenen angemessen, zugleich auch durch die Klarheit des südlichen Himmels unterstützt, liessen sie ihre Bühne durch das volle Tageslicht erhellt werden und nahmen nur selten zu den magischen Wirkungen des künstlichen Lichtes ihre Zuflucht. — Wie durchaus verschieden hiervon unsere moderne Bühne, zu der die Römer wenigstens einen Schritt annähernd thaten, indem sie ihrer Bühne eine grössere Tiefe als die Hellenen gaben! Eine unverhältnissmässig tiefe Bühne mit schmaler Vorderfront charakterisirt sie zuerst; das Licht des Tages mangelt ihr, und das wechselnde Licht, unter welches sie gesetzt wird, ist ganz darauf berechnet, das Auge in einer bestimmten Richtung, nach einem Punkte der Bühne hinzuziehen. Das vollere oder schwächere Licht wird wesentlich gebraucht, um der dargestellten Handlung ihren specifischen Charakter auszudrücken. Die Zuschauer sitzen insgesamt vor der Schaubühne, meist in einem langen Ovale, und erblicken sämmtlich die Handlung nur von einer Seite her, von vorn. So ist die moderne Bühne das treue Abbild der Poesie, der sie dienstbar ist. Der malerische Effect ist es, den wir auf unserer Bühne suchen und finden, die plastische Darstellung die, welche der Hellene zu sehen verlangte. — Leicht liesse sich der Gegensatz der antiken Bühne gegen die moderne noch weiter ausführen; aber schon das Gesagte genügt, um bemerklich zu machen, bis wie weit wir im Stande sind, uns auf unserer Bühne das alte Drama wirklich vor Augen zu führen, wo dagegen die moderne Darstellung nothwendig von der antiken abweichen oder hinter ihr zurückbleiben wird.

Wenn wir aber hierbei uns der Vollkommenheit, die der Bühne der Hellenen eigen war, bewusst werden, und zumal wenn wir den Blick weiter öffnend uns auch die anderweitigen Vorzüge, welche die übrigen Theile des antiken Theaters auszeichnen, vergegenwärtigen: die Festigkeit, die es in seinem Bau hat, so dass nicht wenige Theater Jahrtausenden getrotzt haben, die Einfachheit und Abgerundetheit, die sich in seiner

ganzen Zusammensetzung ausspricht, die Einheit desselben, die, wunderbar bis ins Einzelne hinein festgehalten, Alles nur auf éinen Zweck bezogen hat, und die doch nicht hindert, dass der Bau auch noch anderweitigen Zwecken dienen konnte, die überaus geschickte Benutzung des Raumes, die es möglich machte, fast die gesamte Masse der Bewohner einer Stadt in éinem Gebäude bequem aufzunehmen, ohne Störung hinein- und hinauszulassen, Alle an dem dargebotenen Schauspiele mit Auge und Ohr theilnehmen zu lassen: dann mögen wir uns auch vergegenwärtigen, dass alles dies nicht als Schöpfung eines ganzen Volkes von uns angestaunt werden darf, sondern dass der Hauptbestandtheil von allem dem der Kraft, dem Geiste, dem Genie éines Mannes sein Dasein verdankt; und doch schuf der éine Hellene sich in diesem Baue nur erst den todten Rahmen für die hohen Gestalten, die gewaltigen Charaktere, für die Entwicklung der ewigen Gesetze, die das göttliche und menschliche Leben regeln; und in diesen seinen Dramen ist es erst, wo die wahre Hoheit und Grösse seines Geistes uns entgegentritt. Und dieser éine Hellene ist Aischylos gewesen.

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# ANMERKUNGEN.

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## 1) Die Anlage des Römischen Theaters nach Vitruvius.

Die Construction des Römischen Theaters bei Vitruvius (5, 6), insoweit sie hier berücksichtigt wird, lautet: *Ipsa autem theatri conformatio sic est facienda, uti quam magna futura est perimetros imi, centro medio collocato circumagatur linea rotundationis, in eaque quatuor scribantur trigona paribus lateribus et intervallis, quae extremam lineam circinationis tangent: . . . . . Ex his trigonis cujus latus fuerit proximum scenae ea regione, qua praecidit curvaturam circinationis, ibi finiatur scenae frons, et ab eo loco per centrum parallelus linea ducatur, quae disjungat proscenii pulpitum et orchestrae regionem. . . . Hi autem, qui sunt in imo et dirigunt scalaria, erunt numero septem [anguli], reliqui quinque scenae designabunt compositionem; et unus medius contra se valvas regias habere debet; et qui erunt dextra ac sinistra, hospitalium designabunt compositionem; extremi duo spectabunt itinera versurarum . . . . . (5, 7) Scenae longitudo ad orchestrae diametron duplex fieri debet.* In der Erklärung dieser Worte stimme ich grösstentheils mit Rode (Uebers. des Vitruv.) überein; nur in Bezug auf die Länge der Skene und auf die Lage der Thüren in derselben kann ich seiner Ansicht nicht beitreten. Rode meint nämlich, Vitruvius setze die Länge der Skene gleich einem Diameter des Kreises an, und er sagt in dieser Beziehung p. 242: „Vitruv nennt diese Tiefe des Orchesters, diesen Halbmesser des ganzen Zirkels, den Durchmesser des Orchesters; daher muss er denn auch zur Fronte der Scene dessen Länge doppelt nehmen, um also die Breite des Orchesters d. h. den Durchmesser des ganzen Zirkels zu erhalten.“ Aber die Voraussetzung, dass Vitruvius den Halbmesser des Kreises Durchmesser der Orchestra nennt, entbehrt jedes Beweises; vielmehr bestimmt Vitruvius das, was er unter dem Durchmesser der Orchestra versteht, kurz vor den fraglichen Worten so: *orchestra inter gradus imos quam diametron habuerit*, und er versteht demnach darunter nicht die vom Proskenion aus nach der gegenüberliegenden Seite der Orchestra gezogene Linie, sondern die von einem Ende der Sitzreihen nach dem gegenüberliegenden Ende parallel mit dem Proskenion gezogene. Deren Länge beträgt aber nicht einen Radius, sondern den Diameter des Kreises. Da er nun in den bald darauf folgenden Worten den Ausdruck Durchmesser der Orchestra nicht anderweitig bestimmt, so kann es auch kein anderer sein; es ist der Durchmesser des als Schema aufgestellten Kreises, und dieser ist behufs der Länge der Skene doppelt zu nehmen. Zu demselben Resultate ist auch Stieglitz (Archäologie der Baukunst II. 1 p. 198 und Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Baukunst I. p. 184) gelangt. — In Bezug auf die Zahl und Lage der an der Skene befindlichen Thüren haben die Worte des Vitruvius eine sehr verschiedene Deutung erfahren;

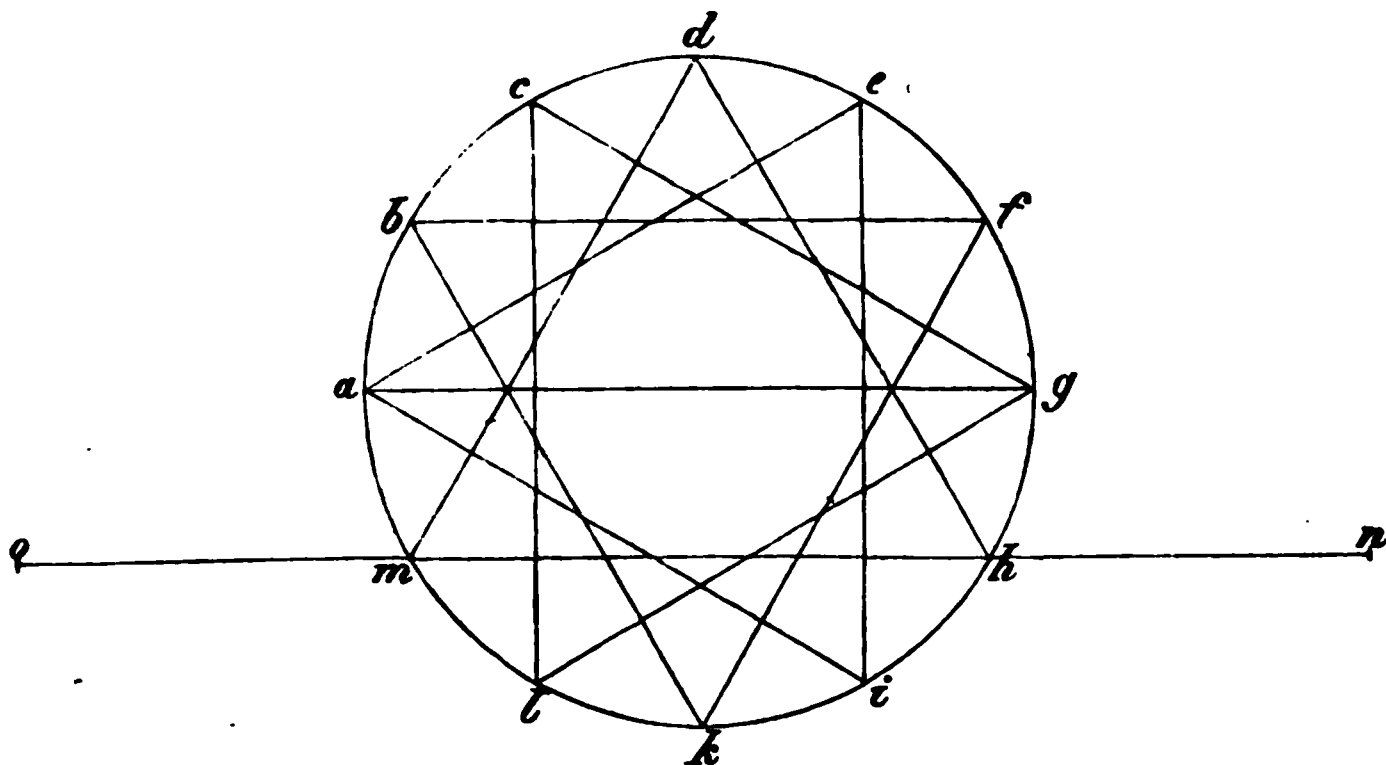
namentlich hat man sich darüber nicht geeinigt, ob Vitruvius 3 oder 5 Thüren verlange. Wie viel aber auch die Gesamtzahl derselben sein mag, das Dasein von dreien, die er als *valvae regiae* und *hospitalia* bezeichnet, ist ausser allem Zweifel, und auch die Lage derselben ist deutlich von ihm angegeben. Da sie von der Skene aus auf das Proskenion, die eigentliche Bühne, hinausführen müssen, so können sie nur in der Skenenwand sich befinden. Diese Wand, deren Lage durch die Seite eines der Dreiecke bezeichnet wird, bildet eine gerade Linie; mithin müssen die 3 Thüren in einer Linie neben einander sich befinden. Die Lage der Mittelthür bestimmt Vitruvius durch die Worte: *unus medius (angulus) contra se valvas regias habere debet*. Die sie bestimmende Ecke des Dreiecks fällt nämlich über die Linie des Dreiecks, welche die *scenae frons* ihrer Lage nach bestimmen soll, hinaus in die Peripherie des Kreises. Um nun anzuzeigen, dass die Thüre nicht in die Peripherie des Kreises fallen müsse, sagt er, sie solle dem durch den Winkel bezeichneten Punkte gegenüber angebracht werden; dass dies in der *scenae frons* geschehen musste, versteht sich von selbst. Wenn es von den 2 anderen neben der Mittelthür liegenden Thüren heisst: *qui (anguli) erunt dextra ac sinistra* (nämlich des *medius angulus*), *hospitalium designabunt compositionem*: so weist auch hier das *designare* darauf hin, dass die Thüren nicht in die beiden Winkel hineinfallen. Aber ihre Lage auf der Linie der *scenae frons* scheint mir hier minder genau angegeben zu sein, als es bei der Mittelthür der Fall war. Denn aus den Worten ist nicht zu entnehmen, ob ich den Winkel oder einen der Schenkel jedes Winkels als das, was die Lage der Thür bestimmt, zu fassen habe. Inzwischen da die Thüren an der ziemlich langen *scenae frons* nicht dicht neben der Mittelthür angebracht werden können, zumal da sie in dem Falle nicht Eingänge zu anderen Räumlichkeiten als die an der Mittelthür befindlichen abgeben können: so bleibt kaum etwas Anderes übrig, als das *designare* auf denjenigen Schenkel in jedem der 2 Dreiecke zu beziehen, der auf der Linie der *scenae frons* senkrecht steht. — Wie steht es aber mit den anderen Thüren auf der Skene? sind deren vorhanden oder nicht? und wenn sie da sind, welches ist ihre Lage? Da Vitruvius 5 Winkel der Dreiecke zur Einrichtung der Skene verwendet, und durch alle 5 andeutet, wo Thüren oder Zugänge zu machen sind: so scheint es, dass es ausser Zweifel sei, dass ausser den erwähnten 3 Thüren noch 2 andere an der Skenenwand sich befinden müssen. Dennoch erheben sich dagegen Zweifel. Fürs erste nämlich zeigen fast sämtliche Grundrisse der Römischen Theater nur 3 Thüren in der Skene; sodann bezeichnet Vitruvius mit dem Worte *itineria*, welches er hier für die 2 letzten Thüren braucht, im Verfolg seiner Darstellung sicher Zugänge, die nicht an der Skenenfront liegen, und auch dadurch wird demnach unsicher, ob er in der That die *itineria versurarum* an der Skene will angebracht wissen. Dazu kommt endlich, dass Vitruvius an einer zweiten die Skene betreffenden Stelle von *aditus in scenam* spricht, die wenigstens nicht in der *scenae frons* gelegen zu haben scheinen; und man kann sich daher nicht wundern, wenn das Ergebniss in Bezug auf die 2 letzten Thüren an der Skene ein sehr verschiedenes gewesen ist. Was nun zuerst den Widerspruch der Monumente, die meist nur 3 Thüren in der Skenenfront zeigen, anlangt: so lässt sich dieser nicht ableugnen; aber

auf die Erklärung der Worte des alten Baumeisters kann er nicht bestimmend einwirken. In Bezug ferner auf die *itinera*, deren Anlage Vitruvius im 7. Capitel mit den Worten *Orchestra inter gradus imos quam diametron habuerit* zu beschreiben beginnt: so sind dies ohne Zweifel die unter dem Namen der *Parodoi* bekannten Zugänge, welche neben der Skene zunächst in die Orchestra führen. Da sie aber Vitruvius an den Flügeln der Orchestra errichten lässt, und sie somit deutlich als einen Theil der Orchestra behandelt, so können sie mit den *itinera versurarum*, deren er bei der *compositio scenae* gedenkt, nicht identisch sein. Braucht er für beide denselben Ausdruck *itinera*, so kommt dies daher, weil beide gleiche Bestimmung haben, nämlich Zugänge zum Orte der Handlung aus grösserer oder geringerer Entfernung her zu sein. Entscheiden über das Dasein der 4. und 5. Thür an der Skene können demnach ausser den Worten *extremi duo (anguli) spectabunt itinera versurarum* nur die Worte, in denen er die früher angegebene Einrichtung der Skene zu recapituliren scheint, nämlich: *ipsae autem scenae suas habeant rationes explicatas ita, uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae regiae; dextra ac sinistra hospitalia: secundum autem spatia ad ornatus comparata, quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt*, es folgt nun eine die Periakten betreffende Erklärung; alsdann heisst es weiter: *secundum ea loca versurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scenam*. Dass die in der letzten Stelle genannten *aditus in scenam* nicht die *Parodoi* sein können, sollte wohl nach den vorausgehenden Bemerkungen einleuchtend sein. Vitruvius rechnet sie bestimmt der Skene zu, die *Parodoi* dagegen sind Theile der Orchestra; die 2 Thüren müssen sich also an der Skene befinden. Da nun auch die *itinera versurarum* eben dieselbe Lage erfordern (denn auch sie werden bei der *compositio scenae* erwähnt), so kann man nicht zweifeln, dass Vitruvius der Skene 5 Thüren beilegen will. Es bleibt also nur noch übrig, deren Lage zu bestimmen. Geht man hierbei von der zuletzt angeführten Stelle des Vitruvius aus, so muss man sich durch die Worte: *versurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scenam*, fast unausbleiblich veranlasst sehen, die 2 letzten Thüren in den Seitenflügeln der Skene (denn das sind die *versurae procurrentes*) zu suchen; denn wäre dem nicht so, wären sie in der Skenenfront, so ist nicht recht einzusehen, warum Vitruvius die *versurae procurrentes* vor den Thüren erwähnt. Dennoch scheint mir dies nicht der richtige Weg zu sein, um zum Verständniss von des Vitruvius Construction zu gelangen. Denn seltsam wäre es doch, wenn Vitruvius da, wo er von der Beschaffenheit, von dem Aussehen der Skene spricht, sich genauer über die Lage der Thüren ausliesse, als da, wo es seine Absicht ist, die Lage der Thüren anzugeben. Die Worte, die demnach vor Allem einer Erklärung bedürfen, sind: *extremi duo (anguli) spectabunt itinera versurarum*. Hier weist das *spectabunt* entschieden darauf hin, dass die Thüren nicht mit den Winkeln der Dreiecke zusammenfallen; aber auch das ist den Worten sicher zu entnehmen, dass die Thüren sich nicht in den Seitenflügeln der Bühne befinden sollen. Denn in dem Falle könnten die beiden Winkel in keiner Weise auf sie hinweisen. Die Thüren müssen also ihre Lage in der *scenae frons* haben, und auf diese Linie weisen eben die in derselben Linie befindlichen Winkel hin. Allerdings hätte dies ein-

facher und bestimmter mit den Worten: es sollten sich 5 Thüren an der *scenae frons* befinden, gesagt werden können, und man vermisst einen derartigen Satz besonders darum, weil die Entfernung der beiden letzten Thüren von der Mittelthür in der Bestimmung des Vitruvius nicht enthalten ist. Wenn man aber beachtet, dass, sobald einmal ein Schema der gesamten Construction zu Grunde gelegt wurde, es darauf ankam, möglichst viele Linien und Punkte des Schema zu benutzen, dass z. B. zur Anlage der Treppen zu den Sitzreihen 7 Winkel der Dreiecke benutzt werden wo es auslangte, die halbe Peripherie in 7 gleiche Theile zerlegen zu lassen, dass die die *scenae frons* andeutende Linie durch eine Dreieckseite bestimmt wird, wo es hinreichte, eine Linie in der Entfernung von einem halben Radius vom Kreismittelpunkte zu ziehen, dass die Lage der Mittelthür nicht durch die Mitte der Skenenfront, sondern als einem Winkel gegenüberliegend bezeichnet wird: so wird das Unzureichende in der die 2 letzten Thüren betreffenden Bestimmung sehr gemildert, und es kommt nur darauf an nachzuweisen, dass die zweite von Vitruvius über diese Thüren-gegebene Erläuterung mit der obigen Erklärung nicht in Widerspruch steht. Denn die Worte und die ganze Stelle zu verdächtigen, wie Geppert Att. Bühne p. 120 No. 2 thut, dazu sehe ich keinen Anlass, indem ich sie nicht für eine blosse Wiederholung dessen, was die vorausgehende Construction des Theaters enthält, halten kann. Nachdem nämlich Vitruvius die eigentliche Construction des Theaters beendet und demnächst Mehreres angeführt hat, was dem einsichtigen Baumeister freistehe je nach den Umständen zu ändern, kommt er noch einmal auf die Skene zurück, aber nicht um ihre Construction, sondern um ihr Aussehen und ihre Bedeutung dann, wann Dramen auf ihr aufgeführt werden, anzugeben; nicht die steinernen Wände der Skene, sondern die durch Couliissen verhüllten sind es, von denen er jetzt spricht. Ohne daher die Lage der 3 in der Mitte liegenden Thüren genau zu bestimmen, wendet er sich dazu, die *valvae regiae* als die, welche *ornatus aulae regiae* haben, zu beschreiben. In Bezug auf die *hospitalia* begnügt er sich mit dem blossen Namen, sicher in der Voraussetzung, dass der Name einer nähern Erklärung hier, wo die Mittelthür einem königlichen Palaste zugetheilt war, nicht bedürfe. Hierauf wendet er sich mit den Worten: *secundum (hospitalia) autem spatia ad ornatus comparata* mehr den Seiten der Bühne zu, wie aus dem Beisatze *quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt* erhellt. Weil aber die Periakten der Skene zugehören oder wenigstens der auf ihr befindlichen Decoration, so ist es ganz in der Ordnung, wenn Vitruvius uns über deren Bestimmung belehrt. Demnächst folgen die Worte: *secundum ea loca versurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro, altera a peregre aditus in scenam*, und hieran schliesst sich, was Vitruvius über das *tragicum*, *comicum* und *satyricum genus scenarum* rücksichtlich ihres *ornatus* zu sagen hatte. Alles dies hängt demnach genau untereinander zusammen, und der das Ganze durchdringende Gesichtspunkt ist auch bei der Erklärung der eben angeführten Worte nicht aus den Augen zu lassen. Die Hauptsache in ihnen wird demzufolge nicht die Bestimmung sein, dass die *versurae* dort aus der Skene hervortreten, sondern das, was über die dortigen Zugänge hinzugesetzt wird: dass die mit Decorationen versehene Skene von den Seiten her Zugänge habe, die also damit den 3 in der Skenenfront befindlichen Thü-

en entgegengesetzt würden. Dennoch muss man sich wohl hüten, daraus, dass sie als Seitenzugänge zur Bühne hier dargestellt werden, zu folgern, dass sie in den Flügeln der Skene sich befunden haben. Als Seitenzugänge erscheinen sie nur den Zuschauern, indem die von den Flügeln der Skene her Auftretenden neben den Periakten hervorkommen. Wo die Zugänge in dem festen Bau der Skene lagen, das anzudeuten konnte dem Vitruvius nicht beikommen; es wäre dies wenigstens etwas gewesen, was in diesen Zusammenhang nicht gehörte; es gehörte dies zu dem die *compositio scenae* betreffenden Abschnitte, und da ist es so gesagt worden, dass man an der Lage der beiden Eckthüren in der *scenae frons* nicht zweifeln kann. Die Römische Skene hat also nach Vitruvius nicht drei, sondern fünf Thüren, die sämmtlich an der *scenae frons* liegen. — Ich hoffe, dass es nach dieser Auseinandersetzung eines näheren Eingehens auf die von Geppert (Att. Bühne p. 120. 125. 126) versuchte Verdächtigung der zuletzt behandelten Stelle Vitruv's nicht bedarf.

Das Grundschema für das Römische Theater ist daher nach dem Vitruvius folgendes:



Die vier Dreiecke sind *mdh*, *aei*, *bfk* und *cgl*; wenn *mh* die *scenae frons* bezeichnet, so giebt die Linie *ag* die Grenze des *proscenium* gegen die *orchestra* hin an; die Grenze der letzteren wird ausserdem durch den Kreisbogen *abcdefg* bezeichnet. Die Länge der Skene wird durch die Linie *no* angegeben, und die fünf Thüren der Skene fallen in diese Linie in *a*, *b*, *c*, *e* und *g* und gegenüber den Winkeln bei *i*, *k* und *l*.

#### ) Zur Construction des Griechischen Theaters nach Vitruv.

*Vitr. 5, 8. In Graecorum theatris non omnia iisdem rationibus* (wie im Römischen Theater) *sunt facienda, quod primum in ima circinatione, ut in latino trigonorum quatuor, in eo quadratorum trium anguli circinationis lineam tangunt;* (da die Dreiecke *paribus lateribus et intervallis, quae extremam lineam circinationis tangant* (l. l. c. 6), eingetragen wurden, so müssen auch die Quadrate so in den Kreis eingezeichnet werden, dass die Ecken aller gleich weit von einander entfernt sind,) *et cujus quadrati la-*

*tus est proximum scenae praeciditque curvaturam circinationis, ea regione designatur finitio proscenii: et ab ea regione ad extremam circinationem curvaturae parallelus linea designatur, in qua constituitur scenae frons.* —

Unter *curvatura circinationis* versteht Vitruvius die Kreisfläche, während er die Peripherie mit (*extrema*) *linea circinationis* oder *linea rotundationis*, den Kreisbogen mit *linea circinationis* bezeichnet. Wenn Vitruvius in den vorstehenden Worten ein vorn abschneiden (*praecidere*) der Kreisfläche verlangt, so will er demnach (und so deutet auch Schneider die Worte) ein Segment des Kreises bezeichnen. Die fragliche Quadratseite aber bezeichnet er darum als die, welche nach der Seite der zu bildenden Skene hin liegt und ein Segment des Kreises abschneidet, weil sonst ein Missverständniss möglich war. Denn nach der Seite der Skene hin befinden sich noch die Anfänge von zwei anderen Quadratseiten. Da sie aber keine Segmente nach der Skene hin bilden, so werden sie durch die hinzugefügte Bestimmung hier ausgeschlossen, und jedes Missverständniss wird fern gehalten. Das Streben nach Präcision ist es auch, was den Vitruvius veranlasst hat, nach *cujus quadrati latus etc.* fortzufahren *ea regione designatur*, damit es nicht den Schein gewinne, als bestimme diese Linie auch zugleich die Länge des Proskenion. Dennoch ist er missverstanden worden; cf. Stieglitz Beiträge I. Tafel 10. —

Wenn er ferner sagt: *per centrumque orchestrae proscenii e regione parallelus linea describitur, et qua secat circinationis lineas dextra ac sinistra in cornibus hemicycli, centra designantur*, so fasst Rode (Uebers. des Vit. p. 246 Note r) *que in per centrumque* als gleich *ve*; aber die dafür beigebrachten Stellen haben keine Beweiskraft. Auch ist es nur die Noth, die Rode zu dieser Interpretation veranlasst hat. Er wusste nämlich (cf. l. l. Note s) die vorstehenden Worte Vitruv's nicht anders zu deuten, als dass durch sie eine andere Verfahrungsweise angegeben werde, um die Grösse der Bühne zu bestimmen, die er bereits durch die eine Quadratseite und die Tangente nach Länge und Breite bestimmt sich denkt. Aber die Länge der Bühne soll weder hier angegeben werden, noch ist sie vorher angegeben worden. Wie aber Vitruvius darauf verfallen konnte, eine complicirtere Verfahrungsweise an Stelle der früheren zu setzen, um, wie Rode annimmt, die Richtigkeit der ersteren dadurch zu prüfen, sieht man vollends nicht ein. — Schneider, Stieglitz und Genelli verstehen unter *centrum orchestrae* den Mittelpunkt des dem Schema zu Grunde gelegten Kreises, und ziehen demnach die Parallele durch diesen Mittelpunkt. Auch das ist unrichtig; denn Vitruvius verlangt nicht diesen Mittelpunkt, sondern den der Orchestra. Da beide nicht denselben Punkt bezeichnen, und in einer Construction Bestimmtheit des Ausdrucks nothwendig vorausgesetzt werden muss, so ist es willkürlich und darum ungeRechtfertigt, ohne Noth dem einen Ausdrucke einen anderen zu substituiren. Dazu kommt, dass Vitruvius in demselben Satze mit *proscenii e regione* und *in cornibus hemicycli* sich auf Theile des Theaters, nicht des Kreises bezieht; um so mehr ist man also verpflichtet, auch in *centrum orchestrae* die Beziehung auf das Theater festzuhalten. Vitruvius verlangt also, dass die Parallele durch das Centrum der Orchestra, durch den Punkt, der von dem Proskenion und der untersten ihm gegenüberliegenden Sitzreihe gleich



weit entfernt ist, gezogen werde. Was er damit bezweckt, davon alsbald mehr. —

Es heisst weiter: *et circino collocato in dextra ab intervallo sinistro circumagatur circinatio ad proscenii dextram partem: item centro collocato in sinistro cornu ab intervallo dextro circumagatur ad proscenii sinistram partem*. Diese Worte haben eine höchst verschiedene Deutung erfahren; sie sind ohne Zweifel die schwierigsten in der ganzen Construction. Es ist nicht klar, wozu die Operation verhelfen soll, noch auch wie sie auszuführen ist; denn der Radius, mit dem Bogen geschlagen werden sollen, ist nicht näher bestimmt, und von wo aus oder von woher die Bogen geschlagen werden sollen, lässt sich noch schwerer sagen, da die Deutung des Wortes *intervallum* sehr unsicher ist. — Was nun zuerst die Länge des Radius betrifft, mit der Bogen geschlagen werden sollen, so setzt Rode (Uebers. I. p. 248 t.) dieselbe gleich der des halben Durchmessers der Orchestra, Schneider (l. l. p. 71) und Stieglitz (Archäol. Bd. II, Th. 1. p. 141) der des Radius im Urkreise, Genelli (l. l. p. 46 Note 30), Stieglitz (in den Beitr. Bd. I, p. 176, indem er von seiner früheren Ansicht abgeht) und vielleicht Geppert (l. l. p. 87) der des Diameters in demselben Kreise. Die letzte Annahme ist eine reine Willkür, ein Auskunftsmittel in der Noth, um durch das Bogenschlagen das zu erreichen, was, wie man sich einbildete, Zweck der Operation war. Die Worte Vitruv's geben auch nicht im Entferntesten Anlass, an den Diameter des Urkreises zu denken. Derselbe ist vorher nicht genannt worden; sollte dies Maass gebraucht werden, so musste es nothwendig angegeben werden. Die Wahl bleibt nur zwischen dem Radius des Urkreises, der gebraucht war, mithin als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden konnte, und dem der Orchestra, der dadurch, dass kurz vorher der Mittelpunkt der Orchestra bestimmt worden war, bereits als gefunden angesehen werden kann. Unter solchen Umständen kann ich nicht umhin, mich bestimmt für das Erstere, für den Radius des Urkreises zu entscheiden. Er allein ist gebraucht worden, nicht der andere; da der zu brauchende Radius nicht weiter bestimmt ist, so kann es nur der bereits angewendete sein. Dazu kommt: Vitruvius erwähnt später die dem Hellenischen Theater eigenthümliche Bauweise als die, welche *a tribus centris* ausgeht. Da er keiner Ungleichheit in den dabei gebrauchten Kreisen und Bogen gedenkt, so müssen diese Kreise und Bogen mit demselben Radius entworfen worden sein; dies ist aber nur dann der Fall, wenn für die zu schlagenden zwei Bogen, von denen eben die Rede ist, der Radius des ursprünglichen Kreises in Anwendung kommt. —

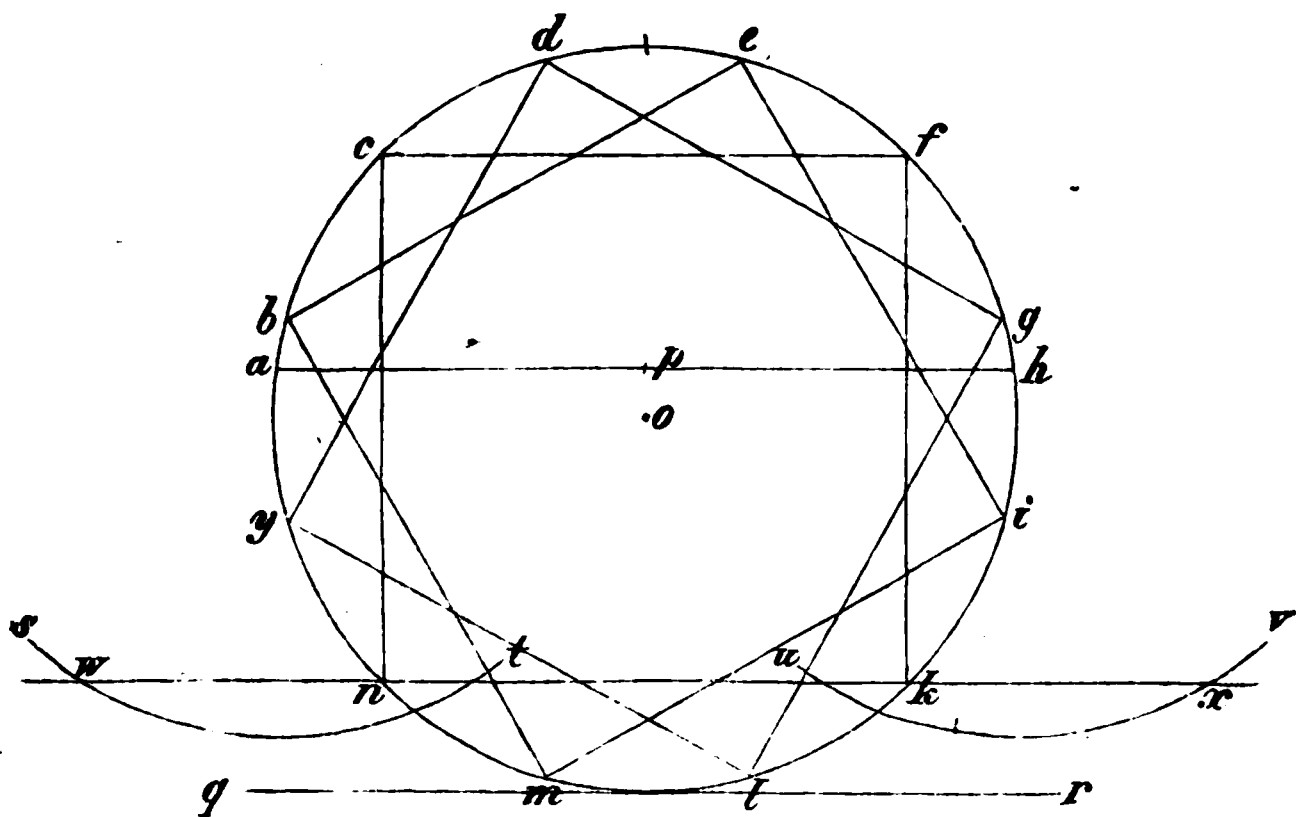
Die Hauptschwierigkeit liegt jedoch in dem Worte *intervallum*; denn was mit dem rechten und linken Zwischenraume bezeichnet werden soll, ist allen Erklärern entgangen. Dennoch ist die Sache sehr einfach. Da bestimmte Grenzen im Kreise, in Bezug auf welche der Begriff sich fassen liesse, nicht angegeben sind, so muss man hierbei an das Theater denken. Der Anlass dazu liegt um so näher, da Vitruvius mehrerer Theile des Theaters, der Orchestra, des Proskenion und der *cornua hemicycli* erst so eben gedacht hat. Nun findet sich im Hellenischen Theater ein Theil, dem seiner Lage nach kein Name passender zukommt, als der des *intervallum*; es ist dies der Raum, welcher zwischen dem Skenengebäude und

den *cornua hemicycli* sich befindet, und durch den hin die Parodoi in die Orchestra führen. Dieser Raum hat kein Gebäude, keine Bedeckung über sich; höchstens fasst ihn eine Mauer von 20 bis 30 Fuss Höhe, in der sich ein Thorweg befindet, ein, und schliesst ihn dadurch gegen die ausserhalb des Theaters befindliche Umgebung ab. Zwischen Gebäuden von 70 bis 100 Fuss Höhe zu beiden Seiten des Raumes geht ihm also selbst durch die niedrige Mauer der Charakter eines Zwischenraumes nicht verloren. Dass Vitruvius aber bei der Construction mit *intervallum* auf diesen Zwischenraum zwischen den zwei Haupttheilen des Hellenischen Theaters hinweist, wird dadurch zur Evidenz, dass, wie im Theater ein doppelter derartiger Zwischenraum an der rechten und linken Seite der Skene sich befindet, so auch er von einem *dextrum* und *sinistrum intervallum* spricht. Die Worte heissen demnach: „nachdem der Zirkel zur Rechten (auf dem Endpunkte der Parallele) eingesetzt worden ist, werde von dem linken *intervallum* aus (von der linken Parodos aus, und zwar, wie früher erörtert worden ist, mit dem Radius des Urkreises) ein Bogen nach der rechten Seite des Proskenion hin geschlagen.“ Das Entsprechende ist natürlich auch an der linken Seite zu thun. — Was soll aber dadurch erreicht werden? Vitruvius giebt nicht an, was der Zweck der Operation ist, und seine Erklärer gehen in ihren Meinungen sehr auseinander. Rode, der die Länge der Bühne, die Erstreckung derselben längs der Orchestra hin, der Länge einer Quadratseite gleich setzt, sieht in der ganzen Operation nichts weiter, als eine neue Art, diese Länge zu bestimmen. Demzufolge wäre die Operation ganz überflüssig und sollte füglich ganz unterbleiben; aber eine derartige Andeutung giebt Vitruvius nicht. Schneider (l. l. p. 71) benutzt die Worte Vitruv's dazu, mit dem Radius des Urkreises durch das Proskenion, gegenüber der Orchestra, Bogen zu schlagen, und durch diese Bogen ein ungefähr als Dreieck weit vortretendes Logeion begrenzen zu lassen; denn die Länge der Bühne sieht er für gleich mit der am Römischen Theater angegebenen an, da Vitruvius keine anderweitige Bestimmung für das Hellenische mittheile. Bei dieser Erklärung der Worte fällt auf, dass *intervallum* als Abstandspunkt gefasst ist, überdies der linke und rechte Abstandspunkt nichts weiter als das Centrum des Kreises bedeuten soll, endlich dass man nicht einsieht, wie Vitruvius bei einer derartigen Operation von einer *dextra* und *sinistra pars proskenii*, nach der hin er Bogen will geschlagen wissen, reden konnte. Noch befremdender ist aber, dass das, was dadurch producirt ist, ein die freie Orchestra verunstaltender, die Aufführung der Stücke hemmender und beengender Zusatz des Proskenion wird. Tritt dies sogenannte Logeion fast bis zum Mittelpunkte des Kreises vor, so wird dadurch der Eintritt und Austritt des Chors durch die Parodoi behindert, seine Bewegungen in der Orchestra in den Chortänzen sehr beschränkt; der Chor wird, sobald er sich dem Proskenion an einer Seite desselben nähert, einem Theile der Zuschauer unsichtbar; die Handlung wird dem Proskenion fast ganz genommen und nur an das andere Ende, an das Logeion, gebannt; die Schauspieler aber werden von den Coulissen, von dem Orte, wo man sich ihren Wohnsitz vorstellen soll, fast ganz isolirt. Das sind Uebelstände, die den überaus verständigen und praktischen Hellenen nicht verborgen bleiben konnten; wären sie da gewesen, so würde man sicher beflissen gewesen sein, sie bald



abzuschaffen, nicht sie in den Canon über das Theater aufzunehmen. — Genelli (l. l. p. 46 Note 30) schlägt mit dem ganzen Diameter des Urkreises Bogen, um dadurch die Grenze der Einziehung zu bezeichnen, welche die *cornua* gegen die Bühne hin haben sollen. Hier ist die Wahl des Diameters zu den neuen Bogen, wie bereits erwähnt, reine Willkür; sodann ergibt sich die Fortführung der *cornua* gegen die Bühne hin ziemlich von selbst dadurch, dass die vordere Grenze des Proskenion und die Parodoi von ihnen nicht dürfen überschritten werden; die Lage des Proskenion und der Skene aber ist bereits bestimmt. Endlich wird hierbei ganz übergangen, als sei es unwesentlich und überflüssig, dass der Bogen *ab intervallo sinistro* und *dextro* geschlagen werden soll. Vitruvius verlangt, dass er *ad proskenii dextram* und *sinistram partem* geschlagen werde, Genelli schlägt die Bogen auf der Linie der Skenenwand. Angesichts aller dieser Willkürlichkeiten und Bedenken kann man daher unmöglich annehmen, dass hiermit die Intention des Vitruvius getroffen worden ist. — Geppert (l. l. p. 85) sieht als Zweck der Operation an, dem Proskenion der Hellenischen Bühne eine geringere Breite zu geben, als dem Römischen Theater zukommt. Da aber die Ausdehnung der Skene ihrer Breite nach bereits durch die früher gezogene Secante und Tangente genau angegeben worden ist, so kann Vitruvius hier unmöglich dasselbe noch einmal in anderer Weise haben construiren wollen. Was Stieglitz in seinen neuen Beiträgen etc., was Marinio und Gagliani (s. Geppert l. l. p. 87 und 88) sagen, fördert die Sache ebenso wenig. Wenn man aber die Construction, die Vitruvius von dem Hellenischen Theater giebt, mit der des Römischen Theaters, die ihr voraufgeht, vergleicht, so dürfte doch auch hierin eine sichere Entscheidung zu erzielen sein. Die Hellenische Bauweise stellt Vitruvius von der Rücksicht aus auf, dass in ihr *non omnia iisdem rationibus sunt facienda*, als im Römischen Theater. Wie demnach zu erwarten ist, dass er vorzugsweise nur die Verschiedenheiten von der Römischen Bauweise hervorheben, dagegen Alles, was in beiden Stylen gleich ist, übergehen wird: so lässt sich auch erwarten, dass er in beiden Stylen auf gleiche Theile des Theaters, insofern sie in beiden vorhanden sind, vorzugsweise Rücksicht nehmen wird. Dies ist nun auch, so weit er es bestimmt angiebt, der Fall, und dadurch dürfte es möglich sein, auch über die vorliegende Stelle Licht zu verbreiten. Vitruvius geht in beiden Constructionen vom Kreise und dem in den Kreis eingelegten Grundschema aus, wendet sich dann in beiden zu dem Theile des Theaters, auf dem die theatralische Darstellung stattfindet, und giebt die Ausdehnung des Proskenion gegen die Orchestra hin an. Hierauf geht er in der Construction des Römischen Theaters zu den Verhältnissen der Orchestra und des Pulpitum, dann zu den *cunei* der Sitzreihen, den Treppen und Thüren über, und holt endlich die Länge der Bühne d. h. die Ausdehnung der Skene dem Proskenion entlang nach. In der zweiten Construction stehen nach den bereits angegebenen Verhältnissen zunächst die fraglichen Worte, dann folgt die Angabe dessen, worin die Orchestra und das Logeion von den entsprechenden Theilen des Römischen Theaters sich unterscheiden, zuletzt das, was die Höhe des Logeion und die Treppen betrifft. Hier fehlen Bestimmungen über die Thüren und über die Länge der Hellenischen Skene. Nun berühren aber die Bogen, die Vitruvius zu schlagen verlangt, die

Das Grundschema des Vitruvius für das Hellenische Theater ist demnach folgendes:



Die in den Kreis eingezeichneten drei Quadrate sind *nkfc*, *mieb* und *lgdy*; die Linie *nk* giebt die Grenze des Proskenion gegen die Orchestra hin an, und die mit ihr parallele Tangente bezeichnet die Linie, auf der die Front der Skene errichtet wird. Die Linie *ah* ist parallel der Linie *nk* durch den Mittelpunkt *p* der Orchestra gezogen worden, und von deren Endpunkten in der Peripherie *h* und *a* sind mit dem Radius des ursprünglichen Kreises die Bogen *wv* und *st* durch die Linie, welche als Grenze des Proskenion benutzt worden ist, geschlagen worden; dadurch wird die Länge der Skene bestimmt und ist gleich der Linie *wx*.

3) *Ita a tribus centris hac descriptione ampliorem habent orchestram Graeci et scenam recessiorem minoreque latitudine pulpitem, quod λογεῖον appellant. Vitruv. 5, 7 (8).*

4) *Vitruv. 5, 7. Sunt enim res, quas et in pusillo et in magno theatro necesse est eadem magnitudine fieri propter usum: uti gradus, diazomata, pluteos, itinera, adscensus, pulpita, tribunalia, et si qua alia intercurrent, ex quibus necessitas cogit discedere ab symmetria, ne impediatur usus. Non minus si qua exiguitas copiarum, id est marmoris, materiae reliquarumque rerum, quae parantur, in opere defuerint, paululum demere aut ad-jicere, dum id ne nimium improbe fiat sed cum sensu, non erit alienum. Hoc autem erit, si architectus erit usu peritus, praeterea ingenio mobili solertiaque non fuerit viduatus.*

5) Die Grundrisse der antiken Theater, nach denen ich die Vergleichung mit Vitruv's Regeln angestellt habe, befinden sich in: Wieseler's Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern, Göttingen 1851 (auf die Tafeln dieses Werkes beziehen sich die oft in Klammern notirten Zahlen); für die Kretischen Theater beziehe ich mich auf: *A description of theatres and other remains in Crete from a Ms. history of Candia by Onorio Belli by Edw. Falkener. London 1854.* Da die grösseren Werke, aus denen die Grundrisse von Wieseler entnommen sind, mir nicht zu Gebote stehen, die Grundrisse selbst aber nicht selten sehr klein sind, so ist es nicht unmöglich, dass ich in meinen Angaben über die in den Theatern angetroffenen Verhältnisse nicht ganz genau bin, vielleicht hin und wieder geradezu irre.

#### 6) Musterung der aus dem Alterthume erhaltenen Theater.

Von den Hellenischen Theatern sind den Odeien zuzuzählen das kleinere Theater zu Kibyra, nicht minder das Theater zu Pinara, was wegen seiner Kleinheit schon *Fellows disc. in Lycia* p. 147 dazu rechnet, endlich aus gleichem Grunde das zu Kyaneai befindliche. Da ferner ein zur Aufführung dramatischer Werke bestimmtes Theater nicht unter drei Thüren haben kann, so sind die theaterähnlichen Gebäude zu Rhodiopolis, Bostra, Rhiniassa, Pessinus, Oinoanda, Balbura und Knidos ebenfalls keine wirklichen Theater. Nun sind aber ferner die Bühnengebäude zu Laodikeia, Hierapolis und Aizanoi, desgleichen in Melos von den Römern umgebaut worden. Es bleiben also als wirkliche Hellenische Theater nur übrig die zu Side, Myra, Patara, Telmissos, Termessos, Kibyra, Jasos, Kadyanda, insofern ich nämlich mit Recht voraussetze, dass in Kadyanda die Zahl der Thüren nur wegen weit vorgeschrittener Zerstörung sich nicht mehr angeben lässt. Denn das Theater zu Anemurion zeigt so grosse Abnormitäten in seiner Construction, dass es weder für ein echt Hellenisches, noch für ein Römisches Theater gelten kann. — Die Vermuthung, Hellenische Theater zu sein, haben auch die in Sicilien, im südlichen Italien und in Kreta befindlichen für sich; denn alle diese Gegenden waren entweder so ausschliessend von Hellenen bewohnt, oder sind doch wegen des Hellenischen Geistes, der in ihnen bis in spätere Zeiten sich geltend ge-

macht hat, so abhängig von Hellas gewesen, dass man vermuthen muss, die Spuren dieser Einwirkungen auch in den dortigen Theatern zu finden. So ist es auch in der That bei den Sicilischen, ja auch bei denen des südlichen Italiens; aber die ersteren sind mit Ausnahme derer zu Segeste und Tauromenion so zerstört, dass von den Bühnengebäuden (und darauf kommt es mir hier vorzüglich an) keine sicheren Maasse, von ihrer Einrichtung noch weniger sichere Bestimmungen sich geben lassen; ausserdem aber sind die Skenen mehrerer sicher, die der anderen höchst wahrscheinlich von den Römern umgebaut worden; und sie bieten daher sämmtlich keine sichere Norm weder für den Hellenischen, noch auch für den Römischen Styl. Eine gleiche Vermischung beider Style wird auch den süditalischen Theatern nicht abgesprochen werden können. Die Kretischen Theater aber zeigen in den Verhältnissen ihrer Bühnen und Parodoi so viele Eigenthümlichkeiten, und es steht bis jetzt so wenig fest, wie viel Zuverlässigkeit die von Onorio Belli herrührenden Risse haben, dass es misslich ist, aus den in ihnen vorhandenen Verhältnissen viel zu folgern. Es liegt der Gedanke sehr nahe, dass On. Belli auf Grund dessen, was er von den alten Theatern zu wissen glaubte, nicht auf Grund dessen, was er vor Augen hatte, Manches in die Grundrisse eingetragen hat. — So sind wir denn für die Vergleichung der Regeln des Vitruvius mit den Monumenten bei dem Römischen Theater vornehmlich an die in dem übrigen Italien befindlichen Gebäude dieser Art gewiesen; was wir aber von diesen wissen, genügt keineswegs, um eine gründliche Vergleichung anzustellen. Die Regeln des Vitruvius können nur von Gebäuden hergenommen sein, die zu seiner Zeit existirten, oder wir müssen annehmen, dass sie wenigstens bei Gebäuden, deren Erbauung in jene Zeiten fällt, angewendet worden sind. Von den Theatern des Marcellus und Pompejus aber, den Gebäuden, die hier in erster Linie anzuführen sind, hat sich, namentlich von deren Skenen, so wenig erhalten, dass selbst Canina von dem am besten erhaltenen Theater, dem des Marcellus, gesteht, dass die Einrichtung der Skene nicht mehr mit Sicherheit sich feststellen lasse. Ob irgend eines der anderen Italischen Theater dagegen noch der Augusteischen Zeit angehört, ist überaus unsicher. Aber noch mehr — in welchem Zustande sind diese Theater, namentlich deren Skenen auf uns gekommen! und welch geringer Verlass ist nicht auf deren Grundrisse darum, weil mancherlei in ihnen hat ergänzt werden müssen, bei anderen weil sie in Zeiten angefertigt sind, wo man mehr ins Grosse arbeitete, als um Details sich kümmerte, und wo man mit der Deutung des Vitruvius im Klaren zu sein sich einbildete! Ich kann nicht umhin, damit es nicht scheine, als sei mein Verdacht grundlos, die Risse sämmtlicher in diese Kategorie fallender Theater durchzugehen; es wird sich zeigen, dass das Misstrauen meist nicht von mir ausgeht. Der Grundriss von dem Theater zu Antium, das 1712 ausgegraben wurde, rührt von Blanchini aus dem Jahre 1727 her. Zu Winckelmann's Zeiten war von der Skene bereits nichts mehr zu sehen, und Wieseler urtheilt, dass der Plan nur mit Behutsamkeit zu gebrauchen sei. Anscheinend höchst günstig ist Alles für das Theater zu Tusculum; es ist erst 1839 und 1840 auf Veranstaltung von Lucian Bonaparte und der Königin von Sardinien ausgegraben worden. Dies Theater wäre nun sehr wichtig für den vorliegenden Zweck,

da Canina der Ansicht ist, dass es zu Ende der Republik erbaut und unter den ersten Kaisern erweitert worden ist, wenn man sich auf den Grundriss vollkommen verlassen könnte. Dem ist nicht so; es hat, wie sich später zeigen wird, nicht drei Skenenthüren, wie der Grundriss zeigt, sondern fünf gehabt. Dennoch wird bei dem Fehlen anderer gleich wichtiger Theater in Italien vorzugsweise auf diesen Riss zurückgegangen werden müssen. Gegen die Richtigkeit des Risses von dem Theater bei Tibur auf der Villa Hadrians äussert Wieseler mehrere Bedenken; das kleinere ebenda befindliche Gebäude hält auch Wieseler für ein Odeion. Gleiche Ansicht hegt er von dem zu Otricoli befindlichen Gebäude, dessen Grundriss bald nach 1775, wo es ausgegraben wurde, angefertigt worden ist. Beide Gebäude sind also eigentlich aus der Reihe der Theater, die den Dramen dienten, ganz auszuschliessen. Gleiche Wichtigkeit mit dem zu Tusculum befindlichen Theater hat das 1836 zu Faleria ausgegrabene, das nach Einigen in die Zeiten des Augustus fällt, nach Andern 43 p. Ch. vollendet worden ist. Ueberdies ist dies Theater sehr sorgfältig erforscht worden; aber man darf doch nicht vergessen, dass es nur die Fundamente in der Erde sind, die übrig geblieben sind. Der Riss von dem Theater zu Eugubium rührt von Passionei aus dem Jahre 1729 her; ich schreibe ihm wegen der Uebereinstimmung, welche die Reste dieses Theaters mit den Regeln Vitruv's zeigen, Zuverlässigkeit zu; es ist dies aber ein rein subjectives Urtheil. Von der Skene in Faesulae weiss man gar nichts; die Pläne von dem Theater zu Ferentum stimmen ebenso wenig untereinander, wie die über das Theater veröffentlichten Berichte. So bleibt nur noch das Theater zu Pola übrig, mit dem uns der Plan Serlio's bekannt macht; da ihn dieser selber aber nicht für ganz genau ansieht, so ist auch auf ihn nicht fest zu bauen. — Dies sind die Italischen Theater sämmtlich, von denen einigermaassen beträchtlichere Ruinen sich erhalten haben. Wie die Skene über der Erde gestaltet war, weist keines von allen nach; für den Grundplan der Skene sind nur die Risse von den Theatern zu Tusculum und Faleria, ferner, wie ich meine, der vom Theater zu Eugubium von grösserem Werthe, und hiermit ist zu vergleichen, was man über die Theater des Marcellus und Pompejus weiss oder zu wissen meint. — Da aber die Verhältnisse in Italien von der Art sind, so ist es von hohem Werthe, dass sich in Aspendos ein Römisches Theater erhalten hat, das im Stande ist, das, was uns in Italien abgeht, zu ersetzen. Das Zeitalter des Vitruvius erreicht es zwar nicht; aber der überaus schöne und solide Bau, durch den es sich auszeichnet, und der auch bewirkt hat, dass es noch in seiner ganzen Höhe steht, bürgt dafür, dass es der früheren Kaiserzeit angehört. Die colossalen Dimensionen, die enorme Höhe, die ihm eigen ist, zeigen, dass es nicht einem flüchtigen Bedürfnisse dienen sollte, und so wird man denn wohl auch mit Fug voraussetzen dürfen, dass es nach einem wohl-erwogenen Plane angelegt worden ist. Es kann demnach nicht Wunder nehmen, wenn ich in der vorliegenden Frage ausser den wenigen schon genannten Italischen Gebäuden das Theater zu Aspendos für dasjenige ansehe, das am allermeisten von den ausseritalischen Gebäuden zu beachten ist. Ist der echt Römische Styl hier nicht zur Anwendung gekommen, in einem Gebäude, das in einem seit Jahrhunderten hellenisirten, später von den Römern mit vielen prächtigen Anlagen neu ausgestatteten

Orte liegt: so ist nicht zu erwarten, dass es an den ähnlichen Gebäuden in Spanien, Afrika, Gallien und Sardinien werde geschehen sein. Das einzige Gebäude, welches seiner Lage nach eine ebenso vortheilhafte Meinung für dasselbe veranlassen kann, ist das Theater des Herodes zu Athen. Aber abgesehen davon, dass es erst unter Hadrianus entstanden ist, ist es anerkannter Maassen ein Odeion, und seine Skene hat sich nur in den Fundamenten erhalten, und selbst diese sind nicht ganz ausgegraben worden. Die Erhaltung der gesammten Skene bis zum Dache aber verleiht dem Theater von Aspendos eine Wichtigkeit vor allen anderen Gebäuden dieser Art. Denn was uns sonst bei anderen alten Hellenischen oder Römischen Theatern gewährt wird, beschränkt sich von den über den Fundamenten erhabenen Theilen der Skene nur auf die zunächst über dem Unterbau liegenden.

#### 7) Ueber das Verhältniss der Orchestra in den erhaltenen Theatern.

Die Orchestra bildet einen Halbkreis, nicht mehr und nicht minder, während zugleich die Sitzreihen parallel dem Proskenion endigen in den Gebäuden zu Aspendos, im Odeion des Herodes zu Athen, im Theater und Odeion zu Katane, im Theater zu Herculaneum, Antium, in dem des Pompejus zu Rom, in dem zu Faleria, Eugubium, Faesulae, Alexandria (Suppl. A. 12, obgleich das Skenengebäude von der Orchestra getrennt zu sein scheint), in dem des Marcellus zu Rom, in dem zu Ferentum, Pola, Cuiculum, Calama, Tibur, Chersonesos, in den kleinen und grossen Theatern zu Hierapytna und Gortyna; ferner im Odeion zu Pompeji (2, 7 B.), in dem nur die Enden einiger in der Orchestra angebrachten Sitzreihen über den Halbkreis hinausgehen; endlich scheint die Orchestra auch in Juliobona (2, 18) noch einen vollen Halbkreis zu bilden. Ein meist sehr geringes Ueberschreiten des Halbkreises findet statt in Gabala (1, 15), Syrakusai (2, 1), vielleicht in Akrai (die Risse 2, 1 u. Suppl. A. 13 stimmen hierin nicht ganz überein; auf dem letzteren ist es ein reiner Halbkreis), in Segeste (2, 3), Tyndaris (2, 4), Tauromenion (2, 6), im Odeion zu Tibur (2, 13), im Theater zu Otricoli (2, 14), zu Arausio (2, 19), im Theater der bei Neapel befindlichen Villa (2, 9 A.) und, wie es scheint, auch in Saguntum (2, 20). Alle diese Abweichungen von der Regel sind so gering, dass sie nicht als Verstoss gegen die Regel gelten können. Eben so wenig, wenn die Orchestra nicht den vollen Halbkreis erreicht zu Tusculum (2, 11), Nora (Suppl. A. 18) und im Odeion bei Neapel (2, 9 B.). Eine wirkliche Ausnahme bildet, abgesehen von dem Theater zu Pompeji, das alsbald genannt werden soll, nur das Theater zu Alauna (Suppl. A. 19). Hier bildet die Orchestra fast einen Dreiviertel-Kreis, so dass die der Skene zugekehrten Enden derselben einander sehr angenähert sind. Aber dieses Gebäude ist, da ihm das Skenengebäude fehlt, und in der der Orchestra gegenüberliegenden Wand keine Thüren sich befinden, entschieden kein Theater. —

Hellenische Theater, in denen die Orchestra den Halbkreis der Regel des Vitruvius gemäss überschreitet, und zwar so dass die Verlängerung mit der Peripherie des Kreises zusammenfällt, zugleich auch die Sitzreihen,



indem sie sich erheben, mehr gegen die Skene vortreten, sind die zu Myra, Knidos, Jasos, Laodikeia, Hierapolis, Epidauros, Termessos, Kyaneai, Pinara, Kadyanda, Oinoanda; desgleichen in Side (1, 3) und Pessinus (1, 13. b), obgleich hier in Folge späteren Umbaues die Bühnengebäude nicht gänzlich von den Sitzreihen isolirt zu sein scheinen; endlich, wie es scheint, in Stratonikeia (1, 8), doch ist hier eine sichere Entscheidung nicht mehr möglich, weil die Enden der Sitzreihen nicht vollständig erhalten sind. Den Sicilischen Theatern werden ähnlich die zu Patara (1, 5), Miletos (1, 10), Rhodiopolis (Suppl. A. 2), Kibyra (ib. 9), indem sie den Halbkreis nur wenig überschreiten; aber immer bleibt es noch ein Ueberschreiten des Halbkreises; und indem die Sitzreihen in schrägen Linien gegen das Proskenion hin abschneiden, so sind sie von den Sicilischen Gebäuden noch bestimmt gesondert. Das Theater zu Mantinea (1, 21) dürfte auch diesen Gebäuden zuzuzählen sein; aber über die Form der Sitzreihen an ihren Enden ist es nicht mehr möglich sicher zu urtheilen. Auch das Theater zu Melos (1, 18) gehört noch hierher; doch ist das Vortreten der oberen Sitzreihen gegen die Skene nur gering. — Als Kreisbogen geht die Orchestra nirgends weiter über den Halbkreis hinaus, als in Delos (1, 17); sie umfasst hier drei Viertheile der Peripherie des Urkreises, so dass die Sitzreihen dem Proskenion gegenüber sich bedeutend einander nähern, während sie nach oben hin gegen die Skene auch zugleich vortreten. Da das Theater aber sehr zerstört ist, so ist wohl die Frage erlaubt, ob diese Abweichung auch sicher constatirt ist; zweckmässig ist sie bei einem eigentlichen Theater in keinem Falle, indem sie das Zuschauen bei einem Theile der Zuschauer behindert. Die nächste Analogie zu dem Gebäude bildet das sogenannte Theater zu Alauna. — Ein Ueberschreiten des Halbkreises findet auch statt zu Telmissos (1, 6), Aizanoi (1, 13) und zu Rhiniasa (1, 17); aber in diesen Gebäuden enden die Sitzreihen in einer dem Proskenion parallelen Linie.

Ueber den Halbkreis hinaus ist die Orchestra ferner verlängert in Anemurion (Suppl. A 1, 11), Bostra (1, 14), Littos und im Theater zu Pompeji; ferner im Odeion zu Kibyra (Suppl. A. 10) und in dem des Bühnengebäudes entbehrenden Theater beim Letotempel im Xanthosthale (Suppl. A, 4); aber die Verlängerung über den Halbkreis erfolgt in allen diesen Gebäuden nicht in Bogenform, sondern in geraden Linien, die senkrecht gegen die Skene gerichtet sind, und zwar bei den ersten vier in der Art, dass der Uebergang zu geraden Linien allmählich, in den letzten zwei in der Art, dass er plötzlich eintritt. Da von allen sechs Gebäuden aber kaum mehr als zwei den eigentlichen Theatern zuzuzählen sind, so ist ihre Beschaffenheit von geringem Einflusse auf die Frage, ob Vitruvius seine Regeln aus den in der Praxis befolgten Grundsätzen abstrahirt hat, oder ob er darin nur eigenes Ermessen aufstellt. Die Orchestra zu Pompeji hat übrigens auch darum, weil die höheren Sitzreihen gegen die Skene vortreten (freilich nicht bedeutend), der Griechischen Form beigezählt werden müssen; auch im Letotheater findet Gleiches statt. Wenn die Sitzreihen in den anderen vier Gebäuden parallel der Skene abbrechen, so kann dies höchstens bei dem Theater zu Littos auffallen; aber ihm fehlt auch die regelrechte Zahl von fünf Thüren; es hat deren nur drei.

Ueber die Theater zu Sparta (1, 19) und Sikyon (1, 24) lässt sich nichts mehr bestimmen. In dem Theater zu Megalopolis (1, 20) und noch mehr in dem zu Argos (1, 22) scheint sich die Orchestra gegen die Skene hin zu erweitern. Ob dem wirklich so gewesen ist, muss ich dahin gestellt sein lassen. — Das Vortreten der oberen Sitzreihen über die unteren nach der Skene hin ist am stärksten in den Theatern zu Side, Pessinus und Termessos, geringer in Patara und Hierapolis, noch geringer in den übrigen Gebäuden dieser Art.

#### 8) Ueber die Intervalle nach den Monumenten.

Hellenische Theater mit Intervallen befinden sich in Myra (1, 4), Patara (1, 5), Telmissos (1, 6), Knidos (1, 7), Jasos (1, 9), Miletos (1, 10), Termessos (Suppl. A. 1), Rhodiopolis (ib. 2), Kyaneai (ib. 3), Pinara (ib. 5), Kadyanda (ib. 6), Oinoanda (ib. 7), an dem Theater zu Kibyra (ib. 9). Wenn sie in Laodikeia fehlen (1, 11), so rührt dies daher, dass die Skene Römisch ist, und zwar nach Wieseler aus den Zeiten der späteren Römischen Kaiser. Dasselbe gilt für Hierapolis (1, 12); denn nach Fellows stammt der Bau aus einer Zeit, wo man mehr üppiger Pracht als reinem Geschmacke nachging. Auch in Aizanoi (1, 13), wo die aus rohen Steinen erbaute Skene auf späte Entstehung derselben hinweist, ist es unsicher, ob sich Intervalle befinden; bei Fellows Asia Min. p. 146 fehlen sie. Römisch ist die Skene offenbar auch in Pessinus, wo die Skene in der Mitte ausgeschweift, und das Theater eng mit einem Stadium verbunden ist. Dagegen scheint in dem kleinen Theater zu Melos (1, 18), obgleich dessen Skene Römisch ist, dieser Theil der Hellenischen Construction sich erhalten zu haben; denn die der Orchestra zunächst seiende Mauer scheint nicht der Skene, sondern dem Proskenion zuzugehören. Ueber Rhiniassa (1, 27), wo auch nicht einmal Thüren in der Skene vorhanden sind, stimmen die Nachrichten so wenig, dass ich nichts auszusagen wage. In Stratonikeia (1, 8) fehlt die Skene; es lässt sich also nichts ausmachen; und in Side, wo das ehemalige Skenengebäude einen grossen Haufen Steine bildet, ebenso wenig. Fehlen die Intervalle, wie der Grundriss vermuthen lässt, so hat auch hier ein späterer Umbau stattgefunden. Wenn das Gebäude zu Bostra (1, 14) keine Intervalle zeigt, wie sie denn fehlen, so ist dies für die vorliegende Frage ganz irrelevant; von dem in Anemurion (1, 11) befindlichen, dem sie ebenfalls abgehen, glaubt auch Wieseler, dass es aus Römischer Zeit her sei. Der Grundriss von dem Theater zu Littos mit Parodoi in Form von Porticus rührt von On. Belli her; nirgends ist etwas Aehnliches in einem echt Hellenischen Theater bemerkt worden. Im Theater zu Pompeji (2, 7 A), das trotz der Hellenisch geformten Orchestra eine durchaus Römische Einrichtung zeigt, fehlen natürlich auch die Intervalle; ebenso im Odeion zu Kibyra, das an der Stelle der Skene von einer einfachen Mauer umschlossen ist. Für das Hellenische Theater sind also die Intervalle, die Vitruvius in ihm voraussetzt, vollständig begründet. Fast ebenso fest fehlen sie dagegen dem Römischen Theater, wie dies die Grundrisse der Theater in Herculaneum (2, 8), Antium (2, 10), Tusculum (2, 11), Aspendos (1, 16), Nora (Suppl. A. 18), Cuiculum (ib. 20), Calama (ibid. 21), des Odeion des Herodes (1, 26) und des in Pompeji (2, 7 B)



und bei Tibur (2, 13) zeigen. Auch im Theater des Pompejus zu Rom (2, 12 B) scheint Canina sie nicht anzuerkennen; ebenso nicht der Grundriss vom Theater zu Saguntum (2, 20) und der alte Riss über das vormalig zu Eugubium (2, 16) aufgefundene Gebäude. Den Grundrissen zufolge sollen dagegen die Theater zu Faleria (2, 15), Otricoli (2, 14), Juliobona (2, 18) und zu Arausio (2, 19) allerdings Intervalle haben; aber der Grundriss des zuerst genannten Gebäudes gehört zu den unsicheren, die Richtigkeit des zweiten Grundrisses wird wegen der abweichenden Construction, die er giebt, stark angezweifelt; das dritte Gebäude ist so zerstört, dass es keine sicheren Daten im vorliegenden Falle liefert; das Theater zu Arausio aber, das zur Festung umgewandelt worden ist, kann vollends nichts beweisen. Auch in Pola (Suppl. A 17), Ferentum (ib. 16) und vielleicht im Theater des Marcellus in Rom (ib. 14) lassen die Grundrisse noch Intervalle vermuthen; aber alle drei Grundrisse werden von Serlio, Canina und Wieseler stark angezweifelt. Die Autorität des Vitruvius wird durch alle diese Beispiele nicht beeinträchtigt. Es bleiben, da ich die Gebäude zu Alauna (Suppl. A 19), die in der bei Neapel befindlichen Villa (2, 9 A u. B), die in Faesulae (2, 17), Balbura (Suppl. A 8) und Gabala (1, 15) befindlichen nicht berücksichtigen kann, fast nur noch die Sicilischen und die Kretischen Theater übrig. Die ersteren haben, wie bereits bemerkt, in der über den Halbkreis hinaus fortgeführten Orchestra eine starke Hinneigung zum Hellenischen Baustyl, wenn sie nicht gar Hellenischen Ursprungs sind. Man sollte daher Intervalle in ihnen erwarten, und sie finden sich wirklich, wie es scheint, in Segeste. In Syrakusai dagegen (2, 1) und Tauromenion (2, 6) fehlen sie; wie es in Katane, (2, 5. A. B), in Akrai (2, 2), wo das, was sich von der Skene erhalten hat, nur dem Proskenion anzugehören scheint, und in Tyndaris (2, 4) in der Beziehung aussah, erlaubt die weit vorgeschrittene Zerstörung der Bühnengebäude nicht mehr zu beurtheilen. Aber selbst dann, wenn Intervalle an allen diesen Gebäuden noch fehlten, so kann man sich darüber nicht wundern; denn fast überall sind die Skenengebäude daselbst, wie auch Wieseler zu 2, 1—4 bemerkt, von den Römern neu aufgebaut worden. Dabei sind denn auch die Intervalle weggefallen; nur in Segeste, wo der Neubau auf den Fundamenten der alten Skene stattgefunden zu haben scheint, ist die Marke des Griechischen Styles geblieben. — Die Grundrisse der Kretischen Theater zeigen alle, mit alleiniger Ausnahme des kleineren zu Hierapytna befindlichen, an der Stelle der Intervalle Porticus, und ebendasselbe findet auch in dem auf der Villa Hadrians bei Tibur befindlichen Theater (Suppl. 15) statt. Zieht man hierbei den schmuckreichen Styl, den alle diese Theater selbst an den Fundamenten in den Säulen, im Hervorspringen und Zurücktreten der Skenenmauern nicht verleugnen, in Betracht: so muss man diese Theater, wie es von dem zu Tibur feststeht, einer späteren Zeit zusprechen, d. h. einer Zeit, in der der Römische Styl dominirte, und Intervalle müssen ihnen also gefehlt haben. Man muss also annehmen, dass über den genannten Bogengängen die Sitzreihen bis zum Bühnengebäude sich fortsetzten. Wie aber Wieseler bei dem Tiburtinischen Gebäude Zweifel an der Richtigkeit von dessen Grundrisse laut werden lässt, so kann ich dergleichen bis jetzt auch noch nicht in Bezug auf die Kretischen los werden. Ausser den Pfeilerstellungen ver-

anlasst mich dazu auch die abnorme Entfernung, in der einzelne der Bühnengebäude von der Orchestra sich befinden.

9) Ueber die Entfernung des Proskenion von dem gegenüberliegenden Theile der Orchestra.

Die Entfernung des Proskenion von der gegenüberliegenden Seite der Orchestra beträgt nach Vitruvius im Römischen Theater 1 Radius; dies ist auch wirklich der Fall in den Theatern zu Akrai (Suppl. A. 13) und Tusculum; nur ganz wenig scheint diese Entfernung überschritten zu sein in Syrakusai, Alexandria, Pola, im Theater des Marcellus zu Rom und in den Theatern zu Katane und bei Neapel.  $1\frac{1}{6}$  Radius fern ist die Vorderseite des Proskenion in Gabala, Segeste, im Odeion des Herodes und in dem bei Tibur befindlichen, in dem Theater zu Otricoli und Eugubium,  $1\frac{1}{5}$  zu Nora,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  zu Tauromenion, Herculaneum, vielleicht auch zu Cuiculum und Calama,  $1\frac{1}{3}$  zu Aspendos. Eine Entfernung von  $1\frac{5}{7}$  Radius, wie sie Vitruvius für das Hellenische Theater festsetzt, findet sich nur zu Antium, Arausio, im Theater des Pompejus zu Rom, d. h. in Grundrissen, die nicht unverdächtig sind, und, wie es scheint, zu Saguntum. — Die Entfernung von  $1\frac{5}{7}$  Radius, welche Vitruvius für das Hellenische Theater festsetzt, findet sich in den Theatern zu Side, Myra und Pompeji; auch in Telmissos beträgt sie noch über  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Radius;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Radius in Patara und Pessinus; vielleicht in Termessos (aber hier fehlen Seitenflügel), Bostra; etwa ebenso viel in Oinoanda; über Aizanoi wage ich keine Bestimmung. Alle diese Entfernungen nähern sich dem Gesetze des Vitruvius noch sehr. Wenn dagegen die Entfernung in Laodikeia kaum  $1\frac{1}{4}$  Radius, in Hierapolis wenig über 1 Radius und in Rhiniassa auch nicht über  $1\frac{1}{6}$  Radius betragen sollte (Bestimmungen, die ich übrigens für keineswegs sicher ausgeben kann): so leidet die Autorität des Vitruvius dadurch nicht im Geringsten; denn in den zwei erstgenannten Orten sind die Bühnen Römischen Ursprungs, das letztgenannte Gebäude hingegen ist kein eigentliches Theater.

10) Ueber die Entfernung des Skenengebäudes von dem Kreismittelpunkte nach den Monumenten.

Nur in Gabala und Pola, auch beim Theater in der Neapolitanischen Villa, wie es scheint, beträgt die Entfernung der *scenae frons* vom Kreismittelpunkte einen halben Radius; etwas bedeutender ist sie im Theater des Marcellus zu Rom und zu Eugubium; sie erreicht bereits  $\frac{2}{3}$  des Radius in Aspendos, ist ungefähr gleich gross in Tauromenion, Arausio, Cuiculum, vielleicht auch zu Nora und im grossen Theater zu Hierapytna. Im Odeion des Herodes zu Athen beträgt sie schon  $\frac{5}{6}$ , ist wenig unter 1 Radius zu Tusculum, einen vollen Radius in Segeste, Herculaneum, Antium, im Odeion zu Tibur, im kleinen Theater zu Hierapytna, im Theater zu Chersonesos, vielleicht auch in Saguntum und im Theater des Pompejus zu Rom; ist ein Radius oder mehr zu Otricoli, Ferentum, Calama, etwa  $1\frac{1}{5}$  Radius im Odeion zu Pompeji,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  im kleinen und grossen Theater zu Gortyna, und ebenso gross oder noch grösser im Theater zu Pompeji.

Die Entfernung stimmt also mit Vitruvius' Ansatz so gut wie gar nicht, namentlich nicht in den Gebäuden, deren Reste wegen des Grades ihrer Erhaltung, wegen der Genauigkeit der von ihnen existirenden Grundrisse die meiste Beachtung verdienen. Diese Abweichungen finden sich endlich in fast allen Theilen des Römischen Reiches. Etwas vortheilhafter für Vitruvius sieht es in den Hellenischen Theatern aus; aber selbst hier fehlt es nicht an Abweichungen. So ist namentlich die von Vitruvius festgesetzte Entfernung nicht erreicht in Laodikeia, Hierapolis, wo sie nur  $\frac{1}{2}$  Radius beträgt; unter ein Radius ist sie in Aizanoi, Melos, Rhodiopolis, Pinara, im Theater zu Kibyra und zu Kyaneai; selbst in Knidos, Jasos, echt Hellenischen und zugleich alten Städten, ferner in Bostra, Rhiniassa und im Odeion zu Kibyra beträgt sie nur  $\frac{3}{4}$ , ist kaum ein Radius in Kadyanda und Oinoanda, und hat das normale Maass von ein Radius erst in Side, Myra, Patara, Telmissos, Pessinus und Littos. Auf dieser Stufe hält sie sich aber nicht; in Anemurion beträgt sie etwas über ein Radius, ebenso auch wohl in Termessos;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bis  $1\frac{2}{3}$  gar in Balbura.

#### 11) Die Länge der Skene nach den Monumenten.

Ueber vier Radian ist die Römische Bühne lang in Calama ( $4\frac{1}{2}$ ) und in Otricoli  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , volle vier Radian nur im Odeion zu Tibur und im Theater des Marcellus;  $3\frac{2}{3}$  in Aspendos, Faleria, Eugubium und Littos,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  im Odeion zu Pompeji (vier bei Wieseler), Tusculum und im grossen Theater zu Hierapytna. Ganz nahe dem Hellenischen Maasse, etwas über drei Radian, kommen das Odeion des Herodes, das Theater zu Herculaneum, Chersonesos, Pola und nach dem Risse bei Wieseler auch das zu Pompeji (auf dem Risse bei Overbeck drei); nicht mehr drei Radian voll beträgt die Länge in Rhiniassa, Arausio, im kleineren und grösseren Theater zu Gortyna und in dem kleineren zu Hierapytna; sie ist  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in Gabala, Antium, Nora,  $2\frac{2}{5}$  im Theater bei Tibur,  $2\frac{1}{3}$  zu Tauromenion, und nur zwei Radian in Ferentum und Cuiculum;  $1\frac{1}{4}$  gar in Bostra. — Die Länge der Hellenischen Skene anderseits soll drei Radian nur ganz wenig übersteigen; dennoch ist sie in Rhodiopolis etwas über vier Radian (ob vier Radian in Anemurion, ist sehr unsicher wegen der absonderlichen Form des Koilon),  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in Balbura und im Theater zu Kibyra; normal ist sie in Patara, Jasos, Termessos, Side, Laodikeia, und fast normal (gegen drei Rad.) in Myra, Knidos, Melos; auch in Telmissos und (wiewohl nicht sicher, weil der flache Bogen, den das Koilon bildet, das Messen unsicher macht) im Odeion zu Kibyra.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Radian beträgt sie in Hierapolis, Aizanoi und Segeste,  $2\frac{1}{3}$  in Pessinus,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in Oinoanda, zwei in Pinara, falls die Messung, die angewendet worden, die richtige ist, und in Kadyanda, wenn ich die Bühne durch die vortretenden Mauerpfeiler begrenzt sein lasse.

#### 12) Die Breite der Skene in den erhaltenen Theatern.

Die Breite der Skene, welche Vitruvius für das Hellenische Theater mit  $\frac{2}{7}$  Radius angiebt, findet sich in Side und Myra, im Ganzen auch in Telmissos und Termessos ( $\frac{2}{5}$  Radius, und in Termessos wie es scheint  $\frac{1}{3}$  Radius; am letzten Orte ist die Bestimmung freilich keineswegs sicher)

vor; etwas beträchtlicher (etwas unter  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rad.) ist sie in Patara. Ausserdem ist sie in Rhiniassa etwas unter 1 und in Pessinus etwas unter  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rad.; in Bostra  $\frac{1}{5}$  bis  $\frac{1}{6}$  Radius; indess dies ist von wenig Belang. Wie gross sie an anderen Hellenischen Gebäuden sein mag, ist mir nicht klar geworden; es sind dies aber sämtlich Gebäude, die, mit Ausnahme der Odeien von Knidos und Melos, von fast gar keiner Wichtigkeit im vorliegenden Falle sind. — Was die Römischen Theater anlangt, so ist die Skenenbreite normal im Sinne des Vitruvius  $\frac{1}{2}$  Radius in Aspendos, in Antium, auch, wie es scheint, im Theater des Pompejus und in Saguntum, kaum  $\frac{1}{2}$  in Pola,  $\frac{1}{2}$  auch im kleineren Theater zu Hierapytna, wenn man von der mehr entlegenen Hauptthür die Messung beginnt (von der übrigen Skenenmauer aus  $\frac{1}{4}$  Radius). Unter das von Vitruvius angegebene Maass scheint sie nur in Cuiculum ( $\frac{2}{7}$  Rad.) und vielleicht in Arausio und Gabala ( $\frac{1}{3}$  Radius, doch bin ich unsicher, was ich in beiden Grundrissen als vordere Grenze des Proskenion zu fassen habe) zu sinken; häufiger ist die Breite grösser, und das kann bei der in allen Dimensionen vergrösserten Römischen Bühne nicht Wunder nehmen. Ueberdies ist der Ueberschuss meist nicht gross. In Tauromenion beträgt nämlich die Breite  $\frac{3}{5}$ , im Theater des Marcellus, falls ich Substructionen des Proskenion anzunehmen berechtigt bin, und vielleicht in Nora  $\frac{2}{3}$ , in Eugubium und im Odeion des Herodes, ferner in Herculanium und auch, wie es scheint, in Faleria und in Calama  $\frac{3}{4}$  Radius; erst im Odeion bei Tibur und in Otricoli, wie es scheint, ist die Skene  $\frac{4}{5}$  Radius breit; in Segeste  $\frac{5}{6}$ , fast 1 Radius scheint sie in Tusculum zu erreichen, im Odeion von Pompeji  $\frac{2}{3}$  (so in dem Plane, den Overbeck mittheilt) und  $\frac{4}{5}$  oder 1 Radius in dem Theater zu Pompeji ( $\frac{4}{5}$  nach dem Plane bei Overbeck), was um so weniger auffallen kann, wenn man sich erinnert, dass hier eine Römische Skene wahrscheinlich auf Hellenischen Fundamenten liegt. Von den übrigen Sicilischen und Kretischen Theatern lässt sich die Breite der Skene nicht angeben.

### 13) Die Zahl der Thüren in den erhaltenen Theatern.

Fünf Thüren haben die Hellenischen Theater zu Myra, Patara, Telmissos, Termessos, Hierapolis, Aizanoi und Jasos, drei die Römische Skene zu Laodikeia, das Odeion zu Pinara und zu Kyaneai und das zu Anemurion befindliche Gebäude; vier hat das Theater, sechs das Odeion zu Kibyra, in anderen Orten lässt sich die Zahl der Thüren theils nicht mehr bestimmen, so namentlich bis jetzt nicht in Side, theils ist sie geringer, so in Knidos eine Thür. In Kreta hat das kleinere Theater zu Hierapytna fünf Thüren, eben so viele das Odeion zu Pompeji im südlichen Italien; ausserdem die echt Römischen Bühnen zu Aspendos, Eugubium, Tusculum und, wie es scheint, selbst das Theater zu Pola eine gleiche Zahl. Wie viele das Theater des Marcellus hatte, ist nicht ersichtlich; dem Theater des Pompejus theilt Canina drei zu. Das Theater zu Faleria ist mit drei Thüren versehen, mit ebenso vielen das Odeion des Herodes, ferner das Theater zu Pompeji, Herculanium, Antium, die zwei Theater in Tibur, das zu Ferentum, Arausio, Nora, Cuiculum, Calama, Tauromenion, Littos und die grossen Theater zu Hierapytna und Gortyna. Bei den übrigen Sicilischen Theatern ist die Zahl der Thüren nicht mehr ersichtlich. Warum ich dem Theater zu

Tusculum fünf Thüren statt drei gegeben habe, bedarf für den, welcher den Grundriss mit Aufmerksamkeit betrachtet, kaum einer Erinnerung. Die Stellen, wo die zwei Nebenthüren zu den Seiten der Mittelthür gelegen haben, sind durch die weitere Stellung der sie einfassenden Pfeiler so deutlich bezeichnet, dass dies füglich nicht leicht übersehen werden kann. Hat man dem Theater dennoch nur drei Thüren gegeben, so ist dies ohne Zweifel auf Anlass der missverstandenen Worte Vitruv's, die man auf drei Thüren deutete, geschehen; denn in den Fundamenten selbst ist natürlich die Stelle, wo eine Thür im Unterstocke stehen soll, nicht bemerkbar.

#### 14) Die Richtung der Skene in den Monumenten.

Die Skene bildet eine gerade Linie, wie Vitruvius es verlangt, höchst wahrscheinlich in Side, sodann in Myra, Patara, Telmissos, Termessos, Hierapolis, Melos, Rhodiopolis, Knidos, Jasos, Bostra, im Odeion zu Kibyra, in Oinoanda, Balbura und Anemurion d. h. namentlich in allen Hellenischen Bühnengebäuden. Eine halbrunde Nische gewahrt man in der Mitte der Skene in Laodikeia und nebst Pfeilern in Aizanoi; eckig in der Mitte vortretend erscheint sie im Theater zu Kibyra, weit in der Mitte zurücktretend in Rhiniassa, mit einer grossen Nische in der Mitte in Pessinus, mit zwei vortretenden Pfeilern in Kadyanda, nach den Seiten hin zurücktretend in Pinara. Die Abweichung von der geraden Linie in Pinara ist die auffallendste, nicht nur darum, weil die Weise, in der es geschieht, nirgends wieder beobachtet wird, sondern weil es an einem verhältnissmässig alten, von grosser Einfachheit zeugenden Gebäude stattfindet. Das äusserst gebirgige und felsige Terrain, welches auch die Skene der Orchestra mehr als sonst üblich zu nähern zwang, mag wohl die Anomalie veranlasst haben. Alle älteren Römischen Theater, so namentlich die zu Aspendos, Faleria, Tusculum, Antium, auch die zu Pola, Saguntum wie das Odeion des Herodes, ferner die Theater zu Segeste, Tauromenion und das Odeion zu Pompeji haben bei der Skene auch die gerade Linie eingehalten. Um so mehr fällt es auf, dass den Grundrissen von den Theatern des Pompejus (nach Canina) und des Marcellus zufolge in diesen Gebäuden die Vitruvische Regel nicht beobachtet ist. Ich möchte eher die Richtigkeit der Grundrisse als die der Vitruvischen Regel anzweifeln. Unsicherheit findet ferner statt in Bezug auf das Odeion bei Tibur; während der Grundriss II. 13 bei Wieseler eine gerade Linie bildet, zeigt der andere (Suppl. A. 15) in der Mitte der Skene eine grosse Nische, in der die Mittelthür sich befindet. Dieselbe Form erscheint am Theater zu Herculaneum, ferner auch am Theater zu Pompeji; im letzteren Gebäude kommt hinzu, dass die zwei Seitenthüren in einem eckig zurücktretenden Theile der Skenenwand liegen. Die letztere Bildungsweise ist noch weit stärker am Theater zu Cuiculum ausgeprägt. Drei Nischen an der Skenenfront zeigt das Theater zu Calama, eine flache fast die ganze Skenenlänge einnehmende Nische das Theater (Odeion) zu Otricoli, einen ganz flachen Kreisbogen um die Mittelthür her dagegen das Theater zu Eugubium; in Arausio gesellen sich zu diesem flachen Bogen mehrere eckig vortretende Bühnentheile. In Nora tritt die Skene um die breite mittlere Thür eckig weit zurück; das eckige Vorspringen einzelner Skenentheile über die in einer Linie liegenden Thü-

ren ist nirgends weiter getrieben, als in Ferentum. Ueber die fast ganz zerstörten Skenen der Sicilischen Theater ist nichts anzugeben; Tauromenion und Segeste sind bereits genannt. Von den Kretischen Theatern besitzt kein einziges eine durchaus gerade Skene; in Littos befinden sich um die Mittelthür weite flach eingehende Nischen, im grösseren Theater zu Gortyna vier kleine Nischen an der Skenenwand, sechs kleine Nischen zu beiden Seiten der Mittelthür zu Chersonesos. Das kleinere Theater zu Gortyna zeigt um die Mittelthür her eine weite flach eingehende Nische, in der sich zwei kleinere Nischen befinden, ausserdem noch zwei andere ganz kleine Nischen. Im kleineren Theater zu Hierapytna tritt der um die Mittelthür befindliche Theil der Skene eckig zurück; dasselbe ist im erhöhten Maasse auch in dem grösseren daselbst befindlichen Theater der Fall; aber ausser vier Nischen an der übrigen Front der Skene befinden sich zwei kleine auch in dem erst genannten Theile an den Seiten.

#### 15) Ueber die Seitenflügel der Skene nach den Monumenten.

Seitenflügel der Skene befinden sich an den Theatern zu Myra, Patara, Termessos, Bostra, Pessinus und sehr grosse in Balbura. Wie die Skene in Side in der Beziehung beschaffen gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht angeben; in den übrigen Hellenischen Gebäuden fehlen die Flügel, wie namentlich in den Odeien zu Pinara, Knidos, ferner in mehreren von den Römern herrührenden Skenen, so in Laodikeia, Melos, Aizanoi; anderwärts sind sie so wenig vor die Skene vortretend, dass sie kaum noch den Namen Flügel verdienen, so in Hierapolis, Kadyanda, Oinoanda. Wenn sie in Rhodiopolis und Anemurion fehlen, so kann dies nicht im Geringsten auffallen; dass sie aber in Jasos und im Theater zu Kibyra, und vor allem dass sie in dem Theater zu Telmissos fehlen, ist höchst auffällig. Denn abgesehen von den Kretischen Theatern und dem darin ähnlich gebildeten Theater bei Tibur, in denen die Pfeilerporticus die Flügel der Skene ausschliessen, und von den Theatern in Grossgriechenland zu Herculaneum und Pompeji, wo sie ebenfalls so gut wie ganz fehlen, ist fast kein Römisches Theater ohne Seitenflügel der Skene. Sie finden sich in Aspendos, am Odeion des Herodes, in Antium, Tusculum; wie es scheint, auch am Theater des Pompejus, im Odeion bei Tibur, im Theater zu Otricoli, Faleria, Eugubium, Arausio, Nora, Cuiculum, Calama; nur wechseln die Flügel sehr in Bezug auf ihre Länge. Bei den Sicilischen Theatern und fast allen nicht genannten Römischen Skenen sind die Bühnen so zerstört, dass es nicht mehr angeht, eine genaue Auskunft hierüber zu geben; aber selbst in Tauromenion sind sie da.

#### 16) Ueber die Zahl und Lage der Thüren nach Pollux.

Pollux, 4, 124 *τριῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν θυρῶν ἡ μέση.... ἡ δὲ δεξιὰ.... ἡ δὲ ἀριστερά.....* §. 126 *παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τῶν δύο θυρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν μέσην ἄλλαι δύο εἶεν ἅν, μία ἐκατέρωθεν, πρὸς ἃς αἱ περὶ λατοὶ συμπεπνήγασιν.* Pollux unterscheidet hier die drei Mittelthüren der Skene von zwei anderen ihnen zur Seite liegenden. Er theilt also der Skene fünf Thüren zu; denn auf die Parodoi geht er erst später ein. Dass auch die



zwei Seitenthüren auf der Bühne liegen, dass es ferner dieselben sind, die bei Vitruvius in Verbindung mit den Periakten genannt werden, ist leicht ersichtlich. Aber die Lage der Thüren mit Genauigkeit aus Pollux bestimmen zu wollen, wäre eitle Mühe. In Bezug auf die drei ersten Thüren ist freilich deutlich gesagt, dass sie neben einander, also an der Skenenfront liegen, aber in welcher Entfernung von einander, ist nicht bemerklich gemacht. In Bezug auf die zwei letzten Thüren ist nur gesagt, dass sie der Skene zugehören; ob sie aber an der Skenenfront oder an den Seitenflügeln derselben angebracht waren, lässt sich aus παρ' ἐκάτερα nicht ersehen. — Dass Pollux anfänglich nur drei Thüren auf der Bühne nennt, hängt, wie mir scheint, sicher damit zusammen, dass er diese Zahl allein als die feste Norm ansieht. Denn darauf führt das in Bezug auf die zwei letzten Thüren gebrauchte εἰς ἄν. Da es an dieser Stelle nicht Ausdruck der Urbanität sein, nicht zweifelhaftes Wissen und Unentschiedenheit bezeichnen kann: so müssen die Worte auf ein eventuelles Vorkommen der zwei letzten Thüren hinweisen, und es müssen dem Pollux hierbei die vielen Römischen Theater, die nur drei Skenenthüren haben, in Gedanken vorge-schwebt haben. — Wie sehr übrigens die Alterthumsforscher in Bezug auf Zahl und Lage der an der Skene befindlichen Thüren von einander ab-weichen, ist bekannt. Stieglitz (Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Bauk. I, p. 179) giebt der Skenenfront drei Thüren. Gleicher Ansicht scheint Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 120) zu sein; ob er die zwei anderen, an denen die Periakten sollen befestigt gewesen sein (l. l. p. 125), auch dahin versetzt, ist mir nicht klar geworden. Für drei Thüren in der Skenenfront und zwei in den Paraskenien entscheiden sich Genelli (Theat. z. Ath. p. 3), Strack (altgriech. Th. p. 4) und Rothmann (Theatergeb. zu Athen. Torgau 1852). Schneider kennt in der Bühnenwand nur eine Thür; die zwei nächsten weist er bereits den Seitenflügeln zu (att. Theaterwesen p. 10 und Note 106). Welche Ansicht Sommerbrodt hegt, ist mir nicht klar geworden. Er sagt (*de Aeschyli rescen.* P. I. p. 19): *Pollux tres fuisse tradit in scena portas. Quod tantum abest ut omnibus Aeschyli fabulis confirmetur (taceo de reliquis poetis), ut una potissimum tragoedia* (nämlich durch den Prometheus) *plane refellatur.* Entweder redet Sommerbrodt hier von den in den Decorationen befindlichen Thüren, und dann hat er freilich Recht; aber er spricht davon an ungehörigem Orte, und er erklärt sich darüber, wie viele bleibende Thüren die feste Bühnenwand gehabt hat, gar nicht; oder er spricht von der festen Skene, und dann begreift man nicht, wie das Fehlen der Thüren z. B. im Prometheus das widerlegen soll, was Pollux sagt. Natürlich konnten nicht in jedem Drama drei Thüren gebraucht werden oder erforderlich sein, mitunter zeigte die Scenerie gar kein Gebäude. Aber die feste Bühnenwand wurde in dem Falle doch nicht geändert. Hier blieb die Zahl der Thüren, die ihr gegeben worden war, und diese Zahl scheint mir Pollux der Wahrheit gemäss anzugeben; sichtbar aber wurden den Zuschauern nur diejenigen, welche für die Handlung nöthig waren; die anderen wurden durch Decorationen dem Anblicke entzogen. — Dass übrigens auch in den Seitenflügeln der Skene hin und wieder Thüren sich befinden, ist nicht zu bezweifeln; nur für eine Regel möchte ich deren Vorkommen nicht ansehen. Sie werden ebensowohl bei Bühnen, die drei Thüren haben, als bei solchen, die fünf haben, angetroffen, und sie können also

nicht als die Seitenthüren gelten, welche Vitruvius und Pollux als solche nennen. Im Theater zu Gabala, wo die Skene drei Thüren zeigt, sind die an den Ecken der Skenenfront nach den Seiten hin gehenden Thüren vielleicht nicht ganz sicher, da die Reconstruction des Bühnengebäudes meist auf Conjectur beruht. Aber in Aspendos, wo die Skene fünf Thüren hat, befindet sich in dem einen Seitenflügel sicher noch eine Thür; sie führt in ein im Uebrigen ganz geschlossenes Gemach, liegt aber zugleich so tief, dass sie in keinem Fall von den Schauspielern benutzt werden konnte, die das Proskenion auf einem der gewöhnlichen Wege zu betreten hatten. In Tauromenion zeigt die Skenenfront drei Thüren; aber ausserdem hat jeder Flügel der Skene noch eine grosse gewölbte Thür, gerade so wie es wohl auch in dem Theater zu Myra der Fall sein dürfte. Im Theater und Odeion zu Pompeji, deren jenes drei, dieses fünf Thüren hat, sieht man die in den Paraskenien befindlichen Oeffnungen freilich für Fenster an (Pompeji von Overbeck p. 129 u. 134); und ist dem so, so findet wohl auch in dem Theater zu Herculaneum, dessen Skene drei Thüren hat, vielleicht auch zu Tusculum Gleiches statt; aber in den Theatern zu Arausio, Nora, Cuiculum und Calama, deren Skenen drei Thüren haben, findet sich jedenfalls auch von der Seite her ein Zugang zur Skene.

17) Welche Schwierigkeiten man sich schafft, wenn man nicht auf die von der Decoration auf die Thüren der Skene stattgehabte Uebertragung Rücksicht nimmt, davon kann man sich überzeugen, wenn man die mancherlei Bedenken liest, welche sich z. B. Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 121 ff.) in der Beziehung macht. Dennoch lässt sich nicht zweifeln, dass Pollux das, was allein der Decoration vor den Skenenthüren zukommt, auf die hinter den Decorationen befindlichen Thüren überträgt. §. 125 sagt er ausdrücklich, dass das, was er so eben in Bezug auf einen Theil der Bühnenfront ausgesprochen, nicht dieser, sondern dem παραπέτασμα, der vor ihr befindlichen Decoration zukomme. Ausserdem geht es daraus hervor, dass er jeder Thür nicht nur eine Bedeutung zutheilt, sondern mehrere. Das ist aber nur dann möglich, wenn man die der jedesmaligen Decoration zukommende Bedeutung auf die hinter ihr liegende Thür überträgt.

#### 18) Ueber die Bedeutung der Thüren.

Von der Mittelthür (ἡ μέση) sagt Pollux §. 124, sie sei βασιλειον ἢ σπῆλαιον ἢ οἶκος ἐνδοξος ἢ πᾶν τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν τοῦ δράματος. Als βασιλειον und οἶκος ἐνδοξος ist sie mithin als das charakterisirt, was Vitruvius durch *valvae regiae* bezeichnet. Ausserdem aber macht er bemerklich, dass sie (nämlich eventuell, wenn die Haupthandlung da vor sich ging,) eine Höhle sei, vielleicht im Hinblick auf den Philoktetes des Sophokles. Endlich aber setzt er hinzu, sie sei πᾶν τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν τοῦ δράματος. Die Erklärung dieser Worte ist streitig. Schneider (att. Theater. Note 106) erklärt sie durch: „Alles, was die vornehmste Rolle hat, alle hohe Personen vorstellende Schauspieler,“ und G. Hermann (*opusc.* VI. p. II. pg. 173) ist derselben Ansicht. Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 124) dagegen hält die Beziehung auf den Protagonisten fest, und sagt: „Pollux spricht hier....



nur von den drei bekannten Schauspielern des alten Dramas; aber er ist unschuldig an der Schlussfolge, die man aus seinen Worten gezogen hat. Er sagt nur, dass jene drei Thüren in der Hinterwand ihren Aufenthaltsort (*καταώγιον*) bezeichneten, keineswegs dass sie ihr Auftreten bedingten. Mit anderen Worten: hinter jenen drei Thüren lagen die Ankleidezimmer für die drei Schauspieler.“ Sommerbrodt endlich (*de Aesch. re scen.* I. p. 20) bezieht die fraglichen Worte ebenfalls auf den Protagonisten; weil er aber zugleich einsieht, dass der Protagonist keineswegs jedesmal dieser Thür sich bedienen könne: so glaubt er, dass Pollux hier Falsches berichte. Aber es wäre in der That sehr wunderbar, wenn Pollux hier irrte, da er, wie sich auch später noch gelegentlich zeigen wird, in Bezug auf das Theater sehr gut unterrichtet ist; und es wäre um so wunderbarer, wenn es hier der Fall wäre, da es wahrlich keiner Gelehrsamkeit und nur geringer Aufmerksamkeit bedurfte, um wahrzunehmen, wie oft Könige und Heroen in den Trauerspielen sich der Mittelthür nicht bedienen können, sondern durch andere auf- und abtreten, wie auch Geppert l. l. p. 124 zugesteht. Das Resultat, zu dem Geppert gelangt, scheint mir ebenfalls höchst bedenklich: drei Ankleidezimmer für drei Schauspieler scheinen mir ein Luxus zu sein, und zwar ein um so grösserer, da man nicht einsieht, was ihn veranlassen konnte; denn es waren nur Männer, nicht Frauen, die als Schauspieler auftraten und sich der Zimmer bedienen konnten. Aber ich sehe auch nicht ein, was den Pollux hätte veranlassen können, da, wo er von der Bedeutung der Thüren in der Skene spricht, auf die hinter der Skenenwand befindlichen Räume einzugehen. Ich glaube darum, dass die Ansicht Schneider's und Hermann's die allein richtige ist. Nicht von den drei Schauspielern und deren Range spricht Pollux, sondern von der Bestimmung, welche den einzelnen Thüren zukommt; er bestimmt, wie deutlich aus dem hervorgeht, was er von der dritten Thür sagt: *εὐτελέστατον ἔχει πρόσωπον*, ihren Rang in Rücksicht auf den Ort der Handlung, und er bedient sich demgemäss des Neutrums *τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν* im Gegensatze gegen andere Sachen. Wie aber die vorhergehenden Ausdrücke nur Sachen, keine Personen, bezeichneten, so kann auch der letzte gleichfalls nur auf einen sachlichen Begriff gehen. Pollux versteht darunter alles das, was in Bezug auf Oertlichkeit die erste Rolle im Drama spielt; die erste Rolle spielt aber der Ort, wo die Handlung vor sich geht; er meint also den Hauptschauplatz des Dramas. Etwas Auffälliges finde ich bei dieser Deutung in dem Ausdrücke nicht, wie es Sommerbrodt findet, indem er (l. l. p. 20) sagt: *talis sermonis audacia nimium quantum abhorrere videtur ab eximia ejus (Pollucis) tenuitate atque jejunitate*. Denn da Pollux von dem bei der Mittelthür liegenden Hauptschauplatze der Handlung zu reden hat, so lag ihm wohl der vom Theater selbst hergenommene Ausdruck überaus nahe, und es bedurfte keiner Begeisterung, um auf ihn zu fallen. Andererseits ist ein Beweis dafür, dass das Wort *πρωταγωνιστοῦν* die Bedeutung haben könne, welche Schneider und Hermann ihm zutheilen (Geppert ist es, der l. l. p. 124 einen derartigen Beweis verlangt), sicher nicht erforderlich. Denn die Bedeutung, die ihm beigelegt wird, beruht lediglich auf dem Unterschiede, der zwischen Nomen (*πρωταγωνιστής*) und Participium überhaupt besteht; es bedarf also keiner besonderen Nachweisung, dass das, was ganze Wortclassen von

einander scheidet, auch hier seine Anwendung findet. Der Beweis aber lässt sich hier um desto weniger fordern, weil das Verbum, um welches es sich hier handelt, wie die damit verwandten, nur ganz vereinzelt vorkommt. — In Bezug auf die zwei der Mittelthür zunächst liegenden Thüren hatte Vitruvius nur bemerkt, sie seien die *hospitalia*. Verstehen wir darunter überhaupt das, was dem Herrscherhause oder der Mittelskne zunächst liegen musste: so befindet sich Pollux mit ihm vollständig in Uebereinstimmung. Letzterer sagt von der rechten, sie sei τοῦ δευτεραγωνιστοῦντος καταγώγιον. Nach dem, was in Bezug auf den unmittelbar vorher gebrauchten Ausdruck πᾶν τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν τοῦ δράματος gesagt worden ist, lässt sich nicht zweifeln, dass δευτεραγωνιστῶν hier in derselben Beziehung von der Person im Drama zu verstehen ist, in der τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν auf eine Sache, auf die Oertlichkeit, bezogen worden war. Hiess letzteres: der dem Range nach erste Ort des Dramas, so ist ὁ δευτεραγωνιστῶν die dem Range nach zweite Person des Dramas, die durch diese Thür zu ihrer Wohnung, wie sie im Drama für sie erforderlich war, gelangte. Es bedarf wohl kaum der Erinnerung, dass Pollux hierbei nur an die Personen denkt, die der Handlung des Drama zufolge eine Wohnung und zwar eine vom Haupthelden des Stückes abgesonderte am Orte des Schauplatzes haben mussten. Denn dass in dem Palast des Herrschers auch dessen Familie wohnte, und dass dem Haupthelden des Stückes im Rang nahe stehende Personen erscheinen konnten, die gar keiner Wohnung am Orte der Handlung bedurften, und demnach auch nicht angewiesen erhielten, versteht sich von selbst. — Weiter sagt Pollux: ἡ δὲ ἀριστερά, ἢ τὸ εὐτελέστατον ἔχει πρόσωπον, ἢ ἱερὸν ἐξηρημωμένον ἢ ἄοικός ἐστιν. In diesen Worten ist ἢ zwar nur Conjectur von Buttmann (bei Rode's Uebers. des Vit. I. p. 277); aber die Aenderung aus ἢ ist schwerlich zu entbehren, weil εὐτελέστατον πρόσωπον keinen Gegensatz gegen die folgenden mit ἢ eingeführten Prädicate bildet. — Von der linken Thür sagt demnach Pollux im Allgemeinen, sie habe den niedrigsten Charakter oder Rang unter den am Orte der Handlung befindlichen Thüren; und wie er dies verstanden wissen will, wird aus dem Zusatze deutlich, sie bedeute ein verödetes, verfallenes Heiligthum (falls der Text nicht corrupt ist), oder deute auf eine Gegend, in der Gebäude ganz fehlen. Da im letzteren Falle an der Zahl der Thüren im festen Bühnengebäude nichts geändert werden konnte: so versteht es sich von selbst, dass alsdann keine Thür in der vor ihr befindlichen Decoration angedeutet wurde. Damit erledigen sich denn auch die Vorwürfe, die Geppert (l. l. p. 121) dem Pollux macht: „für die Thür zur Rechten giebt er keine nähere scenische Bezeichnung,“ und: „was dagegen der leere Tempel und die unbebaute Stelle zu besagen haben, das würde nur Pollux erklären können.“ Denn der erste beruht auf einer falschen Deutung der Worte des Pollux; den Grund des zweiten ersieht man aus der im Philoktetes und Prometheus nöthigen Scenerie. Eben so gut wie hier Gebäude ganz fehlen, konnte die Handlung in anderen Dramen es nöthig machen, dass an dem beregten Orte ein verlassener Tempel seine Stelle finde. — Nachdem Pollux im Allgemeinen den Rang und die Bedeutung der drei Mittelthüren angegeben hat, führt er, sicher nur beispielsweise, an, was diese Thüren auch ausserdem in einzelnen Dramen und Gattungen von Dramen bedeutet ha-

ben, indem er §. 125 sagt: ἐν δὲ τραγωδίᾳ ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ θύρα ξενῶν ἐστίν, εἰρκτὴ δὲ ἡ λαιὰ· τὸ δὲ κλίσσιον ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παράκειται παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν παραπετάσματι δηλούμενον· καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν σταθμὸς ὑποζυγίων· καὶ αἱ θύραι αὐτοῦ μείζους δοκοῦσι, καλούμεναι κλισιάδες πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας εἰσελάυνειν καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα· ἐν δὲ Ἀντιφάνους Ἀκιστρῆαις καὶ ἐργαστήριον γέγονε τὸ καλούμενον κλίσσιον· ὃ πρότερόν ποτ' ἦν τοῖς ἐξ ἀγροῦ βοῦσι σταθμὸς καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις, πεποίηκεν ἐργαστήριον. Ob Pollux die rechts liegende Thür der Skene eine Gastwohnung, die links liegende ein Gefängniss darum nennt, weil er dabei die Scenerie in den Bakchen des Euripides vor Augen hatte, weiss ich nicht. Aber selbst wenn eine derartige Vertheilung der Localitäten in den uns erhaltenen Dramen sich nicht mehr nachweisen liesse, so muss ich doch Geppert (l. l. p. 122) die Berechtigung absprechen, die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung darum in Zweifel zu stellen. Es lag dem Pollux ein weit reicherer Stoff vor als uns, aus dem er sich über das, was die Thüren in den verschiedenen Stücken bedeuteten, unterrichten konnte; die fragliche Bestimmung aber enthält nichts, was gegen das verstösst, was er vorher über die Rangordnung der Thüren gesagt hatte; es ist also kein Grund da, seine Angabe zu verdächtigen. — In Beziehung auf eine Komödie (sicher nur beispielsweise, wie das Voraufgehende,) erwähnt Pollux, dass das Wirthschaftshaus oder die Stallung für das Vieh (κλίσσιον) neben der eigentlichen Wohnung gestanden habe, und die zur Stallung führenden Thüren seien sehr gross, förmliche Thore gewesen, wie sie für Räume erforderlich wären, die zum Unterbringen von Wagen und anderen Geräthschaften nöthig waren. Antiphanes sei daher im Stande gewesen, in ein derartiges κλίσσιον eine Werkstatt zu verlegen. Hält man hierbei fest, dass Pollux nicht angeben will, was die Thüren in allen Komödien andeuten, sondern dass er hier nur ein Beispiel, und zwar ein, wie es scheint, ihm selbst auffallendes Beispiel von der Benutzung des Raumes in der Komödie mittheilen will: so sehe ich nicht, was in seinen Worten zu Bedenken Veranlassung geben könnte. Bedenken erregt dagegen der Ausdruck, dessen sich Geppert l. l. p. 122 in Bezug auf die angeführten Worte bedient, nämlich dass man in der Komödie eine besondere Decoration, einen Vorhang, gehabt habe, auf dem die Thüren eines Stalles abgebildet gewesen seien. Eine besondere Decoration war es freilich, aber nicht mehr und nicht minder als alle anderen, durch welche die Skene verdeckt wurde. Pollux kann nicht andeuten wollen, dass hier allein eine Decoration nöthig gewesen sei; denn Alles, was diesen Worten vorhergeht, hat nur Sinn und wird nur verständlich, wenn man an die jedesmal vor der Skenenwand befindliche Decoration denkt. Dass er hier einmal der Decoration ausdrücklich gedenkt, ist also in keiner Weise zu urgiren.

In Beziehung auf die Eckthüren sagt Pollux §. 126: ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἀριστερὰ τὰ ἐκ πόλεως, μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος· καὶ θεοὺς τε θαλασσίους ἐπάγει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαχθέστερα ὄντα ἢ μηχανὴ φέρειν ἀδυνατεῖ. Die rechte Eckthür deutet also eine ausserhalb der Stadt, eine dem Hauptschauplatze der Handlung ferner liegende Oertlichkeit an, die linke die zur Stadt, zur Heimath führende Gegend, und besonders den Hafen, der somit als ferner gedacht wird, als die Gegend, welche durch die der Mittelthür zunächst liegenden Thüren angezeigt wird.

Wenn die linke Seitenthür aber speciell oft den Weg zum Hafen andeutet, so ist dies bei dem Küsten- und Insel-reichen Hellas nicht zu verwundern. Keine der gepriesenen Oertlichkeiten aus den Heroenzeiten liegt dem Meer sehr fern; und jede Stadt, welche nicht am Meer selbst lag, stand wenigstens mit einem Hafen in naher Verbindung. Der Hafen gehörte daher mit zum Stadtgebiete; und war ein Hafen auf der Skene als nahe liegend anzudeuten, so musste es natürlich an der Seite geschehen, an welcher auch der zur Stadt führende Weg angedeutet war. Dadurch ist aber auch zugleich das Erscheinen der Meergötter an dieser Seite der Skene motivirt. Dass Pollux demnach auch in Bezug auf die Eckthüren ganz mit Vitruvius übereinstimmt, bedarf kaum noch der Erinnerung.

#### 19) Ueber die Anlage der Parodoi.

Für die Anlage der Parodoi im Römischen Theater giebt Vitruvius folgende Anweisung (5, 7): *orchestra inter gradus imos quam diametron habuerit, ejus sexta pars sumatur, et in cornibus utrinque aditus ad ejus mensurae perpendicularum inferiores sedes praecidantur, et qua praecisio fuerit, ibi constituentur itinerum supercilia; ita enim satis altitudinem habebunt eorum conformicationes*. Die Uebersetzung und Erklärung dieser Worte von Rode (cf. Uebers. des Vit. I. p. 241) scheinen mir gänzlich misslungen zu sein; dagegen übersetzt sie Tölken (über die Antigone des Sophokles. 3 Abhandlungen. p. 63) eben so klar als richtig folgendermaassen: „welchen Durchmesser die Orchestra zwischen den untersten Sitzstufen haben mag: so nehme man davon den sechsten Theil, und auf beiden vortretenden Enden (*in cornibus*) werden nach einem Perpendikel dieses Maasses für die Zugänge die untersten Sitzstufen weggeschnitten, und wo dieser Ausschnitt fällt, dahin lege man die Ueberschwellen (*supercilia*) der Eingänge: auf solche Art wird ihre Gestaltung die angemessene Höhe haben.“ Demnach soll man an den Enden der Zuschauersitze, und zwar da, wo sie an die Seitenflügel der Skene anstossen, einen überdeckten Gang unter den Zuschauersitzen hin von aussen in die Orchestra führen. So weit die Sitzreihen an jenen Orten höher als ein Sechstheil des Diameters der Orchestra über dem Boden sich befinden, sollen sie unversehrt bleiben, und bis an die Seitenflügel der Skene ohne Unterbrechung fortgehen; in so weit sie aber niedriger als ein Sechstheil des genannten Diameters liegen, sollen sie cassirt werden, und man tritt da alsbald aus dem bedeckten Gange der Parodoi in einen nicht überdeckten Raum, der zur Orchestra gehört. Die Höhe der überdeckten Parodoi beträgt demnach ein Sechstheil des genannten Diameters. Da aber der bedeckte Raum der Parodos wegen der Last, die sich darüber befindet, nothwendig gewölbt sein muss: so glaube ich, dass im Texte nicht *conformationes*, sondern *conformicationes* zu lesen ist. Ueberdies ist es das seltenere Wort, das aus *conformationes* nicht würde entstanden sein; auch steht *conformicare* bei Vit. 5, 5.

#### 20) Ueber die Bestimmung der Parodoi.

Pollux 4, 126: τῶν μέντοι παρόδων ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ ἀγρόθεν ἢ ἐκ λιμένος ἢ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει· (127) οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν εἰσίσιν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν κ. τ. λ. Diese Worte

scheinen mir eine eingehendere Erklärung zu bedürfen, als sie bis jetzt erfahren haben. Berücksichtigt man die Worte ἀγρόθεν und πεζοί nicht, so ist die Bestimmung beider Zugänge einfach und verständlich: die rechte Parodos führt die aus dem Hafen oder aus der Stadt herkommenden Personen, die linke solche, die von anderwärts her kommen, in die Orchestra ein. Auffällig hierbei ist nur dies, dass die linke Parodos in ihrer Bedeutung nicht mit dem an der linken Periakte, sondern mit dem an der rechten Periakte befindlichen Zugänge übereinstimmt, und eben so die rechte Parodos dieselbe Bestimmung hat, welche der linken Periakte und dem dabei befindlichen Zugänge gegeben ist; während man erwarten sollte, dass die Seite der Stadt nur an einer Seite des Theaters, die Seite der Fremde ebenso für die Bühne wie für die Orchestra an der anderen Seite des Theaters angesetzt worden wäre. So ist es aber auch sicher gewesen; „man muss (sagt Buttmann in Rode's Uebers. des Vit. I. p. 280 Note r sehr richtig) annehmen, dass die Drehmaschinen rechts und links heissen in Beziehung auf die rechte und linke Hand derer, die durch die Thüren in die Scene . . . . eintreten. Die Seiteneingänge (d. h. die Parodoi) hingegen müssen vom Theater (d. h. vom Zuschauerraum) aus beurtheilt werden. Also fällt der rechte Eingang und die linke Periaktos auf eine Seite.“ Der Grund, warum die Hellenen diese Bezeichnungsweise einführten, ist ohne Zweifel darin zu suchen, dass bei ihnen Skene und Theatron zwei ganz von einander getrennte Gebäude waren, und wie das Hervortreten aus der Skene auf das Proskenion entscheidend wurde für die Benennungen, welche die Thüren der Skene betrafen: so wurde die Richtung, in der die Zuschauer rings um die Orchestra, das Gesicht der Skene zugekehrt, sassen, entscheidend für die Benennungen, die man den Parodoi je nach ihrer Lage gab. Dass übrigens ein so verschiedener Standpunkt für die Benennung der Parodoi und der an den Periakten befindlichen Zugänge von den Hellenen angewendet worden ist, das müssen wir für ein grosses Glück erachten. Denn nur dadurch werden wir in den Stand gesetzt, mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen, was die Alten unter der rechten und linken Periakte oder Nebenthür, unter der rechten und linken Parodos verstanden haben, und anzugeben, nach welcher Seite von der Mittelthür der Skene aus jede einzelne Decoration sich befunden hat. — Wenn dagegen Sommerbrodt (l. l. p. 21) sagt: *dextra . . . et sinistra in re scenica ea dicuntur, quae spectatoribus ad dextram sunt et ad sinistram*: so stützt er sich dabei freilich auf das von G. Hermann (*de re scenica in Aesch. Or.* p. 5) beigebrachte Zeugniß, welches einer *vita Aristophanis* (in der Didotschen Ausg. der Aristophanischen Scholien p. XXVIII. a in Note 87 abgedruckt) entnommen ist; denn da heisst es allerdings vom Chore: καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἤρχοντο ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἀψίδος εἰσῆει, εἰ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ, διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς. Aber es bleibt, wenn man dies Zeugniß gelten lässt, nur die Alternative, entweder anzunehmen, dass die Hellenen Fremde und Heimath zugleich an der einen und zugleich theilweise an der anderen Seite der Bühne angezeigt d. h. muthwillig die Zuschauer um jede Illusion gebracht haben, oder anzunehmen, dass Pollux sich geirrt hat. Da ich mich weder zu dem Einen noch zu dem Anderen verstehen kann, so muss ich glauben, dass der späte Grammatiker unkundig des Principes, welches man bei Bestimmung von rechts und links im Theater anwendete, sich geirrt habe.



Die in Pollux' Worten bisher übergangenen Ausdrücke ἀγρόθεν und πεζοί zu erklären, wird dadurch schwierig, dass keiner weder zu dem Gliede, in dem er steht, zu passen, noch in dem entgegengesetzten Gliede einen Gegensatz zu haben scheint. Denn die πεζοί sind, wenn sie den ἐππεῖς entgegengesetzt sind, Fussgänger; wenn das Wasser und die Seefahrt ihnen gegenübersteht, Landreisende. Der erste Gegensatz ist im vorliegenden Falle in keiner Weise anwendbar; aber auch der letztere lässt sich nicht brauchen, obwohl Buttmann (in Rode's Uebers. des Vit. I. p. 280 Note 1), Hermann (*de re scen. in Aesch. Or.* p. 5) und Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 127 Note 3) dies versucht und eine Andeutung desselben in ἐκ λιμένος haben finden wollen. Denn nur nebenbei wird des Wassers in ἐκ λιμένος gedacht; dem ἀλλαχόθεν des zweiten Gliedes steht ἀγρόθεν im ersten gegenüber, und dieses ἀγρόθεν weist mit Nachdruck gerade auf's Land hin. Nun passt aber ἀγρόθεν auch nicht in das Glied hinein, in dem es steht. Das Land wird für gewöhnlich der Stadt entgegengesetzt; hier steht es der Stadt, gleich als wäre es ein nah verwandter Begriff von Stadt, zur Seite. — Was nun zuerst die ἀγρόθεν betreffende Schwierigkeit betrifft, so rührt sie, wie ich meine, aus Corruption des Textes her, und es muss ἀγρόθεν in ἀγορήθεν umgeändert werden. Alsdann kommt der durch die rechte Parodos eintretende Chor von der ἀγορά her, sei es dass sie einem Hafen, oder sei es dass sie einer Stadt zugehört. Nicht nur erhält so das eine Glied des Gegensatzes eine wahre Einheit in dem Begriffe der Heimath; die Bedeutung der Parodos tritt dadurch auch in volle Uebereinstimmung mit der an der gleichen Seite befindlichen Periakte, und der von Pollux angegebene Gegensatz ist ganz derselbe, den Vitruvius bei der Erklärung der Periakten mit *a foro* und *a peregre* bezeichnet. — Die Schwierigkeit, welche in πεζοί liegt, wird inzwischen selbst durch die Aenderung des Textes nicht gehoben; denn ein Gegensatz für πεζοί hat sich dadurch nicht ergeben. Wie unnatürlich und gezwungen es ist, aus ἐκ λιμένος den des Wassers zu nehmen, ist bereits bemerkt worden. Aber wäre dies wirklich die Ansicht des Pollux, so begreift man ausserdem nicht, durch welche Parodos die eintreten sollen, die von der Stadt her zu Lande, oder die von anderwärts her zur See ankommen sollen. Musste dergleichen aus der Oeconomie des Drama verbannt werden, weil die Parodoi nicht darauf eingerichtet waren? Einen solchen Charakter der Armseligkeit trägt das antike Theater nicht zur Schau, und der Gegensatz zu πεζοί, zu Fuss kommend, ist ein anderer; es sind die nicht auf den Pfaden der Menschen erscheinenden, nicht zu Fuss, sondern durch die Lüfte von oben her erscheinenden Götter, die die linke Parodos nicht berühren, obgleich sie nach Pollux §. 128 an der linken Parodos herabschweben, wie z. B. der Chor der Okeaniden in des Aischylos Prometheus thut. Da dergleichen Gottheiten in der alten Tragödie nicht selten erscheinen, da Pollux kurz vor den fraglichen Worten von dem Erscheinen der Meergötter gesprochen hat, da er, im Begriffe zu den Theatermaschinen überzugehen, die es vorzugsweise mit den Göttern zu thun haben, schon deren exceptionelle Erscheinung in Gedanken haben mochte: so begrenzt er durch πεζοί seine Bestimmung für den Eintritt durch die linke Parodos auf die Menschen. — Die alsbald bei Pollux folgenden Worte: εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁρχήστραν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνουνσι werden von G. Hermann (*de*

*re scen.* p. 7) und von Sommerbrodt (l. l. I. p. 10 Note 3) in Bezug auf ihre Stellung beanstandet, weil der aus der Fremde her in die Orchestra eintretende Chor nicht auf die Bühne gestiegen, sondern in der Orchestra geblieben sei. Nur einzelne Choreuten seien zuweilen, wenn sie in die Handlung hätten eingreifen müssen, zum Logeion hinaufgestiegen. Auch ich halte im Ganzen für wahr, was Hermann in Bezug auf den Chor behauptet, aber ich kann daraus keinen Grund entnehmen, um die Stellung der Worte im Texte des Pollux zu verdächtigen. Denn da Pollux bei den Parodoi das Auftreten des Chores erwähnt, so scheint es ganz angemessen, dass er hier auch dessen gedenkt, dass der Chor von der Orchestra aus auch auf die Bühne steige. Ueberdies ist die Stelle, an welcher Hermann die fraglichen Worte einschieben will, nämlich nach §. 109, dazu gar nicht geeignet. Es ist da von der Wirksamkeit, von dem Auftreten, den Bewegungen und Stellungen des Chors in der Orchestra die Rede; von der Bühne spricht Pollux dagegen erst später. Werden die Worte also an jener Stelle eingeschoben, so wird damit offenbar in der Darstellung vorgegriffen. — Was aber endlich den Sinn der Worte anlangt, so hat denselben schon G. Hermann (*de re scen. in Aesch. Orest.* p. 7) richtig erfasst, indem er das Heraufsteigen des Chors zur Bühne nicht als etwas regelmässig stattfindendes ansieht, sondern nur für ein eventuell eintretendes erklärt. Wenn man so bei diesen Worten das ergänzt, was man ohnehin bei fast allen Bestimmungen des Pollux von §. 124 an ergänzen muss: „wenn die Handlung des Drama es erfordert,“ und zugleich als Subject nicht das vorausgehende *οἱ ἀλλαχόθεν περὶ ἀφικνούμενοι*, sondern nur *οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι* festhält: so sagen die Worte nichts aus als: „der Chor oder die Choreuten steigen von der Orchestra aus auf Treppen zur Skene hinauf, natürlich nur dann, wenn es nöthig ist,“ und an dieser Bestimmung wird Niemand Anstoss nehmen können. Ob alle Choreuten oder nur einzelne hinansteigen, ob für gewöhnlich oder nur selten und ausnahmsweise, darauf lässt sich Pollux nicht ein. Für ihn ist nicht die Handlung des Hinaufsteigens die Hauptsache, sondern die Treppen, da er es gerade mit den *μέρη τοῦ θεάτρου* zu thun hat; und darum vergisst er nicht, alsbald das solenne Wort für die Treppenstufen beizufügen, eilt aber darauf zu anderen Theilen des Theaters fort. Da Pollux Treppen in der Mehrzahl nennt, so weiss ich mir nicht zu erklären, warum einzelne Gelehrte, z. B. Geppert l. l. p. 99, nur eine annehmen wollen. Die Spuren von zweien, die etwas nach den Enden des Logeion hin liegen, sind noch in mehreren alten Theatern sichtbar, und diese Lage der Treppen scheint für die von links oder rechts her durch die Parodoi in die Orchestra eintretenden Choreuten ganz angemessen zu sein.

21) Dennoch sagt Geppert (über die Eingänge p. 7): „ein Volk, das seine Helden so abbilden konnte, dass sie einen Theil ihrer Waffen ohne die dazu gehörige Kleidung trugen, das, wie man behauptet hat, einen Wagen mit Pferden im vollen Lauf zeichnen konnte, ohne die Zügel anzudeuten, das mit einem Wort in der Kunst überall nur auf das eigentlich Bedeutende und Charakteristische ausging und alle jene Anforderungen an das, was wir Illusion im niederen Sinne des Wortes zu nennen pflegen, durchaus unberücksichtigt liess, ein solches Volk sah wahrschein-

lich (NB.) seine Schauspieler ohne irgend eine Bedenklichkeit einen Umweg auf die Bühne nehmen“ u. s. w. Es hätte es ruhig angesehen, wenn ihm nicht abzuhelfen gewesen wäre. Aber ein Volk, welches eine besondere Skene für die Handlung schuf, die Skene mit Decorationen ausschmückte, um den Ort der Handlung den Zuschauern sinnlich vor Augen zu stellen, die Helden und alle bei der Handlung Betheiligte so verkleidete und ausstaffirte, dass man sieht, es wollte die Illusion, so viel es irgend vermochte, hervorrufen, weil diese allerdings den Eindruck der Handlung verstärken muss, ein solches Volk kann nimmermehr an einer Stelle die Decoration als Zeichen einer gewissen Oertlichkeit aufgestellt, und ohne genügenden Anlass die mit dem Orte in Verbindung stehenden Personen von einem anderen Orte her haben auftreten lassen.

22) Auf die Worte des Vitruvius 5, 8 *apud eos (Graecos) tragici et comici actores in scena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram praestant actiones. Itaque ex eo scenici et thymelici graece separatim nominantur*, und die des Pollux §. 123 *σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἰδίου, ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ* wage ich keinen Beweis zu gründen. Denn so gut als der Chor zeitweilig die Skene besteigen konnte, ohne darum seinen Charakter und Namen als Thymeliker zu verlieren, eben so wohl ist es denkbar, dass Schauspieler ausnahmsweise in die Orchestra sich begaben oder durch dieselbe nur hindurchschritten, ohne dass sie darum aufhörten, die der Skene zugehörigen Künstler zu sein.

23) Durch welche Thüren gelangten die Schauspieler auf die Bühne?

Die entgegengesetzte Ansicht ist durch Geppert theils in seiner Schrift: über die Eingänge zu dem Proskenium und der Orchestra, Berlin 1842, theils in dem später erschienenen Werke: die altgriechische Bühne Lpz. 1843 p. 128 ff. festgehalten worden. Er macht in dem zuerst genannten Werke p. 9 darauf aufmerksam, dass die Schauspieler öfters bei ihrer Ankunft den Chor anreden, während sich doch auf der Skene Personen befinden, die, wenn sie selbst auf der Bühne gewesen wären, ihnen weit näher gestanden haben, und von ihnen zuerst müssten angeredet worden sein. Ich glaube aber, dass, wo dies geschieht, es immer seinen speciellen Grund hat, so dass man durchaus nicht befugt ist, daraus einen Schluss auf den Standort, den der Schauspieler einnimmt, zu machen. Ich will zu dem Zwecke alle von Geppert angeführten Beispiele durchgehen. In der Elektra des Sophokles wendet sich der Paidagogos, der, wie ich meine, von der Seitenthür der Skene her erscheint, darum an den Chor, weil Klytaimnestra zum Opfer an den Altar Apollons, der in der Nähe der Decoration sich befunden hat, zurückgetreten ist. Derselbe Fall kehrt in der p. 11 aus dem König Oidipus entnommenen Scene wieder. Ganz ähnlich verhält es sich, wenn in dem p. 10 angeführten Falle Orestes nicht die Elektra, welche sich auf der Skene befindet, sondern den Chor anredet. Elektra ist sinnend und überlegend nach einer Seite der Bühne hin zurückgetreten; denn während des Chorgesangs, der dem Erscheinen des Orestes unmittelbar vorhergeht, kann sie unmöglich an der vorderen Seite des Pro-



skenion sich befunden haben. In der p. 11 der *Andromache* entnommenen Scene kehrt Hermione, die sich in den Palast zurückbegeben will, dem eben erscheinenden Orestes den Rücken zu; natürlich redet letzterer nicht sie, sondern den Chor an. In der *Hekabe* (p. 13) ist es nicht wunderbar, dass Talthybios die vor Erschöpfung zusammengesunkene Hekabe nicht sieht, sondern sich an den Chor wendet. Ganz ähnlich verhält sich die Sache im *Orestes* des Euripides (p. 14); denn auch Orestes liegt krank da und wird von dem auftretenden Menelaos nicht alsbald bemerkt. Wenn in der p. 15 aus dem Aias beigebrachten Scene Odysseus den Chor fragt, was es gebe: so ist auch dies natürlich, da der Chor es ist, der ihn bei seinem Erscheinen zuerst anredet. Der Chor aber kommt mit seiner Ansprache darum den Anderen zuvor, weil er wünscht, den obwaltenden Streit bald beigelegt zu sehen, und eine Hülfe dazu im Odysseus erblickt. Noch weniger kann es auffallen, wenn Odysseus fragt, was es hier gebe. Denn wenn er auch den Gegenstand des Streites kennt, so kann er doch nicht wissen, bis zu welchem Punkte der Streit gediehen ist. Wenn (p. 16) der Bote, welcher der Elektra den Mord des Aigisthos melden soll, den Chor, nicht die auf der Bühne befindliche Elektra anredet: so ist nicht zu übersehen, wie zaghaft und wenig hoffend Elektra eben aus dem Hause getreten ist; sie ist also wohl noch in dessen Nähe, während der Bote bei seinem Erscheinen der Orchestra halb zugewendet, zuerst mit seinem Blicke den zahlreichen Chor trifft, und demgemäss ihm, nicht der Elektra sich zukehrt. Der Bote kommt überdies in grosser Eile an, und darf demnach nicht lange überlegen, an wen er sich zuerst wenden soll. Im *Orestes* des Euripides (p. 17) wird das Erscheinen des Tyndareos freilich vom Chor zuerst bemerkt; aber darum braucht er dem Chore nicht näher zu sein als den Schauspielern auf der Skene. Der Chor hat mehr Musse um sich zu blicken als die in die Handlung verflochtenen Schauspieler. Dass aber Tyndareos den Chor auffordert, ihn zu Menelaos, den er lange nicht gesehen hat, zu führen, sehe ich nicht für erwiesen an. Er wendet sich mit dieser Aufforderung wohl an die auf der Skene befindlichen Personen, und alsbald giebt sich Menelaos zu erkennen. In der *Taurischen Iphigeneia* (p. 18) muss sich Thoas an den Chor wenden, weil Iphigeneia nicht auf der Bühne anwesend ist. Ja auch dem aus den *Hiketiden* des Euripides (p. 19) beigebrachten Beispiele muss ich jede Beweiskraft absprechen; denn die Skene ist beim Erscheinen des Iphis nicht mit Menschen angefüllt, wie Geppert voraussetzt, sondern vielmehr leer. Euadne, die eben einen Felsen, vielleicht zum Theil hinter der Decoration, ersteigt, kann dem Vater nicht alsbald sichtbar werden, und soll es nicht; mithin bleibt Niemand übrig, an den sich Iphis wenden kann, als der Chor. Den Boten, der in den *Persern* des Aischylos das Unglück des Xerxes meldet, ist Geppert (p. 20) geneigt während des Berichtes in der Orchestra stehend darzustellen. Aber das Schweigen der Atossa während der langen Weherufe, die er vernehmen lässt, und das Anreden des aus Persern bestehenden Chores, nicht der Königin, lässt sich, wie mich dünkt, auch ohne diese Voraussetzung begründen. Der Chor kündigt die Ankunft des Boten an, und da er alsbald in die Klagen desselben einstimmt, so ist es natürlich, dass der Bote sich ihm zukehrt. Warum die Königin schweigt, erklärt sie selbst; sie ist durch der Leiden Last betäubt; mithin nöthigt

nichts, den Boten durch die Orchestra her auftreten, nichts, ihn dort verweilen zu lassen. Als noch evidenter führt Geppert p. 23 eine Scene aus dem Agamemnon an, wo Klytaimnestra die nahe Ankunft eines Boten ankündigt, dieser aber, vom Chor oder dem Chorführer bewillkommnet, mit dem Chore sich in ein Zwiegespräch einlässt, bei welchem Klytaimnestra stumme Zeugin ist. „Da nun der (Bote), sagt Geppert, während seinem ganzen Erscheinen vor dem Publikum nicht einmal seine Herrin anredet, sondern nur zum Chorführer spricht, und von jener bloss deshalb angesprochen wird, um ihren Willen zu vernehmen, so ist in der That kein Grund vorhanden, anzunehmen, er habe jemals in dieser Scene das Logeion betreten.“ Es fragt sich aber keineswegs, ob Grund vorhanden ist, dass er auf der Skene sei, sondern ob etwas bestimmt darauf hinweist, dass er durch die Orchestra gekommen sei; und darauf kann nur mit Nein geantwortet werden. Klytaimnestra will, wie sie selbst erklärt, den Boten nicht ausfragen, der Chor dagegen redet den Boten an. Es kann also nicht auffallen, wenn der Bote seine Botschaft dem dafür sich interessirenden Chore mittheilt. Da aber Klytaimnestra erklärt, von dem Boten nichts wissen zu wollen: so ist ihm die Möglichkeit mit ihr zu reden benommen. Etwas Weiteres hingegen in Beziehung auf die Stellung, die er während des Gespräches gegen die anderen Personen einnimmt, in Beziehung auf den Weg, den er eingeschlagen hat, um in die Nähe des Chors vor dem königlichen Palaste zu gelangen, vermag ich der Scene nicht zu entnehmen. — Dies sind sämmtliche von Geppert für seine Thesis beigebrachten Beispiele; ich kann in keinem derselben eine bestimmte und sichere Andeutung dafür, dass Schauspieler durch die Orchestra kommen und von da zum Logeion hinansteigen, finden. — Noch geringere Beweiskraft schreibe ich der Bemerkung p. 25 zu, dass der Chor die Auftretenden in der Regel früher gewahr werde als die auf der Bühne befindlichen Personen. Denn da letztere durch die Handlung, in die sie verflochten sind, in Anspruch genommen werden: so kann es nicht fehlen, dass ihnen das Eintreten irgend einer Person entgeht, während der mehr beobachtende Chor, der überdies der Bühne zugekehrt ist und diese nach allen Seiten hin leicht übersehen kann, das Herannahen von Personen leicht und bald bemerken kann und muss. Weiter p. 27 macht Geppert darauf aufmerksam, dass die in der Orchestra auftretenden Personen von denen, die nachher die Skene vom Hintergrunde aus betreten, nicht so bald gesehen werden, wie man es bei der verhältnissmässig geringen Tiefe der Hellenischen Bühne erwarten sollte. Aber die zwei dafür angeführten Stellen beweisen keineswegs, was Geppert daraus folgern möchte. In der aus den Phoinikerinnen beigebrachten Scene wendet sich Jokaste bei ihrem Erscheinen nicht an Polyneikes darum, weil dieser fern von ihr, etwa in der Orchestra ist, sondern weil dieser sie nicht gerufen hat. Gerufen ist sie vom Chore worden; es ist also auch natürlich, dass sie diesen bei ihrem Hervortreten anredet. In dem zweiten der Antigone entnommenen Beispiele wendet sich dagegen Eurydike nicht an den Boten, sondern an den Chor, weil sie von des ersteren Anwesenheit nichts weiss. — Wenn ferner die Auftretenden (p. 28) äussern, dass sie steile Zugänge zur Scene zu ersteigen haben: so ist hier vorweg genommen, was vor Allem zu beweisen war, dass das Proskenion die Anhöhe darstellt, und man zu dieser auf Treppen

hinaufstieg. Die Anhöhen sind aber nicht da zu suchen, sie befinden sich auf dem Proskenion, und zwar höhere und grössere, als die aus dem Ion, der Elektra und den Bakchen des Euripides bemerklich gemachten. Wer gedenkt hierbei nicht der Felshöhen, welche die Scenerie im Prometheus, der buschigen Berggehänge, welche die Scenerie in den Vögeln des Aristophanes zeigen musste? und doch ist hier an ein Aufsteigen aus der Orchestra nicht zu denken. — Weiter macht Geppert (Eing. p. 30 und altgriech. Bühne p. 132) darauf aufmerksam, dass die Todtenopfer in der Orchestra von den Schauspielern vorgenommen, von dem dort befindlichen Altare Verfolgte durch ihre Verfolger, durch Schauspieler, fortgerissen werden. Diese Schlussfolge ruht auf der Voraussetzung, dass der Altar, an dem dies geschehen, in der Orchestra sich befunden habe. Ich muss dies leider bestimmt in Abrede stellen; denn es fehlt an jeder sicheren Anzeige, dass irgend ein Theil der Decoration, also auch der Altar, sich irgend wo anders als auf der Bühne befunden hat. Das Beispiel, welches Geppert aus des Aischylos Hiketiden beibringt, und welches keineswegs so vereinzelt da steht, wie seine Worte muthmassen lassen, beweist also nichts. Die Gewaltthat, von der dort die Rede ist, geht auf der Skene vor sich. — Demnächst weist Geppert (Eing. p. 31) darauf hin, dass im Orestes des Euripides die Zugänge durch die Orchestra, also die Parodoi, als die einzigen zum Orte der Handlung führenden Wege angesehen werden, und dass demnach die später auf einem dieser Wege Eintretenden offenbar durch die Orchestra kommen müssen. Da aber, wie bei der Bedeutung der Thüren erwähnt und festgestellt worden ist, die neben den Periakten auf der Skene und in der Orchestra vorbeiführenden Wege nur eine und dieselbe Strasse, die zwei an der rechten Seite des Theaters befindlichen die nach der Stadt hin führende, die an der entgegengesetzten Seite des Theaters befindlichen die nach der Fremde hin führende Strasse bezeichnen, und der Chor, wenn er, in zwei Hälften getheilt, an den beiden aus der Orchestra zur Bühne führenden Treppen Wache hält, eben so gut die auf der Bühne wie die in der Orchestra befindlichen Wege im Auge behält: so ist nicht einzusehen, warum die zum Orte der Handlung kommenden Schauspieler gerade nur von der Orchestra her sich sollen nähern dürfen; sie benutzen, wie sie sonst immer thun, die auf der Skene neben den Periakten befindlichen Zugänge. Wenn aber Geppert auf Grund dieses éinen Beispiels (p. 35) geneigt ist, sogar „auch in allen andern Dramen, wo die Bühne etwas Aehnliches (NB.) darstellte, dieselbe Anordnung hinsichts der Zugänge zum Proscenium“ anzunehmen, und dies namentlich auf alle die Stücke ausgedehnt wissen will, wo (und dies ist sehr häufig der Fall) die Handlung vor einem Königspalaste vor sich geht, indem hier und in einer Reihe anderer Stücke, die er auf derselben Seite bemerklich macht, die Scene eine geschlossene gewesen sei: so lässt er sich hier von seiner vorgefassten Meinung blind fortreissen. Eine geschlossene Scenerie in dem Sinne, dass sie in sich zu einem Ganzen sich abschliesst, wird zwar allen diesen Stücken nicht gefehlt haben; aber einen Beweis dafür, dass die in den angegebenen Stücken befindliche Scenerie keine anderen Zugänge gestattete oder erforderte, als die vermittelt der Parodoi durch die Orchestra, zu geben, möchte wohl sehr schwer halten. Was aber namentlich die Antigone des Sophokles anlangt, in wel-

chem Stücke Geppert ganz besonders geneigt ist eine geschlossene Scene anzunehmen: so ist dergleichen unzulässig. Die Seite zur Linken des königlichen Palastes muss eine von Gebäuden freie Gegend darstellen, und in einer solchen kann es nicht an Wegen und Stegen, um zum Palaste zu gelangen, fehlen. Hier findet also eine geschlossene Scene nicht statt. — Weiterhin auf p. 36 weist Geppert den feierlichen Aufzügen ihren Weg durch die Orchestra an, und zwar aus dem Grunde, weil das tragische Pathos auf diesem Wege den Zuschauern weit mehr vor Augen trete, als wenn der Zug unmittelbar aus den Coullissen auf die Bühne komme. Zu diesen Aufzügen rechnet er den des Xerxes in den Persern, den Agamemnons in dem gleichnamigen Stücke und vor allem den der Klytaimnestra in der Iphigeneia in Aulis nebst dem des Theseus in den Hiketiden des Euripides. Es wird später nöthig sein, auf diese Beispiele noch im Einzelnen zurückzukommen. Für jetzt sei im Allgemeinen nur so viel bemerkt, dass ich in der Sache mit Geppert vollständig übereinstimme; den von ihm vorgebrachten Grund kann ich aber nicht gelten lassen. Durch die Orchestra kommen derartige Aufzüge nur darum, weil Wagen und Rosse auf der antiken Bühne nicht erscheinen konnten. Der Weg von der Seitencoullisse hingegen bis zur Mitte des Logeion, wo die Handlung sich entwickelt, ist fast eben so lang, wie der Weg von der Parodos bis eben dahin. In wie fern soll es nun einen stärkeren und grossartigeren Eindruck machen, wenn der Zug in der Orchestra, nicht auf der Bühne erscheint? Bestimmte allein der Grad des Imponirens den Weg, so müsste jedenfalls der auf dem erhöhten Logeion, wo die Gegenstände von unten bis oben den Zuschauern vor Augen traten, wie (Eing. p. 6) „der schicksalschwere Schritt eines Sehers, wie Tiresias, das sorgenvolle Zögern des Hämon, der unheilverkündende Gang eines Boten und alle jene verschiedenen Nüancirungen, die der Charakter der auftretenden Person mit sich brachte,“ dem durch die Orchestra vorgezogen werden. Der Grund mithin, den Geppert für seine Ansicht vorbringt, ist nicht haltbar; in der Sache, so weit Rosse und Wagen den Aufzug begleiten, hat er Recht. Aber es ist zugleich ersichtlich, dass von dem Auftreten der Prachtzüge kein Schluss auf das sonstige Auftreten der Schauspieler zu machen ist. — Am Schlusse seiner Abhandlung: über die Eingänge, wie auch p. 128 der Schrift: altgriech. Bühne ist Geppert ferner geneigt, aus den Worten des Pollux §. 126 *εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαλνῶσι* auch einen Beweis für das Auftreten der Schauspieler von der Orchestra her zu finden. Da aber Pollux das, was er über die Skene sagen wollte, in §. 126 beendet hat, und mit *τῶν μέντοι παρόδων* zum zweiten Haupttheile des Theaters, zur Orchestra, fortgeht: so kann in den angeführten Worten nicht von den Schauspielern, sondern nur vom Chore die Rede sein, und hierauf bezieht sie auch G. Hermann. — Eine Schlussfolgerung hinsichtlich des Auftretens der Schauspieler lässt sich aber vollends nicht aus dem machen, was bei den Vorgängern des Thespis Sitte gewesen ist. Dennoch versucht es Geppert (Eingänge p. 6) auch damit, indem er voraussetzt, es sei der einzelne Schauspieler anfangs so auf den als Skene dienenden Tisch, wie die Schauspieler später durch die Orchestra zum Logeion hinangestiegen; und diese Weise des Auftretens sei demnach ein Ueberrest der alten Sitte. Aber woher weiss denn Geppert, dass

der Schauspieler gerade von der Seite der Zuschauer her auf den Tisch gestiegen ist? Es ist dies eine durch nichts zu begründende Voraussetzung; ja es scheint mir natürlicher anzunehmen, dass der Schauspieler hinter dem Tische erschienen, und von da den Zuschauern zugewendet auf den Tisch getreten ist. — Jedenfalls leuchtet ein, dass ein Beweis hieraus nicht geführt werden kann. — Weiter beruft sich Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 129) auf die Worte (149) ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῶν φανείς in den Ritten des Aristophanes. Schon zwei Scholiasten hätten gesehen, dass der Wursthändler hier aufgefordert werde, aus der Orchestra zum Logeion heraufzusteigen, und einer derselben habe diese Art des Hinzugehens zur Bühne überdies als eine antiquirte bezeichnet. Hier ist zuvörderst nicht zu übersehen, dass nicht der alte Scholiast des Cod. Rav. es ist, der die angeführte Erklärung abgibt, sondern jüngere, und es ist mithin fraglich, wie viel sie noch von der Beschaffenheit der althellenischen Bühne gewusst haben. Sodann aber kann ich auch nicht zugeben, dass der eine Scholiast die erwähnte Art des Hinansteigens als einen lediglich früheren Zeiten angehörigen Brauch bezeichnet; er sagt offenbar nichts, als ἀναβαίνειν und καταβαίνειν seien die althergebrachten Ausdrücke für εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον und ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, die termini technici für das öffentliche Auf- und Abtreten, und darin scheint er mir ganz Recht zu haben; aber der Beweis dafür, dass die Worte auch in gleicher Bedeutung vom Auf- und Abtreten auf der Bühne gebraucht wurden, ist noch nicht geführt worden. Dennoch stimme ich in der Sache Geppert zu; nur glaube ich, dass ein der Komödie zugehöriger Ausnahmefall keinen Schluss auf das gestattet, was für gewöhnlich und namentlich in der Tragödie geschah. — Die von Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 130) aus der Eirene beigebrachte Stelle beweist dagegen nichts. Trygaios befindet sich (cf. v. 80 und besonders 174) in grosser Höhe über dem Logeion; von da will er 726 und zwar auf seinem Käfer sitzend durch die Luft (721) herabfliegen. Wenn es nun heisst, er solle, da der Käfer fort sei, an die Göttin sich anschmiegen, was deutet hier auf ein Hinabschweben in die Orchestra? Nichts. Trygaios will nach Hause, sein Haus ist auf der Skene dargestellt; dahin strebt er zu gelangen, nicht aber in die Orchestra. Der Scholiast ist hier also wieder in Irrthum. — Den aus den Ekklesiazusen und Acharnern (p. 131) entnommenen Stellen schreibt Geppert selbst keine volle Beweiskraft zu; es handelt sich auch nur um die Deutung von ἀναβαίνειν und καταβαίνειν. — Endlich sucht Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 131) seine Ansicht durch einige Vasengemälde zu erhärten. Er sieht in zwei auf Tafel 2 mitgetheilten Gemälden „ein paar Scenen aus dem gefesselten Prometheus auf dem athenischen Theater“ dargestellt. „Man sieht auf beiden die Schausitze des athenischen Theaters, daneben den Haupteingang. Auf der einen (Abbildung) ist Io eben im Begriff durch denselben hereinzutreten.“ Der Schauspieler, der die Io vorstellt? das ist nicht möglich; als vollständiges Thier mit vier Füßen ist Io im Theater zu Athen nicht dargestellt worden. Mag also auch der Stier die Io vorstellen — Darstellung einer Scene aus einem Drama ist es keinesfalls, und es ist also auch nichts für die theatralische Darstellung daraus zu folgern. In dem zweiten Gemälde sieht man eine Frau auf einer Sitzstufe, die das Aussehen der im Theater befindlichen Sitzreihen hat, sitzen. Ihr zugewendet ist eine zweite Frau, die den Rücken einer von



Säulen eingefassten Thüröffnung zukehrt, und in der Thüröffnung ist ein Blitz schwebend dargestellt. Von ihm meint Geppert, er sei das Zeichen, dass Hermes, der dem ungehorsamen Titanen die Befehle des Zeus überbringt, auch von dieser Seite auftritt. Zu wem soll er aber kommen? doch nur zu Prometheus; aber von diesem oder von dem Gebirge, an dem er zu denken ist, zeigt sich keine Spur. Hier kann der angebliche Hermes nur den Frauen sich nähern wollen, und wenn es eine Scene aus Prometheus ist, so können die dargestellten nur Okeaniden sein. Aber ist es denkbar, dass der Maler sie zum Theil sitzend auf den Zuschauerstufen werde dargestellt haben? gewiss nicht. Man sieht also aus allem dem, dass hier an die Darstellung einer Scene aus dem Prometheus des Aischylos nicht zu denken ist; es lässt sich also auch nichts für das Auftreten der Schauspieler aus dem Gemälde folgern. — Eine Scene aus irgend einer Komödie ist dagegen in der That auf dem Tafel 4 mitgetheilten Bilde dargestellt, und zwar sieht Geppert (l. l. p. 132) in demselben drei Figuren auf der Treppe des Proskenion, von denen zwei bemüht sind, ihren Mittelsmann durch Ziehen und Stossen auf's Logeion zu bringen. Aber vergebens sucht man danach auf dem Bilde; von einer Treppe ist keine Spur da; man sieht nur ein auf erhöhter Bühne befindliches Gestell (eine Art Lager?), auf dem zwei Personen eine dritte festhalten, oder auszustrecken versuchen. Einen Schluss auf das Auftreten der Schauspieler vermag ich daher dem Bilde in keiner Weise zu entnehmen. — Dies sind, so viel ich sehen kann, sämtliche Beweise, welche Geppert beibringt, um seine Ansicht, dass die Schauspieler durch die Orchestra zur Bühne hingegangen sind, zu erhärten. Ich kann mich durch sie nicht bewogen fühlen, ihm beizustimmen.

24) Vitr. 5, 7. *Podii altitudo ab libramento pulpiti cum corona et lysi duodecima orchestrae diametri: supra podium columnae cum capitulis et spiris altae quarta parte ejusdem diametri: epistylia et ornamenta earum columnarum altitudinis quinta parte: pluteum insuper cum unda et corona inferioris plutei dimidia parte: supra id pluteum columnae quarta parte minore altitudine sint quam inferiores: epistylia et ornamenta earum columnarum quinta parte. Item si tertia episcenos futura erit, mediani plutei summum sit dimidia parte: columnae summae mediaparum minus altae sint quarta parte: epistylia cum coronis earum columnarum item habeant altitudinis quintam partem.* — Die Worte *inferioris plutei* fallen auf, weil ein *inferius pluteum* im Unterstocke nicht erwähnt worden ist. Vitruvius versteht aber unter dem *inferius pluteum* offenbar nichts als das *pulpitum*, von dessen Fläche aus er die Höhe des *podium* bestimmt. Da das *pulpitum* eine gedielte Fläche ist, die über einem hohlen Raume sich befindet, da diese Ebene eben so unmittelbar wie das *pluteum* in den höhern Stockwerken an die Skenenfront anstößt: so trägt Vitruvius den Ausdruck *pluteum* hier auch auf jenes über; und er konnte dies um so eher thun, da die zugleich genannten Gesimse *unda* und *corona* der *corona* und *lysis* des *podii* entsprechen, mithin nicht zweifelhaft sein konnte, was Vitruvius unter dem *inferius pluteum* verstanden wissen wollte. Freilich giebt das *inferius pluteum* oder das *pulpitum*, von dessen Fläche an erst die Höhe des *podium* berechnet wird, keine Höhe ab, wie die in den höhern Stockwerken befindli-

chen *plutea*, und doch soll damit hier die Höhe des Unterstockes bezeichnet werden. Da aber Vitruvius kurz vorher gesagt hat, er berechne die Höhe des *podium a libramento pulpiti* an: so überträgt sich diese Bestimmung auch leicht auf den Ausdruck *inferioris plutei*. Höhe des *podium* konnte Vitruvius nicht sagen, ohne zweideutig zu sein, da er nur die *a libramento pulpiti* beginnende in Rechnung bringen will.

25) *Nec tamen in omnibus theatris symmetriae ad omnes rationes et effectus possunt respondere, sed oportet architectum animadvertere, quibus proportionibus necesse sit sequi symmetriam, et quibus rationibus ad loci naturam aut magnitudinem operis debeat temperari.*

## 26) Über das Theater in Aspendos.

Der Beschreibung der Skenenfront des Theaters zu Aspendos lasse ich hier noch einige speciellere Angaben folgen, die vielleicht nicht ganz ohne Interesse sein dürften. Dieses Theater ist ein römisches, aber über die Zeit seiner Erbauung wage ich nichts zu bestimmen. Die in demselben befindlichen Inschriften (*corp. inscript. Vol. III. 4342. d. 1. 2. 3. p. 1161 u. f.*) nennen mehrmals einen Zenon ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔργων. Zwei andere über den Thoren befindliche Inschriften sprechen aus, dass zwei Brüder A. Curtius Crispinus Arruntianus und A. Curtius Auspicatus Titinnianus nach der testamentlichen Bestimmung ihres Vaters etwas daran zu Ehren der väterlichen Götter und des Kaiserhauses gemacht haben (4342. d<sup>4</sup>). Aus einer Pränestinischen Inschrift auf einem Grabsteine, den einer der beiden Brüder einem P. Aelius Pius Curtianus gesetzt hat, schliesst Dr. Henzen (*Annali dell' istituto di corrispondenza archeologica. 1852. p. 165*), dass sie unter M. Antoninus gelebt. Dieser Schluss scheint doch etwas bedenklich. Auch sagt die Inschrift nicht, dass sie das Theater erbaut haben; sie fügten wohl nur irgend etwas zur Ausschmückung hinzu. Dieses Theater ist zwar, wenn man alle Einzelheiten dabei berücksichtigt, nicht vollständig erhalten, vielmehr hat es im Einzelnen schon mancherlei Schaden gelitten. So sind die Decken der im Bühnengebäude befindlichen Räume fast sämtlich niedergebrochen; auch die Ornamente sind vielfach verstümmelt. Aber im Übrigen ist es doch so weit erhalten, dass die dem Bau zu Grunde liegende Anlage, der in den Ornamenten angewandte Styl mit Sicherheit aus ihm ersehen werden kann. Namentlich aber ist das eigentliche Bühnengebäude in seinen Umfassungsmauern wie in den Quermauern von unten bis oben hinauf erhalten. — Was das Material anlangt, welches zum Bau verwendet worden ist, so bestehen die ornamentirten Stücke, besonders die Gesimse, ferner die Einfassungen der Thüren und Fenster aus sehr weissem Steine, vielleicht zum Theil aus Marmor; alles Andere sind grosse Kalksteinquadern; und zwar die zu den Sitzreihen der Zuschauer verwendeten von besserer Qualität, als die, aus denen die Mauern bestehen. Das Material an den Nebengebäuden der Skene ist endlich schlechter, als das zur Hauptfront verwendete. Die Fundamente der Sitzreihen bestehen aus unbehauenen Bruchsteinen.

Der die Zuschauer aufnehmende Theil, das eigentliche Theatron, um-

giebt die Orchestra in einem Halbbogen, dessen Enden zwischen den untersten Sitzreihen der *cornua* 39 Mètres von einander entfernt sind. Von der Mittelthür der Skene nach dem gerade gegenüberliegenden Ende der Orchestra beträgt die Entfernung 25,50 M. Die Sitzreihen erheben sich in concentrischen Bogen und reichen, in so weit nicht die Parodoi und das *tribunal* darin eine Aenderung hervorgebracht haben, bis an die Seitenflügel des Bühnengebäudes. Die Sitzreihen sind durch ein Diazoma in zwei Hälften getheilt; jede derselben enthält neunzehn Sitzreihen. Texier giebt neunundzwanzig Sitzreihen an, wobei mir unklar bleibt, ob diese Zahl für eine Hälfte oder für beide gelten soll. Bei der von mir angegebenen Zahl ist die obere mit der Gallerie in gleicher Ebene liegende Fläche und in der untern Hälfte die obere mit dem Diazoma in gleicher Ebene liegende Fläche nicht mitgerechnet. Die Brüstung des Diazoma ist 0,72 hoch; sie steigt fast lothrecht auf, und bildet nur einen sehr schwachen Bogen. Einen wenig vertieften Streif in der Mitte abgerechnet ist sie ohne Verzierung. Die oberste Sitzreihe ist 0,70 breit; die Steine der niedern haben dieselbe Breite, die Sitze sind aber um 0,12—0,15 schmaler; denn so viel fällt von jedem Sitze unter den Stein der nächst höhern Sitzreihe, der um der Füße der Zuschauer willen vorn in der angegebenen Breite wellenförmig ausgeschnitten ist. Die Höhe der Sitze beträgt 0,50 M.

Den Sitzreihen und der Orchestra gegenüber befindet sich das Bühnengebäude. Es besteht aus dem mehr zurückliegenden Hauptgebäude, dessen den Zuschauern zugekehrte Seite die eigentliche Skene ist, und aus zwei an beiden Seiten der Skene vortretenden Flügeln, die ebensowohl mit der Skene wie mit den Enden der Sitzräume eng verbunden sind, so dass der innere Raum des Theaters von der Umgebung desselben gänzlich abgeschlossen ist. — Die Dicke der Mauer an der Skenenfront beträgt 1,12 M.; an der der Strasse zugekehrten Seite des Bühnengebäudes ist die Mauer 1,77 dick. Die Höhe der Skene beträgt an der der Orchestra zugekehrten Seite jetzt, wo der Boden durch Schutt erhöht ist, fast 26 M. (eigentlich 25,94), nach der Seite der Strasse hin 1 bis 2 M. mehr. Die Länge der Skene beträgt 50,42 M. — Die Skene erhebt sich in drei Geschossen über den Unterbau. Im letzteren befinden sich Gewölbe (Keller), deren Decke ein wenig über den Boden der jetzigen Orchestra hervorragt, wie an einem schmalen Kellerfenster zu ersehen ist. Wo die Zugänge zu den unterirdischen Räumen sich befinden, weiss ich nicht anzugeben, weil mir die meisten Räume im Innern der Skene nicht zugänglich gewesen sind. Das Podium, der Unterbau mit seinen Kellern, erhebt sich über den jetzigen Boden der Orchestra 0,47 M. hoch, und ist in der Höhe von 0,13 von einem 0,35 hohen und eben so stark nach vorn vortretenden Wulste begrenzt.

In dem über dem Unterbau liegenden Erdgeschoss der Bühne befinden sich fünf Thüren. Die mittlere ist 4 M. hoch, 2,85 breit, jede der ihr zur Seite liegenden Thüren ist 3,46 hoch, 2,27 breit; die Eckthüren sind 2,36 hoch, 1,56 breit. Von diesen Thüren führten Stufen in die Orchestra hinab. Erhalten haben sich nur die vier an der Mittelthür, von denen die erste noch in der Thürnische liegt, die drei andern vor der Skenenmauer sich befinden. Jede derselben ist 0,30 hoch; der Auftritt der obersten beträgt 0,35, jeder der andern 0,21.



Unmittelbar vor der Skenenmauer stehen neben allen Thüren grosse Steinwürfel, 1,73 hoch, 1,62 weit von der Mauer her vortretend. Die neben der Mittelthür befindlichen sind 3,42 weit von einander entfernt, und stehen also nicht unmittelbar neben der Thür; sie haben eine Länge von 2,82. Die neben den Seitenthüren befindlichen sind 2,71, die neben den Eckthüren stehenden 2,62 lang. Ausserdem befinden sich noch zwei Steinwürfel in den Ecken der Skene, deren jeder 2,10 lang ist. Auf dem an der Nordseite der Skene befindlichen steht eine Säule; sie ist unkannelirt, und reicht bis zu den Gesimsen des ersten Stockwerks; ihr Diameter beträgt 0,60 und näher dem untern Ende 0,66. Eine ihr gleiche Säule hat auch auf dem Steinwürfel am Südense der Skene gestanden; sie liegt jetzt zertrümmert in der Orchestra. Weitere Säulenreste finden sich im ganzen Theater und neben demselben nicht vor; die übrigen Steinwürfel haben also nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit keine Säulen getragen.

Fenster befinden sich in dem Geschosse neun; sie variiren sehr in Grösse und Stellung. Gross und zwar gleich gross sind die vier, die zwischen den Thüren so angebracht sind, dass kein Steinwürfel unter ihnen sich befindet; sie verjüngen sich in ihren Oeffnungen. Die fünf andern Fenster befinden sich über den fünf Thüren, und stehen zu der Höhe und Grösse der Thüren in umgekehrtem Verhältnisse. Das über der Mittelthür befindliche ist ganz klein, etwas grösser sind die zwei über den Seitenthüren, noch grösser die über den Eckthüren. Der obere und untere Rand aller dieser Fenster kann mithin keine horizontale Linie bilden. Am höchsten über dem Boden sind beide Ränder an dem über der Mittelthür befindlichen, am niedrigsten bei denen über den Eckthüren. Das Niederrücken der Fenster selbst findet in proportionalem Verhältnisse statt. Sämmtliche Fenster dieses und des höhern Geschosses sind übrigens blosse Blenden. — Zwischen jeden zwei Fenstern befinden sich endlich zwei zur Aufnahme von Büsten bestimmte Steinplatten, die etwa 0,34 aus der Mauer vortreten.

Das Gewand der Thüren ist in drei Streifen getheilt, von denen die äussern nur wenig über die innern vortreten. Der äussere Rand des Gewandes wird durch ein scharfkantig vorstehendes schmales Glied gebildet. Der Sturz jeder Thür ist ebenfalls in drei Streifen getheilt, und hat an beiden Enden kleine einfache Eckakroterien. — Die vier grösseren Fenster des Geschosses sind nicht nur mit einem dreitheiligen Gesimse abgedeckt, sondern haben ein vollständiges Fronton als Abschluss. Eigenthümlich ist die Behandlung des Details an den Fenstern auch insofern, als dieselben weder ein Gewand an den Seiten haben, noch unten auf einer Sohlbank ruhen, während sie oben mit einem vollständigen Ionischen Hauptgesimse abgedeckt sind, zu dem, wie schon angegeben, noch die Giebfelder kommen. Diese den Fenstersturz bildenden Gesimse greifen mit dem nöthigen Auflager über die Fensterbreite hinweg in die Mauer hinein, und laden dann mit ihren Profilen gleichmässig nach den Seiten und nach vorn hin aus. Das Gesims besteht aus einem dreitheiligen mit einer Welle abschliessenden Architrav, einem mit Festons geschmückten Fries, dem ein Perlstab und eine Welle folgt, worauf die Hängeplatte und ein mit Römischen Akanthus-Palmetten gezierter Karnies ruhen. — Oben abgeschlossen ist das Geschoss wie das darüberliegende durch folgendes Gesims: ein drei-

theiliger mit einer Eierstab-Welle abgeschlossener Architrav, dessen Streifen beim untern Geschosse durch Perlstäbe geschieden sind, ein mit Festons und Masken gezielter Fries, dann eine Zahnschnittreihe, worauf wieder Hängeplatte und Karnies ruhen, die wiederum durch einen Perlstab getrennt sind. Das Karnies des untern Geschosses ist auch hier mit reichem Akanthus-Palmettenschmuck geziert. Jedoch nur über den Fenstern erscheint das Ganze als einfaches Bekrönungsgesims, in den Zwischenweiten bilden sich Balcons, mit denen das zweite Geschoss beginnt.

Die Balcons des zweiten Stockwerkes bestehen aus Hängeplatte und dem Karnies, und jeder Balcon wird von zwei Steinbalken unterstützt. Die letztern haben die Höhe und das Profil von Architrav und Fries des Gesimses; mit der Hängeplatte gleichzeitig treten Zahnschnitte hervor. Die Profile der Steinbalken sind fast durchgängig abgebrochen. Die Steinplatten befinden sich gerade senkrecht über den zwölf Steinwürfeln des untern Stockwerkes und stimmen mit letzteren in Länge, Breite und dem Heraustreten vor die Mauer genau überein, während die sie unterstützenden Steinbalken minder weit (gegen 0,40) aus der Mauer hervortreten. An der Unterseite jeder Steinplatte zieht sich nahe dem Rande der Länge nach ein Band hin; und in gleicher Linie mit ihm, dicht an den zwei vorderen Ecken, befinden sich zwei tiefe Löcher in Form von Parallelogrammen, die wohl zur Befestigung der Decorationen gedient haben. Ausserdem hat jede Platte an ihrer Unterseite zwei Köpfe oder Masken in Relief in einem viereckigen Felde. Der Rand der Platte hat, wie erwähnt wurde, *denticuli* als Ornament. Da die Fenster des unteren Stockwerkes in die zwischen den Steinwürfeln befindlichen Zwischenräume fallen, so befinden sich natürlich über ihnen auch keine aus der Mauer hervorragenden Steinplatten.

Thüren befinden sich im zweiten Stockwerk drei, die sämmtlich bei weitem kleiner als die des Unterstockes sind. Die erste befindet sich über der Mittelthür des Unterstockes, die zwei andern jede über der dritten Platte (d. h. zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Fenster) von der Mitte aus. Die Gesamtauffassung der Verzierungen ist dieselbe, wie im untern Stockwerke; nur fallen alle feineren Details fort und die erwähnten erhalten hier doppelte Grösse. Fenster hat das zweite Stockwerk acht, gerade über den Fenstern des Unterstockes; nur über der Hauptthür des Unterstockes befindet sich keines. Die Verzierung der Fenster ist gleich der im ersten Geschosse; nur findet sich das abschliessende Fronton hier gerade über den Fenstern, denen es im untern Geschosse fehlt. Die feineren Details der Decoration fehlen übrigens, und das Karnies ist ohne weitem Schmuck. — Zwischen je zwei Fenstern endlich, und zwar parallel mit der oberen Hälfte derselben ragen zwei Steinplatten, zur Aufnahme von Büsten bestimmt, aus der Mauer hervor; sie stehen senkrecht über denen des Unterstockes und sind wie diese gestaltet.

Das dritte Stockwerk beginnt wiederum mit weit vorstehenden Steinbalken und darüber ruhenden Steinplatten ganz in derselben Weise, wie im niedern Geschosse. Diese Steinplatten sind aber hier zum Theil nicht mehr Balcons, sondern Bedachung für die darunter liegenden. Sie sind daher mit Frontons abgeschlossen; so die über den zwei Eckplatten, zwei andere über den zwei Seitenthüren des zweiten Stockes. Ein besonders gros-

ses und hohes Giebelfeld befindet sich ausserdem über der Mittelthür und ist mit Reliefs verziert. Was die Reliefs darstellen, habe ich nicht erkennen können. — Thüren und Fenster fehlen dem dritten Stockwerke ganz; es ist über den Balcons und Frontons eine schlichte glatte Mauer, die mit einer Zinnenbekrönung oben abschliesst. Die Zahl der Zinnen scheint sechszehn gewesen zu sein; nur der kleinere Theil derselben ist noch ganz erhalten, die übrigen sind mehr oder weniger beschädigt. Die Zinnen haben etwa nach dem ersten Drittheil ihrer Höhe tiefe viereckige Löcher, die an der ganzen Fronte hin in einer Linie liegen. Eine andere Reihe von viereckigen Löchern läuft noch unter den Zinnen längs der Mauer im dritten Stockwerke hin. Die Entfernung einer Zinne von der andern beträgt etwa die Hälfte ihrer Breite; die letzte Zinne an jeder Ecke der Bühnenfront ist aber weit breiter als die übrigen. — Die Mauer der Skene erhebt sich durchaus senkrecht bis zu den Zinnen, ohne an der Aussenseite irgendwo vor- oder zurückzutreten. Erst in den obersten Theilen der Zinnen tritt sie etwas zurück. An der innern Seite zeigt sich übrigens, dass die Stärke der Mauern schon viel früher abnimmt, nämlich bei jedem höhern Stockwerke. — Höchst auffällig ist ferner, dass die solide schöne Quadermauer der Skene schon in alten Zeiten einen Kalkbewurf erhalten hat. Derselbe findet sich wenigstens stellenweise an ihr vor. Eine Färbung desselben an der Skenenfront ist nicht wahrzunehmen. An den Mauern der Seitenflügel gegen das Proskenion hin befinden sich dagegen auf dem Kalkanwurfe rothe im Zickzack gehende Striche, durch welche der Wand das Aussehen einer Mauer aus Ziegelsteinen gegeben worden ist.

Die Seitenflügel, welche die Skene in Nord und Süd begrenzen, treten an dem Proskenion 5,98 M. (also fast 6 M.) weit rechtwinklicht gegen die Orchestra bis an die Sitzreihen hin vor; die Höhe derselben ist gleich mit der der Bühnenfront. Die innere Construction der Flügel, wie die Lage und Grösse der an ihnen vorhandenen Fenster, die von denen der Skenenfront ganz abweichen, zeigt, dass die Flügel, abgesehen von dem Abschlusse, den sie dem Proskenion nach zwei Seiten hin geben, mit der eigentlichen Skene nichts zu thun haben. Darum scheint es angemessen, nicht nur die gegen das Proskenion hin vortretenden Theile derselben ins Auge zu fassen, sondern alsbald die gesamten Flügel zu beschreiben, wie sie von den Parodoi an bis zur Aussenseite des Bühnengebäudes hin sich erstrecken. — Die inneren dem Proskenion zugekehrten Mauern der Flügel sind ohne weitere Gliederung in Stockwerke und ohne irgend eines der Ornamente, welche der Skenenmauer beigegeben sind. Ausser einer im Podium befindlichen Thür hat sie zwei Fenster, über deren Lage alsbald das Nähere angegeben werden soll. Im Innern ist jeder Flügel durch eine starke, sämtliche Stockwerke in der Richtung der Skenenfront durchschneidende Mauer in zwei Theile getheilt, deren vorderer, der der Strasse zugekehrte, das Treppenhaus bildet, der hintere mehrere Gemächer enthält.

Das Treppenhaus ist ein quadratischer Raum von 5 M. In der Mitte desselben ist ein Pfeiler im Durchmesser 1,74 M. haltend. Er geht durch alle Stockwerke hinauf, und an ihm und an der gegenüberliegenden Wand haben die Treppenstufen aufgelegt. In dem Pfeiler sind sie eingemauert gewesen, an der Wand des Treppenhauses haben sie auf Unterlagen, die in die Wand eingelassen sind und sich noch in grosser Menge vorfinden,

aufgelegen. Die Treppenstufen sind 0,21 hoch, sind aber jetzt fast sämtlich verschwunden. Je nach den Stockwerken des übrigen Gebäudes und in gleicher Höhe mit diesen, sind auch im Treppenhaus Decken vorhanden gewesen. Sie sind im südlichen Treppenhaus sämtlich heruntergebrochen; in dem nördlichen haben sich noch einige Reste derselben erhalten; und man sieht hier, dass die Decken aus grossen horizontal aufgelagerten Steinen bestanden haben. In gleicher Weise sind auch die Decken der an das Treppenhaus anstossenden Gemächer einst gebildet gewesen; denn eine Ecke der im nördlichen Flügel einst vorhandenen Decke hat sich im obersten Stockwerke erhalten.

Das Treppenhaus hat in verticaler Richtung zwei Fensterreihen; die eine liegt an der äussern Skenenfront, der Strasse zugekehrt, die andere an der Seite. Die erstere besteht aus sieben Fenstern über einander, von denen drei dem Unterstocke, zwei dem mittlern, zwei dem obersten Stocke zufallen. Sie sind sämtlich von gleicher Grösse, und zwar 0,80 breit, 1,20 hoch. Die der Seitenwand zugehörigen haben eine Breite von 0,85, eine Höhe von 1,17, und befinden sich stets ein wenig höher als die entsprechenden der Vorderfronte. Im Unterstocke läuft die Mauer unter dem untersten dem Boden nahen Fenster nach innen zu schräg ab. Runde Löcher an den vier Ecken des Fensters zeigen, dass es einst auf ein Verschliessen des Fensters von innen her abgesehen war.

Die zweite neben dem Proskenion gelegene Hälfte jedes Flügels bildet in jedem Stockwerke ein Gemach; es liegen deren vier übereinander. Von ihnen entsprechen die zwei untersten dem Podium und dem Erdgeschosse der Skene, die zwei höhern den beiden höhern Stockwerken. An Grösse sind sie natürlich einander gleich, nicht so an Höhe. Ueberdies ist das im Podium liegende gewölbt (ein einfaches Tonnengewölbe), und in dieses führt von dem Raume vor der Skene her eine Thür hinein, deren Unterschwelle gleiches Niveau mit der Orchestra zu haben scheint. Die Thür ist von der Parodos 1,20, von dem Ecksteinwürfel der Bühnenfront 1,78 entfernt und hat eine Breite von 1,38. Die Höhe der Thür lässt sich wegen des Schuttes, der vor ihr wie auch in dem Gemache liegt, nicht bestimmen. In ihrem jetzigen Zustande ist sie niedrig, eine einfache Oeffnung in der Mauer ohne Spur eines Ornamentes. Ursprünglich war sie  $2\frac{1}{2}$  M. breit, und zugleich von ansehnlicher Höhe. Das Gemach, in welches sie führt, ist fast ganz finster; nur spärliches Licht dringt durch zwei lange schmale Ritze, die in der Mauer angebracht sind, hinein; einer derselben ist über der Thür, der zweite an der gegenüberstehenden Mauer. Die Dicke der Mauer an der Thür beträgt 0,87. Das über dem Gewölbe liegende Gemach entspricht seiner Lage nach im Allgemeinen dem ersten Stockwerke im Skenengebäude. Da aber das unter ihm liegende Gemach ansehnlich über das Podium der Bühne hinaufreicht, so ist das darüber befindliche sehr niedrig. Es hat im südlichen Flügel zwei breite nach der Aussenseite des Theaters gegen Süd hin liegende Fenster, die ziemlich nahe bei einander sind. Ausserdem befinden sich in ihm drei Thüren; eine derselben führt hart an der Mauer des Skenengebäudes in das Treppenhaus, die zwei andern führen zu den Sitzreihen; und zwar die näher der südlichen Wand gelegene auf das Diazoma, indem man dabei einige Stufen aufwärts steigen muss; die zweite mehr dem Proskenion genäherte ist nur 1 M.

breit und jetzt so niedrig, dass sie nur die Höhe von 6—7 Sitzstufen hat. Sie führt durch einen 1,80 langen, 1,18 breiten Gang auf das Tribunal über der Parodos. Ueber der zum Diazoma führenden Thür befindet sich an der das Diazoma abschliessenden Mauer ein Kragstein in gleicher Höhe mit der Mitte der Fenster des ersten Bühnenstockes.

Das Gemach im nächst höhern zweiten Stockwerke hat ebenfalls zwei Fenster an der Südseite, nur sind sie kleiner als die unter ihnen gelegenen. An der dem Proskenion zugekehrten Wand befindet sich ein grosses vier-eckiges Fenster ziemlich in der Mitte der Wand angebracht; es ist auffallend breit, in Höhe steht es dagegen den Fenstern im Bühnengebäude etwas nach. Die dem Treppenhaus zugekehrte Wand ist an der Südecke von einer Thür durchbrochen. — In dem Gemache des Oberstockes sind Thüren und Fenster in Lage und Zahl wie in dem zweiten Geschosse; namentlich steht das auf's Proskenion hinausgehende Fenster gerade über dem des unteren Stockwerkes, und ist auch eben so breit als jenes. Eigenthümlich ist dem Gemache nur eine Thür, die an der Westseite und zwar dem südlichen Ende derselben liegt; durch sie gelangt man zu der die Sitzreihen oben einschliessenden Gallerie vermittels eines schmalen überdeckten Ganges. Ueber diesem Gange befindet sich ein zweiter ihm ganz gleicher, der aber nicht überdeckt ist. Er vermittelt die Communication zwischen der flachen Decke des Seitenflügels mit der auf der Gallerie befindlichen flachen Decke; und da, wo er auf der westlichen der Gallerie und den Zuschauersitzen zugekehrten Mauer hinführt, befinden sich an ihm zwei grosse gewölbte Fenster an der den Sitzreihen zugekehrten Seite. — Dass der nördliche Seitenflügel die Einrichtung des südlichen theilt, ist bereits bemerkt worden.

Das Innere des Skenengebäudes hat eine Breite im Lichten von nur 4,13 M. An der vordern der Strasse zugekehrten Mauer befinden sich an deren inneren Seite pfeilerartige Stützen; sie waren ohne Zweifel zur Sicherung der hohen Mauer, die nur an wenigen Punkten durch Queermauern gestützt war, nöthig. Es treten dieselben 0,65 nach innen zu vor, und sie bestehen in ihren höchsten Theilen aus Ziegeln; dieser Theil mag also wohl am spätesten aufgesetzt worden sein, als man dessen Ansatz noch als nothwendig erkannte. Wie der innere Raum des Skenengebäudes in horizontaler Richtung durch Queer- und Zwischenmauern getheilt war, vermag ich nicht anzugeben, weil mir nur der von der Hauptthür aus zu betretende Raum zugänglich war. Zu beiden Seiten der Hauptthür aber scheint in deren Nähe ursprünglich keine Queermauer gewesen zu sein. Die jetzt neben der Hauptthür gegen Süd befindliche reicht nicht über das Erdgeschoss hinauf, besteht aus schlechtem Material und ist sicher eine Zuthat späterer Zeiten. Gegen Nord hin ist der innere Raum durch eine Queermauer, noch ehe man zur nächsten Thür gelangt, abgeschlossen. Diese Mauer besteht aus grossen Quadern, und hat im Erdgeschosse keine Thür, dagegen wohl im nächst höheren Stockwerke, und zwar nahe der Mauer der Skenenfront; eine Thür befindet sich in ihr auch in dem obersten Stocke, aber nahe der äussern Mauer. Diese Thüren sind auch in der gleichen gegen Süden hin gelegenen Queermauer an den gleichen Stellen vorhanden. — Steht man im Innern des Bühnengebäudes, so hat man jetzt den Himmel über sich, wenigstens an den meisten Stellen; die Decken sind eingestürzt. Die Decke des



Erdgeschosses hat einst auf Steinen geruht, die etwas aus den Hauptmauern hervorstehen; in den zwei höhern Stockwerken haben sie dagegen auf den Kanten der Mauern aufgelegt, indem man mit dem Beginn jedes höheren Stockwerkes von der Stärke der Hauptmauer etwas weggelassen hat.


Die Mauer an der Vorderseite des Skenengebäudes geht, soweit sie dieses und die Flügel von vorn begrenzt, in gerader Linie von Nord gegen Süd hin. An der Ecke der Flügel wendet sie sich in rechtem Winkel, und geht so bis zum Thore der Parodos, indem sie auf dieser Strecke die Aussenseite des Flügels begrenzt. Hinter der Parodos wendet sie sich abermals rechtwinklicht an der Südseite gegen Süden, am nördlichen Ende gegen Norden, und begrenzt dabei die Sitzreihen. Hierbei treten die Enden der Mauer wieder um einige Mètres mehr vorwärts heraus.

Die Länge der in gerader Linie liegenden Hauptfront beträgt 62,57 M., die Länge des gesammten Gebäudes 97,33 M. Die Mauer hat ursprünglich durchweg aus Kalkquadern bestanden. Als sie aber dem von den Sitzreihen ausgehenden Drucke nicht genugsamen Widerstand leisten konnte, ist sie an mehreren Stellen verstärkt worden. Dies ist selbst an der Hauptfront und zwar an der Südhälfte (bei S) geschehen, wodurch die erste Thür neben dem Haupteingange verdeckt worden ist. Aus gleichem Grunde mag auch die ihr entsprechende Thür an der Nordhälfte der Front vermauert worden sein. Vielleicht ist aus gleichem Grunde auch der jetzige Bau am Haupteingange hervorgegangen; das schlechtere Material, das hierbei verwendet worden ist, lässt dessen späteren Ursprung erkennen. Er zieht sich auf einer Strecke von 5,55 M. an der Hauptwand hin, tritt 4 M. weit vor, und durch ihn gelangt man zu der 2,29 breiten Hauptthür. Der Vorbau bildet ein auf Pfeilern ruhendes Gewölbe, zu dem der Hauptzugang von vorn her ist; ihm zur Seite befinden sich zwei Nebeneingänge. Die Pfeiler haben an der Vorderseite eine Breite von 1,12, nahe dem Boden von 1,60 M.; zwischen ihnen liegt das 3,30 breite, gegen 7—8 M. hohe Thor, dessen Wölbung in einer Höhe von etwa 6 M. beginnt. An den Seiten sind die Pfeiler 2 M. dick, dann folgt der nicht hohe, gegen 1,50 breite Seitenzugang, und hierauf auf 0,50 hin bis zur Hauptfront ein Stück Mauer. Zwischen den Pfeilern steigt man von vorn her auf 7—8 Stufen in den Vorbau, und von da auf 1—2 Stufen zur Thür des Theatergebäudes hinan. An den Seiteneingängen bemerkt man keine Stufen. Die zur Seite der Hauptthür angebrachten 1,80 breiten Fenster sind vermauert.

Mehr als die Mauer der Hauptfront haben die die Sitzreihen begrenzenden Mauern spätere Verstärkungen zu ihrer Sicherung erfahren. Die hinter ihnen befindliche Last der Sitzreihen und die geringe Consistenz habenden Felsen, auf denen sie ruhen, mögen stark auf die Mauern gedrückt haben. Wenigstens sind hier die Sicherungsmaassregeln sehr umfassend gewesen, namentlich auf der Strecke  $\alpha\beta$  der Zeichnung auf eine Länge von 4,22 hin; sie beginnen 2,81 von  $\alpha$  fern. Ferner hat man in der Höhe dem daran stossenden nicht verstärkten Mauertheile einen grossen Bogen von Ziegeln aufgesetzt, um dem obern Mauertheile die nöthige Widerstandskraft zu verleihen. In der That ist die Mauer dadurch erhalten worden. Durch diese späteren Maueransätze sind aber zwei Thüren (2,12 und 2,47 breit) vermauert worden. Dieselben Vorsichtsmaassregeln, Verdickung der Mauer und ein angesetzter Bogen aus Ziegeln, sind auch am Nordende an-

gewendet worden; auch da sind hiedurch die Thüren, die äusserste gegen Nord wenigstens zur Hälfte, vermauert worden.

Vor den drei an der Vorderfront des Bühnengebäudes befindlichen Thüren liegen noch grosse Haufen von Rollsteinen, die reichlich durch Cement verbunden waren. Es sind dies die Reste von Treppen, die ehemals zu den Thüren hinangeführt haben. Texier hat in seinem Grundrisse eine an der ganzen Vorderfront hingehende Treppe dargestellt, von der aus man beliebig zu den fünf Thüren der Hauptfront gelangen konnte; diese fünf Thüren correspondiren nämlich bei ihm den fünf Skenenthüren. Vergebens sieht man sich aber an den zwischen den drei Thüren befindlichen Mauertheilen nach Resten der ehemaligen Treppe um. Ueberdies sind die von Texier neben der Hauptthür angesetzten Thüren, wie es scheint, nicht Thüren, sondern Fenster gewesen; denn es befinden sich an jenen Stellen keine Spuren, die auf das Dasein einer ehemaligen Treppe hinweisen.

Von den Fenstern der äusseren Bühnenfront, die sämmtlich keine Blenden sind, sind die den zwei Treppenhäusern angehörigen schon erwähnt worden. Ausserdem befinden sich im Unterstocke sechs kleine Fenster, wenig grösser als die des Treppenhauses. Sie stehen nicht gleich weit von einander ab, vielmehr befindet sich in der Südhälfte der Mauer das erste der Hauptthür nahe, das zweite unter der zweiten bald zu erwähnenden Nische, ein drittes ist wegen des Maueransatzes nicht sichtbar. An der Nordhälfte der Front sind alle drei leicht zu erkennen. In dem nächst höhern Geschosse befinden sich neun Nischen, zu denen man von innen her durch kleine Thüren gelangen konnte; Fenster hat das Stockwerk nicht. In dem dritten Stockwerke sind neun viereckige mässig hohe Fenster, achtzehn ihnen ähnliche in dem obersten, der wohl in gleicher Höhe mit den Zinnen der Innenseite liegen mag. Die Einfassungen der Fenster bestehen im unteren Stockwerke aus weissen Steinen in der Form ; im dritten Geschosse ist diese Einfassung wenigstens nicht bei allen da, im obersten fehlt sie ganz. Dagegen haben die über und unter jedem Fenster des obersten Stockes vortretenden Schwellen an den Enden runde Löcher, wohl um das Ablaufen des Regenwassers zu erleichtern. — Endlich befinden sich noch in gleicher Höhe zwei Kragsteine an der Vorderfront; sie stehen an den Enden der Front neben den äussersten Fenstern.

An der Mauer jedes Flügels, der rechtwinklicht gegen die Hauptfront nach West sich hinzieht, befinden sich elf Fenster, sechs im unteren, drei im mittleren, nur zwei im obersten Stockwerke; denn das dritte ist durch den später angesetzten Bogen aus Ziegelsteinen verdeckt, wie man an dem nördlichen Flügel, wo dies nicht der Fall ist, sieht. — In den die Sitzreihen begrenzenden Mauertheilen der Vorderfront haben sich im obersten Stockwerke der Südseite einst drei grosse gewölbte Fenster befunden. Jetzt sind sie in so weit vermauert, dass an ihrer Stelle kleine viereckige sich befinden. Vermauert oder durch später angesetzte Mauertheile verdeckt sind dort noch andere Fenster, so namentlich zwei, welche über den zwei Thüren des Unterstockes sich befunden haben. — Ganz ähnlich verhält es sich in den entsprechenden Mauertheilen am Nordende. Auch hier befin-

den sich ausser einem grossen gewölbten Fenster im Oberstocke nur noch zwei kleine viereckige; die anderen, welche einst im Unterstocke vorhanden waren, sind durch spätere Mauern verdeckt worden. Letzteres ist auch zum Theil mit den im zweiten Stockwerke befindlichen Inschriften der Fall; sie sind, weil die Mauern hier theilweise verstärkt worden sind, nicht mehr ganz sichtbar. — Die gewölbten Fenster des Oberstockes an beiden Flügeln haben je acht Kragsteine in zwei Reihen neben sich. Die obere Reihe derselben steht ungefähr mit dem obern, die untere mit dem untern Ende der Fenster in gleicher Linie, und sie sind wenig mehr, als die Höhe des Fensters beträgt, von einander entfernt. An diesen Mauertheilen befinden sich endlich auch durchlöchernte Traufsteine. —

Zu den Sitzreihen gelangte der grösste Theil der Zuschauer theils durch die Parodoi von der Orchestra aus, theils von der die Sitzreihen am oberen Ende umgebenden Gallerie aus, die an ihrer Aussenseite Thüren hat. Denn da der grösste Theil der Sitzreihen auf dem natürlichen Felsen aufliegt, wie namentlich von Süd bis Nordwest hin der Fall ist: so konnte es von diesen Seiten her keine anderen Pforten geben, als nur von dem überragenden Felsen her durch die Gallerie. Ausser den genannten Zugängen ist nur ein Zugang von aussen her an dem Nordende der Sitzreihen; er führt zum Diazoma. Hinter dem Diazoma führt unter den Sitzreihen ein gewölbter, 2,78 M. breiter, etwas über Mannshöhe hoher Gang in vollem Halbkreise von einem Ende der Sitzreihen bis zum andern hin, und von ihm gehen an fünf Stellen Thüren nach dem Diazoma hin, die 1,60 M. breit, etwa 2 M. hoch sind, und 1,82 M. vom inneren Gange fern liegen. Am Nordende des Diazoma erweitert sich der Gang nach aussen hin allmählich bis zu 3,32 M., und zugleich hebt sich dabei die Decke des Ganges. Die Thür an der Aussenseite des Ganges ist ein wenig schmaler als der Gang. An der zweiten zum Diazoma führenden Thür (cf. den Grundriss von Texier) befindet sich ein Pfeiler, und es geht hier zugleich aus dem innern Gange eine grosse gewölbte Erweiterung desselben in gerader Richtung nach der Aussenseite des Theaters hin, wie wenn dort ein Ausgang wäre. Ein solcher ist aber nicht da, auch nicht da gewesen. Eine Quadermauer schliesst das Ende ab. Die Erweiterung hat also nur den Zweck gehabt, einen Ausweg bei allzustarkem Zudrange nach dem innern Gange darzubieten. An der vierten Thür steht im Innern des Ganges wiederum ein grosser viereckiger Pfeiler, dessen eine scharfe Kante der Thür des Diazoma zugekehrt ist. Zugleich ist der Gang hier abermals gegen die Aussenseite hin in einer Breite von 5,50 M. erweitert, ebenfalls ohne Ausgang. An der fünften Thür, die am Südende der Sitzreihen sich befindet, endet der Gang; auch hier findet die kappenartige Verlängerung des Ganges nach aussen hin statt, aber ohne dass ein Ausweg nach jener Seite hin da ist. An der Wand am Ende des Ganges befindet sich eine steinerne Bank. — Endlich ist noch zu bemerken, dass an der das Diazoma gegen die höheren Sitzreihen begrenzenden Wand lange Schlitz angebracht sind, welche sich nach innen, nach dem Gange zu, erweitern; namentlich fällt auch die Unterseite des Schlitzes schräg ab. Der dunkle Gang wird hiedurch nur spärlich erhellt; also wollte man wohl die Circulation der Luft in dem gewölbten Gange dadurch befördern. —

Die über der obersten Sitzreihe befindliche Gallerie hat eine Breite von



4,37 M. im Lichten, einschliesslich der Mauer von 4,50 M. Sie ist bis zu der über ihr befindlichen Decke fast 6 M. (5,94) hoch, und ist an der dem Theater zugekehrten Seite von Pfeilern eingefasst, welche vorn mit Halbsäulen aus Ziegeln verkleidet sind. Die Pfeiler stehen 1,95 M. weit in die Gallerie hinein, die Halbsäulen treten 0,22 weit vor. Vor jeder Halbsäule springt die Fläche noch um 0,50 weit vor. Die Entfernung der Pfeiler von einander beträgt 1,50 M., an den Enden der Sitzreihen, zwischen den Pfeilern 2—5, nur 1,30 M. Die Vorder- wie die Hinterseite jedes Pfeilers ist 0,59 M. breit. Ueber jedem Pfeiler befindet sich ein Kragstein, dessen Vorderende bis über den Rand der obersten Stufe vorreicht, und auf ihm ruht der zwischen je zwei Pfeilern sich befindende Bogen. Die Decke der Gallerie ist eine offene Fläche, ohne alle Brüstung an der Seite gegen die Sitzreihen hin, von einer niedern Mauer aus schlechten Bruch- und Ziegelsteinen an der andern Seite eingefasst. In dieser Mauer befinden sich gewölbte Fenster; sie stehen 0,80 M. über dem Boden, sind 0,92 breit, 0,87 hoch, und sind 0,72 von einander entfernt. — Zu der Plattform oder der Decke der Gallerie steigt man von letzterer auf neunzehn Treppenstufen hinauf. Diese Treppe ist nur 0,65 M. breit, liegt an der Aussenmauer der Sitzreihen und wird am Ende der Gallerie bei *a* betreten (Fig. 1). Die Treppe biegt dann noch zweimal in rechten Winkeln um und führt zur Decke bei *b* hinauf. Im nördlichen Flügel ist die Wendung der Treppe natürlich nach der entgegengesetzten Seite hin.

Die Gallerie und deren Decke stehen auch mit den Flügeln des Bühnengebäudes und dadurch mit dem Bühnengebäude selbst in Verbindung. Von der Gallerie aus führt nämlich an dem Südende der Sitzreihen ein Gang, der um eine Stufe niedriger als die Gallerie liegt und nur 0,65 M. breit ist, zwischen den die Sitzreihen begrenzenden Mauern zur Ecke des Bühnenflügels, nachdem er sich in rechtem Winkel dem Proskenion zugekehrt hat (von *a* nach *b* in Fig. 2). Auf diesem Gange befinden sich (zwischen *c* und *b*) ein grosses und zwei kleine viereckige Fenster an der nach aussen gekehrten Seite (sie sind schon erwähnt worden) und zwei gewölbte an der innern den Sitzreihen zugekehrten. Gerade über diesem Gange befindet sich der andere, welcher von der Decke der Gallerie aus zu dem platten Dache des Seitenflügels hinführt. Er ist dem darunter liegenden in Richtung und Breite ganz gleich. Man steigt zu ihm von der Decke der Gallerie aus auf vier Stufen abwärts; von den ihn einfassenden Mauern ist jede 0,52 M. dick. — Ganz ebenso ist es auch am nördlichen Ende der Sitzreihen.

Jede der zwei unter den Enden der Sitzreihen hinführenden Parodoi hat einschliesslich des an der Aussenseite des Theaters sie begrenzenden Thores eine Länge von 29,8 M.; das genannte Thor ist 2,50 M. breit; seine Mauern sind 1,81 M. dick. Die Höhe der Parodos lässt sich wegen des in ihr angehäuften Schuttes nicht angeben; breit ist sie 3,65 M. In der Entfernung von 20 M. vom innern Ende her befindet sich eine Thür, die in den Seitenflügel des Skenengebäudes führt. Das Thor der Parodos an der Orchestra ist wie der Gang selbst gewölbt. Der Bogen des Thores ruht auf einem Pfeilergesimse, das aus einigen Stäbchen und einer Welle besteht; der Bogen selbst besteht aus drei stufenweise erhöhten Streifen; der äusserste ist von einer Welle und einem Stäbchen eingefasst. — Ueber

dem Thore der Parodos befindet sich ein freier Platz, das Tribunal, 4,65 M. lang, 4,17 breit. Die zu ihm aus dem Skenenflügel führende Thür ist bereits erwähnt worden. Der ebene Platz ist in seinem hintern Theile um ein oder zwei Stufen höher als in seinem vordern; er nimmt den Raum von sechs Sitzreihen ein. Da nun überdies durch die Parodos acht Sitzreihen, deren Höhe der Parodos entspricht, unterhalb desselben weggefallen sind, so sind über dem Tribunal noch fünf Sitzreihen bis zum Diazoma.

Der Treppen sind in der untern Hälfte der Sitzreihen zehn, in der obern einschliesslich der zwei an den Wänden der Flügel hinführenden einundzwanzig. In Bezug auf die Pfeiler der obern Gallerie vertheilen sie sich so, dass eine Treppe nach je drei Pfeilern, in den der Bühne nahen Theilen jedoch schon nach je zwei Pfeilern sich befindet. Auf jede Sitzreihe kommen zwei Treppenstufen. Zu den Sitzreihen unterhalb des Diazoma gelangte man theils vom Diazoma aus, theils aus der Orchestra; zu den Sitzreihen über dem Diazoma für gewöhnlich nur von oben, von der Gallerie her. An sechs Stellen des Diazoma jedoch führen ausserdem sechs Paar schmale Treppenstufen zur obern Hälfte der Sitzreihen; jeder dieser Steige hat sechs Stufen, die nur 0,61 M. breit und ohne Geländer sind; sie können nur ausnahmsweise gebraucht worden sein. Die Breite des Diazoma wurde durch sie wenig geschmälert, indem sie am Rande des Diazoma hinaufgehen, und zwar von zwei Seiten, so dass immer zwei Steige oben zusammentreffen.

Dass die Maasse und vielleicht auch andere Angaben nicht überall ganz genau und richtig sein werden, stelle ich nicht in Abrede; Irrthum ist in dergleichen Einzelheiten zu leicht möglich. Um indess die Vorstellungen vieler Einzelheiten zu fixiren, waren die Angaben nöthig. Fremde Angaben habe ich absichtlich nicht benutzt.

## 27) Ueber das Episkenion.

In Bezug auf den obersten Theil der Skene, das Episkenion, sagt Schneider (att. Theat. p. 92 No. 114): „der Raum über der Bühne und unter dem Bühnendache hiess *ἐπισκήνιον*; . . . was aber Vitruv 5, 7 *episcenos* und 7, 5 *episcenium* nennt, sind Aufsätze, Stockwerke der Bühnengebäude, wie sie die Römer hatten.“ In dieser Erklärung scheint mir mancherlei falsch zu sein. Das *ἐπισκήνιον* ist offenbar ein Theil der Skene, und stellt sich als solcher auch entschieden dar in den Worten des Vitruvius 7, 5, in denen Apaturios getadelt wird, dass er auf eine mannigfach verzierte und mit Dachgesims versehene Skene noch ein *episcenium* gesetzt habe, *in quo tholi, pronai, semifastigia omnisque tecti variis picturis fuerat ornatus*. Es ist ein Oberstock, oder vielmehr das oberste Geschoss. Mit Unrecht schliesst also Schneider das Bühnendach von dem Begriffe aus. Eben so unbegründet ist die Beschränkung auf die Römer; denn wenn die Hellenen *διστέλαι* bei ihren Theatern hatten (und sie mussten sie haben), so versteht es sich von selbst, dass sie auch einen Oberstock, ein *episcenium*, haben mussten. Endlich aber darf das Wort *episcenium* nicht auf jeden Aufsatz und jedes Stockwerk der Skene, wie Schneider zu meinen scheint, bezogen werden; denn selbst in den Worten: *item si tertia episcenos futura erit*, spricht Vitruvius (5, 7) nicht von mehreren *episceni*, da es nicht erlaubt ist zu übersetzen: ein drittes Episcenium, sondern

*episcenos* steht in Apposition zu *tertia*, und zu *tertia* ist *pars* zu ergänzen. Man muss also übersetzen: der dritte Theil oder das dritte Stockwerk, nämlich das Episcenium. Dass dem so ist, zeigt auch die Glosse bei Hesychios: τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς καταγώγιον. Aber ungeachtet Pape und die neuesten Herausgeber des Passow'schen Lexikons diese Glosse kennen, erklären sie doch ἐπισκήνιον: „ein Theil des Theatergebäudes, vielleicht die drei(!) sich übereinander erhebenden Geschosse mit Sitzreihen(!)“.

## 28) Ueber die Bedachung der Bühne.

Strack (l. l. p. 5) glaubt, dass, wenn das Proskenion für gewöhnlich keine Bedeckung, Ueberdachung hatte, über den zwei Seitenflügeln des Skenengebäudes zwei Giebel sich befunden haben. Ueberreste derselben findet er in dem Theater zu Egesta, von dem der Unterbau erhalten sei, und Reste von Halbsäulen, ferner Reste des Giebels und Gesimsstücke aus dem innern Winkel als entscheidende Beweise für diese Anordnung des Daches sich gefunden haben. Habe dagegen das Dach nur nach der Länge des Gebäudes gelegen, so sei das Proskenion dann als ein herausgeschnittener Theil desselben erschienen. „Durch die Annahme einer Bedeckung der Bühne, fährt er fort, während der Aufführung der Schauspiele erhält man den passendsten Platz zum Aufstellen der Flugmaschinen, und zugleich den schönsten vollständigsten oberen Schluss der Decorationen. Das Dach konnte alsdann bei der so geringen Tiefe der Bühne auf die leichteste Weise durch Hervorstrecken der Balken und Sparren....gebildet werden.“ Ein Bühnendach nimmt auch Schneider (l. l. p. 9) an, erklärt sich aber über die Gestalt desselben nicht. Eben so wenig Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 102). Da er sich aber auf ein Vasenbild bezieht, welches ein gegen das Proskenion vorspringendes Dach vorstellt: so scheint dies die Form zu sein, die er dem Skenengebäude beimisst. Ist dem in der That so, so vermisste ich einen Beweis dafür. Das Vasengemälde stellt freilich die Scene aus einem Drama vor; es lässt sich aber nicht unterscheiden, ob das dargestellte Dach der festen Skene oder der Decoration zugehört. Ich halte es für einen Theil der Decoration, Geppert für das Dach der Skene. Wer mithin durch das Gemälde etwas in der Beziehung beweisen will, muss zuerst beweisen, wem das Dach zufällt. — Aber auch mit Strack's Vorstellungen kann ich nur sehr bedingt mich einverstanden erklären. Das Theater zu Aspendos, das Skenengebäude sammt den Flügeln, obgleich bis oben hin erhalten, zeigt keine Spur von schräg aufwärts gehenden Dachflügeln; es kann, wie die obersten Theile zeigen, nie dergleichen gehabt haben. Eben so wenig habe ich bei andern Theatern, deren Bühnenreste noch erheblich sind, bei denen zu Myra, Tlos, Pinara, Side, Perge, eine Spur von Dach oder wenigstens von Steingliedern finden können, die auf das ehemalige Dasein desselben hingewiesen hätten. Nirgends findet man in diesen Theatern, was bei andern einst überdachten Gebäuden meist, fast regelmässig der Fall ist, Reste von Dachziegeln, geschweige denn grössere Stücke derselben. Nimmt man dazu, dass ein Phryktorion, wie es der Agamemnon des Aischylos nöthig macht, dass mehrere andere Scenen bei Aischylos und Sophokles, dass mancherlei Maschinen einen freien offenen Ort über der Skenenfront nöthig machen; endlich dass, wenn *Nero e proscenii fa-*

*stigio* herabsieht, dies am begreiflichsten wird, wenn er an Zinnen stand, welche den oberen Rand der Skene einfassten: so glaube ich, dass man nicht geneigt sein wird, Strack's Ansicht festzuhalten. Vielmehr, da in keinem Falle alle Theater mit schräg abfallenden Dächern versehen gewesen sind, so wird es darauf ankommen festzustellen, wie weit bestimmte Spuren, die auf eine anderweitige Art der Bedachung hinweisen, vorhanden sind. Dass Vitruvius über die Beschaffenheit des Skenendaches nichts sagt, ist kein entscheidendes Moment.

29) Ueber die Bedeutung von *λογεῖον*, *προσκήνιον* und *παρασκήνιον*.

In Bezug auf das Logeion der Hellenen sagt Vitruvius (5, 7): *eius logei altitudo non minus debet esse pedum decem, non plus duodecim*, hinsichtlich des Römischen *pulpitum* (5, 6): *eius pulpiti altitudo sit ne plus pedum quinque, uti qui in orchestra sederint, spectare possint omnium agentium gestus*. — Ueber die Ausdrücke *ὀκρίβας*, *λογεῖον*, *προσκήνιον* und *pulpitum* cf. Geppert altgriech. Bühne p. 99 und Sommerbrodt *de Aesch. re scenica* I p. 23. Was aber insbesondere das Wort *προσκήνιον* anlangt, so bezeichnet es eigentlich das vor der Skene, vor der Skenenfront Befindliche, und Isidor definirt also richtig *locus patens et liber in fronte scenae, in quo actores histrioniam exercebant*. In dem Sinne braucht es auch Apulejus (cf. Schneider's att. Theat. p. 80), und es entspricht demnach ganz dem Begriffe, den wir mit Bühne verbinden. Dass es identisch mit *pulpitum* ist, ersieht man aus Servius (zu Virg. Georg. 2, 381): *proscenia . . . sunt pulpita ante scenam, in quibus ludicra exercentur*. Wenn der Pluralis des Wortes von der Bühne eines Theaters gebraucht wird, so hat es nichts Auffallendes, da es sich alsdann auf alles vor der Skenenwand Befindliche, auf die dortigen Räumlichkeiten beziehen lässt. Inzwischen wird das Wort auch von dem gebraucht, was unmittelbar an den freien Raum auf der Skene anstösst, nämlich von der Skenenfront selbst. In dieser Bedeutung steht es bei Suetonius (Nero c. 12), wenn er sagt, dass *Nero e proscenii fastigio* zugesehen habe, desgleichen c. 26 *ex parte proscenii superiori*. Besonders festzuhalten ist diese Bedeutung in der Inschrift zu Patara (*Corp. inscr.* No. 4283), in der es heisst: *τὸ προσκήνιον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων ὃ . . . . Τιτιανὸς, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀνάστασιν*. Denn wenn man die hierauf folgenden Worte: *καὶ τὴν τοῦ λογείου κατασκευὴν καὶ πλάκωσιν* nicht ausser Acht lässt, so ist klar, dass man bei *προσκήνιον* weder an die Ornamente denken darf, die an-oder auf der Bühne aufgestellt waren, noch an die Bühne selbst, an das *λογεῖον*. Denn beides ist noch ausser dem *προσκήνιον* genannt. Letzteres, welches von Titianos von Grund auf aufgeführt wurde, kann also nur die Skenenfront sein, und an und neben ihr war der genannte Schmuck aufgestellt.

Das Wort geht hier in die Bedeutung von *σκηνή* über, bezeichnet aber nur den Theil derselben, der den Zuschauern zugekehrt ist, während *σκηνή* das gesammte Bühnengebäude umfasst; weshalb auch Vitruvius sagen konnte *proscenii pulpitum*, ein Ausdruck, an dem Stieglitz (Beitr. I p. 178) Anstoss genommen hat. Sommerbrodt freilich (l. l. I p. 23) will

mit Rücksicht auf die Patareische Inschrift einen Unterschied zwischen λογεῖον und προσκήνιον insofern machen, *quod proscenium significat omnem qui ante scenam est locum, id est et ipsam subtractionem ex lapide factam et pulpitum, in quo loquebantur histriones, logeum autem solum pulpitum ligneum subtractioni impositum*. Es ist dies aber ein Nothbehelf. Das Aufführen des προσκήνιον ἐκ θεμελίων ist bei der hohen Skenenfront ganz gerechtfertigt, dagegen unpassend bei dem Logeion, das selbst da, wo es Mauern als Unterlage hatte, eben nur aus diesen Grundmauern bestand. Ferner wenn προσκήνιον das Logeion, so weit es aus Stein bestand, bedeutete: so konnte von der Ausschmückung desselben nicht eher die Rede sein, als bis auch die Dielung desselben genannt war; demnächst würde auch, προσκήνιον im Sinne von Sommerbrodt gefasst, die Erbauung desselben und ἡ τοῦ λογεῖου κατασκευὴ καὶ πλάκωσις eine unerträgliche Tautologie sein. Endlich ist das Proskenion, im Sinne von Sommerbrodt als Logeion gefasst, nicht der Ort, welcher durch vielen Schmuck verengt werden durfte; und man wird dem also nicht ausweichen können, das Proskenion in der Inschrift als Bühnenfront zu fassen. Einen weiteren Beweis dafür finde ich in den Worten (Cramer *anecd. Par. I* p. 19) εἰ μὲν δὴ πάντα τις Αἰσχύλῳ βούλεται τὰ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν εὐρήματα προσνέμειν, ἐκκυκλήματα καὶ περιάκτους (denn so muss man wohl mit Sommerbrodt l. l. I p. 14 schreiben) καὶ μηχανὰς ἐξώστρα(ς) τε καὶ προσκήνια καὶ διστεγίας, καὶ κεραυνοσκοπεῖα καὶ βροντεῖα, καὶ θεολογεῖα καὶ γεράνους, καὶ που καὶ ξυστίδας καὶ βατραχίδας etc., wo die Bedeutung, welche Sommerbrodt dem Proskenion beilegt, nicht anwendbar ist. Er meint daher, Aischylos könne nimmer das Proskenion erfunden haben; denn als der Ort, an dem die Schauspieler im Drama aufträten, müsse es von Anfang an da gewesen sein; und da er zugleich findet, dass die dem Aischylos beigelegten Erfindungen sehr durcheinander geworfen seien, so ändert er προσκήνια in παρασκήνια. Die Paraskenia, die Seitenflügel der Bühne, seien es, die Aischylos nicht habe entbehren können, als er die Zahl der Schauspieler vermehrte und mehr Thüren als bisher brauchte. — Aber ganz abgesehen davon, ob die Seitenflügel die Zahl der Thüren vermehrt haben, so ist eine so grosse Unordnung in der Aufzählung der Erfindungen, wie Sommerbrodt andeutet, nicht da; vielmehr werden meist verwandte Dinge, Maschinen oder Theatertheile, paarweise verbunden. Aber selbst wenn man die Verwirrung in der Aufzählung zugeben müsste, so folgt daraus noch nicht, dass der Schriftsteller des Gegenstandes unkundig gewesen ist, und ich fürchte fast, indem Sommerbrodt die Proskenien verwirft, die διστεγίαι keines Wortes würdigt, raubt er, der die Verdienste des Aischylos um die Hellenische Bühne darstellen will, demselben zwei seiner folgenreichsten und sinnigsten Erfindungen, die Bühnenwand oder Skenenfront und das zweite der einfachen Wand aufgesetzte Geschoss. So lange die Handlung des Drama sich auf der Erde bewegte, oder so lange die Erscheinungen aus der Götterwelt auf der Bühne nur höchst unvollkommen dargestellt wurden; so lange die Götter gerade wie die Menschen auf irdischen Pfaden erschienen, oder das Aussergewöhnliche mehr angedeutet als dargestellt, mithin Vieles der Phantasie der Zuschauer überlassen wurde, bedurfte es als Skene nur der Wand eines einstöckigen Hauses, und zwar mit einer oder mit mehrern Thüren. Als aber die Decorationen vervollkommnet wurden, um die Oertlichkeiten, an denen die



Handlung sich bewegte, treuer, wenigstens anschaulicher als bisher darzustellen; als der Schauplatz der Handlung auf grosse Höhen, auf steile Felsen hin verlegt wurde, als die Götter sichtlich von den Wohnungen der Himmlischen heruntersteigen, schweben, unter Donner und Blitz erscheinen, verschwinden sollten, da wurde eine Menge von Maschinen nöthig, vermittle der man dem menschlichen Unvermögen zu Hülfe kommen musste, da bedurfte es Räumlichkeiten, die darauf berechnet waren, die Maschinen aufzustellen, vor den Augen der Zuschauer zu verbergen und in Thätigkeit zu setzen. Jetzt genügte die frühere einfache Skenenwand nicht mehr, sondern es wurde eine neue nöthig, die darauf berechnet war, den höher gespannten Forderungen nachzukommen; diese Wand musste zu bedeutender Höhe hinaufgeführt werden, um, was der Luft und dem Himmel zufiel, auch an einem entsprechenden Orte der Bühne zur Erscheinung zu bringen, und der Mann, der dies erfand, war Aischylos. Denn da er das Grossartige, Gewaltige, Aussergewöhnliche in seinen Darstellungen liebte und erstrebte, so hatte er besonderen Anlass zu suchen, wie er es ermöglichte. Dass er die Mittel dazu fand, wird in den von Sommerbrodt beanstandeten Worten gesagt und mit *προσκήνια* und *διστεγναι* bezeichnet, jenes als die für das complicirtere Drama, die Maschinen und die Decorationen befähigte Bühnenwand, dieses als das zweite höhere Stockwerk, welches er zuerst dem Erdgeschosse der Skene hinzufügte. Auch hier ist also Proskenia ganz in dem Sinne zu fassen, in dem es in der Inschrift zu Patara sich findet, nämlich als Skenenfront.

Vieldeutig ist auch das Wort Paraskenion, und zwar ist die Bedeutung, die am häufigsten in dasselbe gelegt wird, nämlich Seitenflügel der Skene, am wenigsten durch Zeugnisse der Alten gesichert. Vitruvius braucht das Wort gar nicht; Pollux zählt zwar die *παρασκήνια* unter den *μέρη τοῦ θεάτρου* auf, aber ohne eine Erklärung derselben zu geben. Geht man von der Etymologie aus, so müssen die *παρασκήνια* sein, was sich neben der *σκηνή*, an der Skene hin befindet, *loca propter scenam sita*, wie Sommerbrodt l. l. I p. 22 sagt; und es steht demnach dem Proskenion entgegen. Was aber in jedem einzelnen Falle darunter zu verstehen ist, das kann ein sehr Mannigfaltiges sein. Dass es von Räumlichkeiten gebraucht wird, die von Mauern umschlossen waren, ersieht man (abgesehen von der Erklärung des Suidas s. v. *σκηνή*) aus dem Scholion Bavar. zu Demosthenes (in Mid. cap. 7). Denn nach dem daselbst als Gewährsmann citirten Theophrastos ist es *ὁ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀποδεδειγμένος τόπος ταῖς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρασκευαῖς*. Und zwar waren die Räume dazu bestimmt, die für die Aufführung von Dramen erforderlichen Geräthe und Decorationen aufzunehmen. Aber nicht nur diesen Raum selbst bezeichnete das Wort, sondern auch speciell die zu demselben führenden Thüren. Den Beleg dafür liefert Alkiphr. ep. II p. 230 Bergl. Denn wenn es da heisst, dass das Mädchen, welches für den Geliebten die Garderobe zurichtet und an dem, was demselben auf der Bühne begegnet, den lebhaftesten Antheil nimmt, an den Paraskenien steht (*τοῖς παρασκηνίοις ἑστῆκα*): so sind dies die Thüren an der Bühne vor den zur Aufbewahrung der Garderobe bestimmten Räumlichkeiten, wie aus des Didymos Erklärung zu ersehen ist, der in dem angeführten Schol. *τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὀρχήστρας εἰσόδους* nennt. Denn da an die Parodoi wegen dessen, was das Mädchen vor hat, nicht gedacht

werden kann, andere Eingänge aber zum Skenengebäude nicht constatirt sind: so bleibt schwerlich eine andere Deutung übrig. Freilich ist die Ausdrucksweise des Didymos ziemlich unbestimmt, und man ist genöthigt, *ὀρχήστρα* hier nach späterem Gebrauch im Sinne von *λογεῖον* zu fassen. Denn *orchestra pulpitus erat scenae* heisst es bei Isidor (18, 44). — Weit bestimmter sind die Erklärungen des Etym. M. p. 653, 7: *παρασκήνια αἱ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἄγουσαι εἰσοδοί*; ferner in Bekk. anecd. p. 292, 12: *παρασκήνιά ἐστιν εἰσοδοί αἱ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσάγουσαι*, und bei Photios p. 389, 21: *παρασκήνια αἱ εἰσοδοί αἱ εἰς τὴν σκηνήν*. Daraus ergiebt sich aber auch, dass die Worte des Demosthenes (in Mid. cap. 7) *τὰ παρασκήνια φράττων, προσηλῶν* von Ulpianos richtig erklärt sind mit *τουτέστιν ἀποφράττων τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς εἰσόδους*, die er im Verfolg der Erklärung geradezu *θύραι* nennt. Anders Sommerbrodt (l. l. p. 23); er sagt: *Demosthenis aetate παρασκήνια aedificia fuisse in utroque scenae latere exstructa, per quae chorus posset in orchestra intrare*. Aber besondere Gebäude sind für den Chor nicht da gewesen, und nur die Thüren liessen sich absperren oder vernageln. Die Flügel der Bühne scheint das Wort nur bei Aristides (II p. 397, 3) *σὺ τὴν σκηνὴν θαυμάζων τὰ παρασκήνια ἡτιάσω καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀφ' αἷς ἐτήρεις τὰ παραφθέγματα· οὕτω πόρρω τοῦ νόμου βάλνεις* zu bezeichnen. Dass es seiner Etymologie nach dazu ganz geeignet ist, versteht sich von selbst. — Wenn dagegen Bernhardt Grundr. der griech. Litt. II p. 626 sagt: „die schmalen Gänge, welche zum Raume zwischen Scene und Orchestra führten, sind *παρασκήνια*“, womit die Parodoi bezeichnet zu werden scheinen: so vermisst man den Beweis dafür sehr ungern.

30) Man vergleiche die Grundrisse der Theater zu Syrakusai, Akrai, Tauromenion, den des grossen Theaters zu Pompeji, nicht minder die der Theater zu Tusculum, Faleria, Termessos, Herculaneum, Calama, des Marcellus zu Rom, des Odeion bei Tibur; auch in Saguntum und Side, vielleicht auch in Segeste scheint Gleiches der Fall zu sein.

31) Ueber die Breite der Bühne, die Steigung der Sitzreihen und über das Princip bei der Anlage der Theater.

Strack und Rothmann beschränken, wie aus den von ihnen gelieferten Ansichten des antiken Theaters zu ersehen ist, die Breite der Bühne bedeutend. Auf welche Gründe hin sie es thun, weiss ich nicht. Aber so vielscheint fest zu stehen, dass dies mit den Regeln des Vitruvius, wie mit dem, was die Monumente zeigen, in Widerspruch steht. Ferner, wenn die Seitenflügel bis nahe an die offene Orchestra vorgerückt werden, so wird dadurch den auf den Enden der Sitzreihen befindlichen Zuschauern (und zwar keinem geringen Theile derselben) ein Theil des Proskenium verdeckt. Eben um deswillen, damit dies nicht geschehe, können auch die umfänglichen und hohen plastischen Gruppen, die z. B. Rothmann auf den Enden des Diazoma aufstellt, nicht da gewesen sein. Dergleichen Ungehörigkeiten haben sich die Hellenen in den guten alten Zeiten gewiss nie erlaubt.

Ausserdem gehen Strack und Rothmann in ihren Ansichten sehr ver-

schwenderisch mit dem Raume um. Von einem so geräumigen Diazoma, wie sie darstellen (im Vordergrunde muss man fast einen grossen freien Platz vermuthen), ist nirgends bei den antiken Theatern eine Spur. Aber auch die Sitzreihen steigen nicht so allmählich an, wie sie es dargestellt haben. Denn bis zu welcher Ferne von der Bühne würden dann die auf der dreissigsten Sitzreihe befindlichen Zuschauer gerückt worden sein! bis dahin, wo sie vielleicht kaum noch etwas sehen, sicher nichts hören konnten. Die Alten hatten dafür zu sorgen, dass eine ungeheure Volksmenge im Theater nicht nur Platz fand, sondern auch sehen und hören konnte; und wie sie darum von dem bei uns gewöhnlichen Ovale, in dem die Logen liegen, keinen Gebrauch machen konnten, so mussten sie auch die Sitzreihen mehr zusammendrängen und steiler ansteigen lassen.

Endlich kann ich nicht umhin, hier gelegentlich zu berühren, was Gelpert (altgriech. Bühne) pag. 94 sagt: „was für ein Princip sie (die Griechen) im Grossen bei der Anlage dieser Bauwerke befolgten, ist nun freilich nicht überall nachzuweisen. Wie neuere Reisende indessen bemerkt haben: so wandten sie die Sitzplätze gern dahin, wo sich die schönste Aussicht eröffnete.“ Anderes der Art findet sich auf pag. 95. Es scheint demnach, als ob die Rücksicht auf die anmuthige Natur und die grossartige Aussicht, die man den Zuschauern nicht entziehen wollte, es gewesen sei, was man bei Anlage eines Theaters vorzugsweise ins Auge gefasst habe. So wenig man aber Kirchen darum auf Bergen anlegt, damit die Leute während des Gottesdienstes noch eine anderweitige Erquickung und Unterhaltung haben: so wenig kann eine ähnliche Rücksicht bei den Hellenen in Bezug auf die Anlage der Theater obgewaltet haben. Vitruvius verlangt allerdings einen gesunden, von Sumpfluft freien Ort, und die Hülfe, welche der Felsberg dem Anbringen der Sitzreihen gewährte, veranlasste allerdings fast immer, einen Ort an einer Berglehne zum Theater auszuwählen. Wo es anging, suchte man ausserdem den Wirkungen einer glühenden Sonne auszuweichen. Aber auf die schöne Aussicht hat man keine Rücksicht genommen; am allerwenigsten wird um ihretwillen etwa die Bühne in der Breite verringert worden sein. Eine schöne Aussicht geniessen die Reisenden jetzt freilich oft von den Sitzreihen der antiken Theater aus; die Alten genossen sie nicht, so lange das Bühnengebäude stand. Denn da dasselbe die Höhe der die Sitzreihen umgebenden Gallerie hat, so ist auf den meisten Sitzen auch dann, wenn die Bühne verschmälert wird, nichts von schöner Aussicht zu sehen. Da aber, wo die Bühne der ganzen Orchestra und etwa der Hälfte der Sitzreihen quere vorliegt, ist jede Aussicht den Zuschauern abgeschnitten, und nur das Dach der Gallerie und die äussersten Enden der obersten Sitzreihen konnten noch einige Umsicht gestatten. Daher kann ich auch nicht eher glauben, dass die Athener von den Sitzreihen ihres Theaters aus Hafen, Schiffe und dergleichen mehr übersehen haben, als bis der Beweis geführt wird, dass dies für die Zuschauer möglich gewesen sei.



32) Schneider ist bekanntlich derjenige, welcher das Logeion in der Mitte weit in die Orchestra vortreten lässt, cf. No. 93. 99 und den Grundriss des Theaters in seinem att. Theat.

### 33) Ueber die Bedeutung von ὑποσκήνιον.

Sommerbrodt bestimmt das *hyposcenium* (*de Aesch. re scen.* I. p. 25) als den *locus sub pulpito situs, cujus anteriorem partem, quae sola conspiciebatur, orchestrae conterminam, parvis signis atque columnis exornatam fuisse dicit Pollux*. Derselben Ansicht ist Geppert (l. l. p. 100). Er findet das *hyposcenium* mit Strack (l. l. p. 4) unter dem Logeion, mit seiner Vorderseite den Zuschauern zugekehrt, und er vermuthet, es sei der Ort gewesen, an dem die Musiker und ähnliche Personen gewesen seien. Die Bestimmungen von Stieglitz (Beitr. I. p. 178) und Genelli (l. l. p. 47) kommen im Wesentlichen auf dasselbe hinaus. Nur Schneiders Vorstellung ist abweichend; er sagt (l. l. p. 8): „zur Orchestra gehörte noch das Hyposkenion, auch Konistra genannt, die zwischen der eigentlichen Orchestra einerseits und dem Logeion und dem Paraskenion andererseits liegende ungedielte, und nur mit Sand bestreute Grundfläche, .... in welcher Säulen und Statuen als Verzierungen standen.“ Diese Ansicht ist aber allgemein verworfen worden, und zwar mit Recht; denn es wird dadurch ein Theil des Theaters, der ein Theil der Skene sein muss, zu einem Theile der Orchestra gemacht. Aber auch die andere Ansicht, die fast allgemeine Geltung erlangt hat, scheint mir auf einer falschen Auslegung der Worte des Pollux zu beruhen. Die Worte desselben sind (§. 124): τὸ δὲ ὑποσκήνιον κίονι καὶ ἀγαλματίοις ἐκεκόσμητο πρὸς τὸ θέατρον τετραμμένον, ὑπὸ δὲ λογεῖον κείμενον, d. h. das Hyposkenion war mit Säulen und Bildsäulen geschmückt an der dem Theatron zugekehrten Seite, darunter aber liegt das Logeion. Hier vertragen sich die zwei Bestimmungen πρὸς τὸ θέατρον τετραμμένον und ὑπὸ δὲ λογεῖον κείμενον mit der gewöhnlich angenommenen Bedeutung von ὑποσκήνιον in keiner Weise. Denn dass das Hyposkenion, wenn es in dem gewöhnlichen Sinne gefasst wird, an keiner andern Seite, als an der den Zuschauern zugekehrten, welche allein frei und darum sichtbar war, geschmückt war, versteht sich von selbst. Der erste Zusatz ist also selbst dann, wenn man unter Hyposkenion den ganzen unter dem Logeion befindlichen Raum versteht, ganz überflüssig und darum auffallend. Noch mehr ist es der zweite; denn das Logeion liegt entschieden nicht unter dem Hyposkenion, sondern darüber; der Zusatz ist falsch. — Aber man begreift auch, wenn die gewöhnliche Bedeutung von Hyposkenion festgehalten wird, nicht, warum es vor andern Theilen vorzugsweise geziert und geschmückt worden ist. Die vordere Wand des Logeions war eine bei den Römern, wenn dem Vitruvius zu trauen ist, fünf Fuss, bei den Hellenen zehn bis zwölf Fuss hohe Wand, die den Zuschauern, obgleich ihnen zugekehrt, nicht stark in die Augen fallen konnte, da Aller Blicke nicht an ihr hafteten, sondern über sie hinweg auf das Logeion, wo die Handlung des Drama vor sich ging, gleiten mussten. Ueberdies wenn die Aussicht auf das Logeion nicht sollte gehindert werden, konnten, wie auch Sommerbrodt bemerklich macht, alle Ornamente der Wand nur

klein sein. Aber wozu an der unbedeutenden Fläche noch *ἀγάλματα*, während Säulen oft genug der einzige Schmuck an den Fronten grosser Gebäude gewesen sind? Nun vergesse man aber auch nicht, dass diese Wand, wie das Logeion, nichts Bleibendes war, sondern in den älteren Zeiten nur auf kurze Zeit aufgeschlagen wurde; man vergegenwärtige sich, dass dicht an der Vorderwand des Logeion die in die Orchestra einmündenden Parodoi waren, dass die in der Orchestra stattfindenden Reigen des Chores einen möglichst freien Raum vor dem Logeion nöthig machten, um einzusehen, wie verkehrt es gewesen wäre, hätte man jene Wand mit mancherlei Schmuck überladen. Was sich leicht durch Decken, wie auch Genelli (l. l. p. 71) schon eingesehen hat, durch Tapeten oder eine mit Säulen und anderem Schmucke bemalte Decoration erreichen liess, was selbst auf der Bühne, wie sich bald zeigen soll, auf ähnliche Weise den Zuschauern vor Augen gebracht wurde, das soll hier ohne alle Noth und Veranlassung durch Säulen und Statuen hergestellt worden sein! Gewiss nicht; denn Pollux kann hier nicht mehr von der den Zuschauern zugekehrten Wand des Logeion reden. Er erwähnt zuerst die Orchestra, geht mit *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς* in §. 123 zur Bühne über, nennt gleich darauf das *ὑποσκήνιον* und unmittelbar danach die Thüren der Skene. Wenn man hier dem Pollux nicht Unordnung in Aufzählung der Theatertheile zur Last legen will, so muss das Hyposkenion ein Theil der Skene sein. Das ist es auch, wie schon Groddeck eingesehen hat (cf. Geppert altgriech. Bühne p. 100; das Buch von Groddeck ist mir nie zu Gesicht gekommen), und zwar ist es der untere Theil, das untere Geschoss der Skene. Dieses war mit Säulen, wie Vitruvius sagt, und mit Bildsäulen, deren nebst anderm Schmuck die Patareische Inschrift erwähnt, geschmückt; dieses hatte ausser der den Zuschauern zugekehrten Seite auch eine andere, an der man Schmuck voraussetzen konnte; mit der Sohle dieses Stockwerkes gleich liegt das Logeion, es liegt also unter ihm; endlich ist der Schmuck am Unterstocke der Skene der Hauptschmuck der Skene und des Theaters, und man sieht also, warum Pollux desselben gedenkt. Seine Benennung führt dieser Theil der Bühne, wie man aus *ὑπώρεια*, *ὑποτραχήλιον*, *ὑποσκαλμῖς*, *ὑπόξυλος*, *ὑπολύριον* und andern Wörtern ersieht, davon, dass er den untern Theil der Bühne (*ὑπό*) einnimmt. Dass das Hyposkenion aber auch den innern Raum dieses Geschosses mit umfasst, ersieht man aus Athenaios XIV. p. 631 f. (cf. Sommerbrodt l. l. I. p. 26). Denn Asopodoros, der das Beifallklatschen der Zuschauer *ἐν τῷ ὑποσκηνίῳ* hört, die Veranlassung zu demselben aber nicht sieht, kann sich nur hinter der Decoration der Skene in den Paraskenien oder in deren Nähe befunden haben. Unter dem Logeion kann er nicht gesteckt haben; hätte er aber an der Vorderwand des Logeion gestanden, so hätte er die Veranlassung des Beifalls wohl merken können. — Dass übrigens der als Hyposkenion bezeichnete Theil der Skene auch anderweitigen Begriffen sich subsummiren lässt, und daher auch andere Benennungen führen kann, leugne ich keineswegs. Aber dies ist eben so wenig auffällig, als wenn einem und demselben Zimmer die Benennungen: Vor-, Vorder-, Unter-, Nebenzimmer und vielleicht noch andere gegeben werden können. Insofern bei dem Hyposkenion nur an die dem Theatron zugekehrte Seite der Skene gedacht wird, kann es auch Proskenion genannt werden; insofern dabei

an den ganzen im Unterstocke der Skene befindlichen Raum gedacht wird, geht es in die Bedeutung des Paraskenion über. — Wenn Sommerbrodt, um das Wort *ὑποσκήνιον* zu erklären, auf Stellen zurückgeht, in denen sich *ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν* oder *ὑπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς* mit einem Verbum der Bewegung verbunden findet: so greift er fehl; denn es ist nicht gleich, ob z. B. Jemand in dem Hyposkenion herumgeht, oder ob er *ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν περιπατεῖ*. Denn Phokion, um bei dem aus Plutarchos entnommenen Beispiele (l. l. p. 25) stehen zu bleiben, der kurz vor Beginn des Drama, als das Theater mit Menschen sich füllte, und man auch in den Paraskenien mit den Vorbereitungen für die nahe Aufführung beschäftigt sein musste, *ὑπὸ σκηνὴν περιπατεῖ*, kann dazu nicht den innern Theil des Theatron, die Vorderwand des Logeion oder dieses selbst oder die Paraskenien zum Orte, wo er meditierte, sich ausgesucht haben. Da er aber auch nicht unter dem Logeion oder in den Kellern der Skene gewesen sein kann, so bedeutet der Ausdruck des Plutarchos nichts, als dass Phokion in der Nähe der Skene, des Theaters, herumwandelte, ohne sich durch die zuströmende Volksmenge in seinen Betrachtungen stören zu lassen. Eben so wenn Pollux §. 128 den Zweck des Ekkyklema darein setzt, das *ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς οἰκλαῖς ἀπόρρητα πραχθέντα* den Zuschauern zur Erscheinung zu bringen: so deutet er damit auf das hinter den Coulissen Vollbrachte hin; welchen besondern Theil der Skene er damit meint, das hängt von der Stellung des Ekkyklema ab; an das Hyposkenion ist nicht zu denken.

34) Das Dasein der gesamten Decoration hat nur Böttiger geleugnet. Er sagt (kleine Schrift. I. p. 401): „die Mittelthür (der Skene) bezeichnete einen königlichen Palast, das Haus eines attischen Bürgers im Lustspiele, den Eingang in eine Hauptgrotte im Schäfer- und Satyrspiele. Eben diese Bewandniss hatte es mit den beiden Seitenthüren u. s. w. Man würde sehr unrecht thun, wenn man sich diese Thüren als wirklich gemalte Häuser, Tempel und Paläste vorstellen wollte, deren Fronte in die Strasse hinausgegangen sei. Es waren, dünkt mich, blosse Thüren in der Querwand der Hinterbühne. Aber man dachte sich dabei die Tempel, Häuser, Grotten.“

35) Geppert altgriech. Bühne p. 112 äussert, dass die Thymele je nach der Bedeutung\*, die sie durch die Handlung erhielt, ihm scheinbare Veränderungen unterworfen gewesen zu sein; und p. 114 scheint er die Orchestra mit Gräbern und Altären eventuell auszustatten. Er denkt sich, wo es nöthig war, in ihr das Hemikyklion aufgestellt, die Parodos und die Vorderseite des Logeion entsprechend der Handlung verziert. Genelli (Theat. zu Athen) dagegen meint, dass die Orchestra ohne Decoration gewesen sei, obgleich er auch der Ansicht ist, dass die Thymele in ihr als Altar oder Grab gebraucht worden sei (p. 71 u. 72).

36) Dieser Ansicht ist Overbeck; er sagt: (Pompeji p. 127): „Da zunächst in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl aller Tragödien.... der Ort der Handlung der Platz vor der königlichen Burg oder dem Palast des Fürsten

war, so gestaltete man diese überwiegend häufige Hauptdecoration der Hinterwand nicht durch Malerei, sondern man bildete die Hinterwand der Bühne selbst . . . . realer Weise als Façade des Königspalastes.“ Sollte die Decoration dagegen einen anderartigen Schauplatz zeigen, so lässt Overbeck p. 128 gemalte Decorationen eintreten. — Der Ansicht, dass man überhaupt durch die Decorationen mehr angedeutet als dargestellt habe, huldigt auch Ottfr. Müller in der Griech. Lit.-Gesch. II. 62, wenn er sagt: „die Griechen verlangten im Theater keine treue und ausführliche Nachbildung, sondern schon eine geringe Andeutung genügte, ihre leicht bewegliche Phantasie in die gewünschte Thätigkeit zu setzen,“ weshalb er auch p. 61 äussern konnte: „es bedurfte keiner Einrichtung zur gänzlichen Veränderung der Bühnendecoration, wie sie erst im römischen Theater aufkam.“ Ferner Geppert in: Eing. p. 7 und altgriech. Bühne p. 157—159, der an dem zuletzt genannten Orte andeutet, dass die Komödie in manchen Fällen sich mit Andeutungen begnügt habe, die mehr dazu geeignet waren, die Scene zu charakterisiren, als die Illusion zu befördern. Endlich, wie es scheint, auch G. Hermann (*de re scen. in Aesch. Or.* p. 4).

37) Anders urtheilt Genelli; er sagt (Theat. z. Athen) p. 70: „Wo der Schauspieler (in der Komödie) die Skene nicht zu bemerken sich stellte, oder für was Anderes zu halten als sie gerade darstellte, wurde das gleiche dem Zuschauer zugemuthet, und dieser fügte sich um so williger, je mehr er dabei zu lachen bekam,“ und p. 59 Anm. 9: „Die alte Komödie hat sicher noch weniger verwandelt (als die Tragödie): auch hierin muthete sie der Einbildungskraft ihrer Zuschauer gar vieles zu, und selbst, wenn sie einmal einige Täuschung hervorgebracht hatte, mochte sie gern sie gleich wieder muthwillig zerstören.“

38) Genelli l. l. p. 55: „Der untere Theil (der Skene) musste immer meist in plastischer Wirklichkeit gebildet, mithin, was die starren Theile betraf, gemeiniglich aus Holz construiert werden. Denn dieser Aufenthalt, er mochte darstellen was er wollte, griff immer mit körperlicher Wirklichkeit in das Spiel ein: man musste in denselben eingehen, man musste sich in ihn zurückziehen und wieder aus ihm hervortreten können. Der obere Theil hingegen, so viel jene Construction von der Höhe der Skenenwand unbedeckt liess, wurde durch ein bloss graphisches Bild bekleidet, das dazu diente, die anderweitigen nicht unmittelbar ins Spiel eingreifenden Umgebungen darzustellen. Pag. 59: „bei (der unteren Decoration) war an eine blosser Wegschiebung, wie bei den Katablemen, nicht zu denken, sondern sie musste Glied für Glied abgenommen und durch die Haupt-Thüren der Skenenwand fortgeschafft werden. Dieserwegen musste bei vorhabenden Verwandlungen immer darauf Bedacht genommen werden, dass der nöthigen Abänderungen nicht allzu viele vorkämen. Eine gänzliche Umwandlung mitten im Fortgang der Handlung, z. B. eines Tempels in eine Wildniss, war zu ofttest des Zeitaufwandes wegen gar nicht zulässig.“ Pag. 60, wo erwähnt ist, dass die Skene im Prometheus den öden Gipfel des Kaukasus darstellte, und dass der Hauptgegenstand, eine kahle Felspitze, die im Grunde das ganze Proskenion ausfüllte, in der Mitte auch

die ganze Höhe der Skene erreichte, heisst es: „dieser Fels war aus Holz erbauet.“ Aehnliche Ansichten in Bezug auf die Scenerie anderer Dramen finden sich p. 62, und in Bezug auf den Aias namentlich äussert er p. 67, dass hier im Anfange des Stücks drei Hütten gezimmert und mit solidem Pfahlwerk umgeben waren. Endlich p. 65: „In Stücken, wo die Handlung von Einem Tempel zu einem andern übergang, wie in den Eumeniden des Aischylos, musste die Verwandlung noch sehr erleichtert werden; indem es hier nicht leicht nöthig werden konnte, mehr als die Statuen und Akroterien, das Giebelfeld, etwa noch die Verzierungen des Frieses und die Plutei umzuändern. Diese Theile mussten daher jederzeit blosser Gemälde auf Holz oder Leinwand sein.“

Schlegel über dram. Kunst. 2. Ausg. I. p. 83: „bei der hinteren Decoration war vermuthlich manches körperlich ausgeführt, was bei uns nur gemalt wird.“

Auch Geppert äussert (altgriech. Bühne p. 159), dass die komische Scene wegen ihrer geringeren Ausstattung weit leichter verwandelt werden konnte, als die tragische, indem „nicht so viel aus dem Wege zu räumen und wieder aufzustellen war als in der tragischen Scene, wo man Statuen, Altäre, Gräber und dergleichen wegzuräumen und umzugestalten hatte.“

39) G. Hermann sagt zur Electra des Sophokles v. 4: *Ceterum vehementer falluntur, qui tragicorum verba in hujusmodi rebus ad veros locorum situs exigunt. Nam secus Athenis, quam hodie apud omnes, qui theatra habent, illud spectabatur, quod in scena repraesentatum erat, ubi satis erat cerni, quae fama nota essent, etiamsi et specie et situ multum a veris differrent.*

Geppert (altgriech. Bühne p. 137 ff.) tritt dieser Ansicht entgegen, indem er die Regel auf die Mehrzahl der vorhandenen Dramen nicht angewendet wissen will. „Man darf sie vielmehr, sagt er, nur auf solche Stücke anwenden, wo die Scene entweder den Athenern in der That nur durch Hörensagen bekannt geworden war, wie etwa in den Persern des Aeschylos, in der Helena des Euripides, in der Iphigenie in Tauri, oder da, wo sie ein völlig mythisches Local hat, wie im Prometheus des Aeschylos, oder endlich da, wo sie rein erfunden ist, wie in der Elektra des Euripides; denn wer möchte sich überreden zu glauben, dass man der Natur nicht mehr getreu geblieben wäre, wenn die Scene Marathon, oder Eleusis, oder Kolonos, oder den Areshügel in der Stadt selbst, oder Delphi, kurz einen von den Orten darzustellen hatte, die jeder Athener kannte oder von denen er sich wenigstens nach den Berichten Anderer ein deutliches Bild machen konnte? Welchen Grund sollte man gehabt haben, um hier Gestalt und Lage der Dinge zu ändern? — Ich möchte sogar behaupten, dass die Griechen sehr viel mehr Ursache hatten, an der richtigen Zeichnung der Gegenstände festzuhalten, als wir, einestheils weil phantastische Willkühr überhaupt nicht in ihrem Wesen lag, andernteils, weil der Boden, auf dem ihre Tragödie spielte, in jeder Bedeutung des Wortes weit über der Sphäre steht, in der sich die unsrige bewegt.“

40) Pollux §. 131 καταβλήματα ὑφάσματα ἢ πίνακες ἦσαν, ἔχοντες γραφὰς, τῇ χρεῖα τῶν δραμάτων προσφόρους· κατεβάλλετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς περιάκτους ὅρος δεικνύντα ἢ θάλατταν ἢ ποταμὸν ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον. Die πίνακες, wie die Gewebe, welche bemalt waren, wurden also nach Pollux von oben her auf die Periakten herabgelassen. Da die an der Skenenfront befindliche Decoration nicht in gleicher Weise herabgelassen wurde, so fehlen diejenigen, welche die Benennung καταβλήματα auch auf die dort befindliche Decoration ausdehnen. Servius in der gleich folgenden Stelle fasst die Decoration der Periakten unter dem Namen *scena versilis* zusammen.

41) Serv. zu Virg. Georg. 3, 24: *scena, quae fiebat, aut versilis erat aut ductilis erat. Versilis tum erat, quum subito tota machinis quibusdam convertebatur et aliam picturae faciem ostendebat, ductilis tum, quum tractis tabulatis huc atque illuc species picturae notabatur interior.* Woraus die Decorationen der Skenenwand bestanden haben, ist, wie ich glaube, aus des Pollux Worten §. 125 τὸ δὲ κλίσιον ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παράκειται παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν παραπετάσματι δηλούμενον zu ersehen; es waren Vorhänge; sie bestanden also aus Zeug. Da dergleichen selbst bei den Periakten sich vorfanden, da nur in dem Falle, dass die Decorationen aus einem Zeuge bestanden, ein Wegziehen derselben leicht stattfinden konnte: so ist daran wohl nicht zu zweifeln, obgleich Servius die Decorationen der Skene mit *tabulata* bezeichnet. Freilich bedeutet das Wort zunächst eine hölzerne Tafel; da es aber in weiterem Sinne auch für Gemälde gebraucht wird, und kein Grund vorliegt anzunehmen, Servius habe das Wort mit Rücksicht auf den Stoff, aus dem die Decorationen bestanden, gewählt: so widerspricht die Notiz nicht der Nachricht des Pollux. Eine wenn auch aus noch so dünnen Brettchen bestehende Coulissenwand wäre schwierig zu entfernen gewesen; eben so schwierig war das Unterbringen derselben, wenn sie weggezogen war, da der Raum hinter den Periakten nicht von grosser Ausdehnung war. — Die *scena ductilis*, welche nach zwei Seiten hin auseinander gezogen werden konnte, und die Servius der *scena versilis* entgegensetzt, kann nur die an der Skenenfront befindliche Scenerie sein, da neben den Periakten nur die Skenenfront decorirt war. Uebrigens habe ich die Worte des Servius nicht, wie mehrere Gelehrte gethan haben, nur auf die Römische, sondern auch auf die Hellenische Decoration beziehen zu müssen geglaubt. Mag Servius bei ihnen auch zunächst an die Römische Bühne gedacht haben, die Hellenische unterschied sich von ihr darin nicht, wie die aus Pollux beigebrachten Notizen zeigen. Warum der Decoration an der Skene nur der Name παραπέτασμα, nicht κατάβλημα zukommen kann, bedarf keiner Erklärung.

42) Vitr. 5, 6 ... *loca ad ornatus comparata, quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt ab eo, quod machinae sunt in iis locis versatiles trigonae, habentes in singula tres species ornatationis, quae cum aut fabularum mutationes sunt futurae seu deorum adventus cum tonitribus repentinis, versentur mutantque speciem ornatationis in frontes.*



## 43) Ueber die Periakten.

Pollux §. 126: *εἰ δὲ ἐπιστρέφουσιν αἱ περιακτοί, ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀμείβει τόπον· ἀμφότεραι δὲ χώραν ἀπαλλάττουσι.* Hier ist der Unterschied zwischen *τόπος* und *χώρα* wohl zu beachten. Die verschiedene Bedeutung beider Wörter macht sich in Ausdrücken wie *τοὺς τῆς χώρας τόπους μεταλλάττοντα*, *ὁ τόπος τῆς χώρας*, in *τοπογραφία* und *χωρογραφία* sehr bemerklich. Die *χώρα* fasst demnach viele *τόποι* in sich; jene ist das Ganze, die *τόποι* sind Theile desselben. Demzufolge sagt also Pollux: wenn die rechte Periakte gedreht wurde, änderte sich nur der *τόπος* in der *χώρα*; wenn beide umgewendet wurden, erfolgte eine Aenderung der *χώρα*. Das Umwenden der rechten Periakte, welche den Zugang aus der Fremde her bezeichnete, machte also bemerklich, dass der *τόπος* neben dem Orte der Handlung ein anderer sei als der bisherige, und, da der *τόπος* meist einen in die Fremde hin führenden Weg oder eine dahinwärts liegende Strasse anzeigte, dass der nach jener Seite hin führende Weg ein anderer, nach einem anderen Orte der Fremde hin führender sei als der bis dahin gesehene. Sollte dagegen die Handlung in eine ganz andere Gegend hin verlegt werden, dann musste natürlich das bisher gesehene Bild an der Seite der Heimath wie der Fremde ein dem neuen Orte der Handlung angemessenes Aussehen erhalten; Heimath wie Fremde mussten durch Umwenden beider Periakten geändert werden. Da der neue Ort der Handlung aber nur an der Scenerie der Skene selbst bezeichnet werden konnte: so musste auch die dort befindliche Decoration allemal mit umgeändert werden. Die linke Periakte hingegen, die den Zuschauern zur Rechten lag und die Seite der Heimath andeutete, konnte begreiflicher Weise nie allein gedreht werden; denn so lange der Ort der Handlung derselbe blieb, musste die Heimath auch dieselbe bleiben. Daraus darf man inzwischen nicht folgern, dass alle aus der Handlung des Drama benachbarten Stadt oder vom Hafen herkommenden Personen nothwendig durch die an der Periakte befindliche Thür kommen mussten. War neben dem Gebäude an der Mittelthür der Skene auf der Seite der Heimath kein zweites Gebäude erforderlich, dann konnte auch die der Mittelthür zur Seite befindliche Thür nach einem Orte der Heimath hinführen, nur freilich nach einem anderen, als der an der Eckthür befindliche Weg anzeigte. Dass dieser Fall nicht selten eintrat, wird sich bei der Analyse der einzelnen Dramen zeigen. — Wenn Genelli l. l. p. 57 Note 5 es für abgeschmackt hält zu glauben, dass nur eine Periakte gedreht worden sei: so beruht dies darauf, dass die Worte des Pollux von ihm nicht richtig aufgefasst worden sind. Wenn Geppert l. l. p. 127 meint, dass die Bestimmung des Pollux über die Seite der Heimath und Fremde nur von solchen Stücken hergenommen sein könne, die vor einer Stadt spielen: so mag die Entstehung der desfallsigen Bestimmung und Benennung damit richtig angedeutet sein. Ich hoffe aber, dass er damit nicht andeuten will, dass der Begriff der Heimath und Fremde für Stücke, die nicht bei einer Stadt spielen, wegfällt. Auch im Philoktetes z. B. ist der in die Insel führende Weg der Weg zur Heimath, der entgegengesetzte der zur Fremde gehende; und diese Rücksicht wird sich in allen Dramen geltend machen lassen. —

Was Sommerbrodt (l. l. I. p. 21) zu der Aeusserung veranlasst: *quae machinae* (nämlich die Periakten) *quum essent triangulares, nunc etiam retineo, quod olim statueram, tria illa latera antiquissimis temporibus accommodata fuisse picturis scenarum et tragicae et comicae et satyricae* sehe ich nicht ein; denn weder Vitruvius noch ein anderer Schriftsteller meldet über die *antiquissima tempora* oder eine in der Beziehung vorgegangene Veränderung etwas. Dass es in späteren Zeiten anders sein musste, giebt Sommerbrodt selbst zu. Dass ein öfteres Umwenden einer Periakte als ein dreimaliges fast nie nöthig ist, wird sich später zeigen.

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**ZWEITE ABTHEILUNG.**

**D I E P R A X I S.**

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## ERINNERUNG.

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engestellt worden ist, was die Alten  
tlich über dessen Skene, berichten,  
n worden ist, was die Reste der an-  
ziehung noch erkennen lassen, scheint  
er aufgefundenen Resultate auf die  
wenden, oder mit anderen Worten:  
1 das bisher Gefundene wirklich in  
anzugeben, wie die alten Dramen  
t worden sind. Ich hoffe, dass der  
tellende Versuch so ausfallen wird,  
ich rücksichtlich der Scenerie und  
tlich des Auf- und Abtretens der  
r darbieten, sich consequent und  
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ien manches zweifelhaft bleiben  
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## VORERINNERUNG.

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Nachdem das zusammengestellt worden ist, was die Alten über ihr Theater, namentlich über dessen Skene, berichten, demnächst damit verglichen worden ist, was die Reste der antiken Theater in dieser Beziehung noch erkennen lassen, scheint es angemessen, die bisher aufgefundenen Resultate auf die Dramen der Hellenen anzuwenden, oder mit anderen Worten: zu zeigen, dass wir durch das bisher Gefundene wirklich in den Stand gesetzt werden anzugeben, wie die alten Dramen auf den Theatern aufgeführt worden sind. Ich hoffe, dass der dieserhalb demnächst anzustellende Versuch so ausfallen wird, dass die Hauptfragen, die sich rücksichtlich der Scenerie und deren Veränderung, rücksichtlich des Auf- und Abtretens der Schauspieler wie des Chors hier darbieten, sich consequent und sicher werden beantworten lassen, und dass es im Ganzen nur Nebendinge sein werden, in denen manches zweifelhaft bleiben wird, überhaupt aber nichts sich darbieten wird, von dem sich nicht einsehen liesse, dass es sehr wohl in einem Theater, wie es construiert worden ist, sich darstellen liess. Da die Zahl der antiken Dramen aber sehr gross ist, so wird die folgende Analyse der einzelnen Dramen nicht eine bis ins Einzelne eingehende Ausführung des Gegenstandes sein können. Es wird daher gewiss nicht ausbleiben, dass, wer ein einzelnes dramatisches Stück sorgfältig bis ins Einzelne zergliedert,

Vieles genauer bestimmen wird, als hier geschehen ist, mancherlei Neues in der Beziehung auffinden wird, was hier nicht beachtet worden ist. Ich will nur wünschen, dass es mehr Versehen und Ungenauigkeiten in Nebendingen sein mögen, was auf diesem Wege gebessert werden wird, als Hauptsachen oder die Einrichtung des Theaters im Grossen und Ganzen. Wie es aber auch in der Beziehung geschehen möge, jedenfalls wird es mich freuen, recht bald an die Stelle von Irrthümern das Richtige treten zu sehen. Es wird sich alsdann auch zeigen, ob ich Recht gehabt habe, das Object der Scenerie nicht selten nur sehr unbestimmt anzugeben, indem es mir schien, dass die Oertlichkeit, in die eine Handlung verlegt ist, nur sehr wenig in die Handlung verflochten ist und wenig bestimmend auf diese einwirkt, oder ob dies eine Folge davon ist, dass die Einrichtung der Skene nur mangelhaft von mir erkannt worden ist. Dieselbe Unsicherheit wird auch mehrmals in Bezug auf die Thüren, durch welche Schauspieler auftreten oder abtreten, sich bemerklich machen. Wo aber dergleichen Zweifel auftauchten, habe ich sie lieber offen eingestehen und darlegen, als irgendwie verdecken wollen. Sicher wird es nicht fehlen, dass Andern gelingen wird, auch in dieser Beziehung noch manchen Zweifel zu entfernen. — Der Gang und die Entwicklung der Handlung ist natürlich fast überall als bekannt vorausgesetzt worden. Daher sind meist nur die Thüren, durch welche die Schauspieler eingetreten sind, oder sich entfernt haben, genannt worden, ohne der näheren Veranlassung dazu zu gedenken. Bei einzelnen Stücken, in denen nach Erörterung sonstiger Schwierigkeiten auch dieses sich von selbst verstand, ist auch selbst diese Uebersicht unterlassen worden. — Die Analyse der Aristophanischen Dramen habe ich von der der Tragödien getrennt; nicht darum, weil die Komödien ein anders gestaltetes Theater verlangen als die letzteren, sondern um die Einzelheiten, in denen Aristophanes wirklich die sonst für das Theater gültigen Gesetze etwas freier handhabt, recht hervortreten zu lassen; ferner weil die ungezügelte Laune des Komikers nicht selten höchst eigen-

thümlich gestaltete Scenen uns vorführt. — Die Trauerspiele habe ich nicht nach den Verfassern geordnet. Wenn auch jeder Tragiker manches in Scenerie und dem Verwandten Eigenthümliches hat, was hätte veranlassen können, alle Dramen jedes einzelnen zusammenzustellen, wie denn z. B. in allen Dramen des Aischylos nie die linke Periakte allein gedreht wird, während er in den Choephoren und Eumeniden den Schauplatz der Handlung ganz ändert; Sophokles, der eine Verlegung des Ortes nur im Aias sich erlaubt hat, eine Drehung der linken Periakte nur im Oedipus R. nöthig macht; Euripides nie eine vollständige Ortsveränderung eintreten lässt, während er eine Drehung der linken Periakte in drei bis fünf Stücken nicht vermieden hat; Aristophanes hingegen in fünf Stücken die Scenerie gänzlich ändert, dagegen die eine Periakte nur in den Acharnern und in der Lysistrate (in letzterem Stücke sogar vier bis fünfmal) umzuwenden nöthigt: so sind diese Eigenthümlichkeiten doch nicht so gross und durchgreifend, dass es zweckmässig schien, danach die Ordnung der Dramen zu bestimmen. Es ist daher mehr darauf Rücksicht genommen worden, was durch die Scenerie dargestellt worden ist, so dass die Stücke, deren Handlung vor oder bei Herrscherwohnungen vor sich geht, vorangestellt sind, diesen diejenigen folgen, in denen andere menschliche Wohnungen gesehen werden, Kriegslager und öde Gegenden den Beschluss machen. Bei den einzelnen Abtheilungen habe ich meist die Dramen, welche wenige oder keine Veränderungen in der Scenerie zeigten, oder sonst keine erheblichen Schwierigkeiten rücksichtlich der Scenerie darboten, vorangestellt. — Die Seiten der Bühne und Orchestra habe ich durchaus nur vom Standpunkte der Zuschauer aus benannt; die rechte Seite zeigt demnach in der Orchestra wie auf der Skene die Heimath, die linke die Fremde an. — Den Aischylos citire ich nach der Ausgabe von G. Hermann, den Sophokles nach Schneidewin, den Euripides nach Nauck, den Aristophanes nach Bergk. Wo die Uebersetzungen von Droysen, Donner und Voss bei Aischylos, von Solger und Donner bei Sophokles, von Donner bei Euripides, von Seeger

bei Aristophanes berücksichtigt worden sind (und es ist dies oft geschehen, weil die Herausgeber weit seltener über die scenische Einrichtung sich auslassen, als die Uebersetzer gethan haben), da ist es meist durch den blossen Namen des Uebersetzers angedeutet worden. Die übrigen Verweisungen sind an sich verständlich.

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## Antigone.

Die Handlung geht auf dem Platze vor dem Königspalaste auf der Kadmeia vor sich, und der Palast nimmt die Mitte der Scenerie ein. Ihm zur Seite setzt Schneidewin Nebengebäude an, zu denen Thüren führten. Aber ein Anlass zu dergleichen Gebäuden ist nicht vorhanden; sie wären, wenn sie angebracht waren, ein unnützer Prunk gewesen. Antigone und Ismene bewohnen kein von Kreon's Palast getrenntes Haus, wie sich aus 491 ergibt, wo Kreon von Ismene sagt: *ἔσω εἶδον ἀρτίως λυσσῶσαν* etc.; denn er ist eben aus dem Palaste getreten. Bewohnen aber die Jungfrauen mit Kreon den Palast, um wie viel mehr Eurydike. Aber auch Haimon's Wohnung ist nicht anderswo zu suchen. Denn als er 626 erscheint, setzt Kreon voraus, er wisse um die von ihm gegen Antigone ausgesprochene Drohung. Nun sind aber Antigone und Ismene auf Kreon's Geheiss 582 (vergl. 578) in den Palast abgeführt worden, Haimon kann also nur da gehört haben, was Kreon gedroht hat; er muss demnach aus dem Palaste kommen. Ferner, wenn für die zwei Seitengebäude zwei der Skenenthüren erforderlich wären, würde ein Mangel an Thüren eintreten. Da nämlich der Chor, welcher aus einheimischen Greisen besteht, durch die rechte Parodos auftritt: so muss zuvörderst an der rechten Periakte der nach Theben führende Weg sein. Weiter links vom Königspalaste muss die vor der Stadt und neben der Kadmeia befindliche Gegend sichtbar geworden sein; und wenn Schneidewin hier eine Aussicht auf eine hügelige Landschaft annimmt: so mag er damit wohl das Richtige treffen; denn in 1110 und 411 wird auf dort befindliche Erhöhungen und Hügel hingedeutet. Von einer Aussicht in grosse Ferne hin finden sich freilich keine Indicien. Wenn Antigone Dirke's Fluthen 844 und Thebens ἄλσος (ibid.) als Zeugen dessen, was sie zu leiden habe, anruft, der Chor Bakchos auf dem Parnassos 1123, 1144, Antigone 937 *γῆς Θήβης ἄστν*



*πατῶν καὶ θεοὶ προγενεῖς* anruft: so folgt aus alle dem nichts für die Scenerie. Auf alles dies wird weder als sichtbar hingewiesen, noch wird der Anblick dieser Gegenstände durch die Handlung gefordert. Wenn aber Eurydike 1184 in den Tempel der Pallas gehen will, so wird es doch wohl der sein, von dem anderweitig (Oidip. R. 20) feststeht, dass er nicht auf der Kadmeia war. Dass die Stätten, an denen der Tod Antigone und Polyneikes ereilt, nicht sichtbar waren, ist ohnedies klar (vergl. indess 1204). Andererseits da sie nicht in der Stadt liegen, müssen links vom Palaste Wege zu jenen Orten hinführen. Die beiden Stätten sind aber ferner nicht weit von einander entfernt, wie sich aus dem Berichte des 1155 auftretenden Boten ergibt, der ausserhalb der Skene von dem einen Orte zum anderen gelangt ist. Näher der Stadt und der Burg ist der Ort zu denken, wo Polyneikes liegt; denn vor den Mauern der Stadt hat ihn der Tod ereilt, und, wo dies geschehen ist, da soll er unbeerdigt liegen bleiben. Eben darum, weil die Stätte nahe ist, kann auch Antigone leicht unbemerkt zu ihr gelangen. Etwas ferner von der Stadt ist das Grabgewölbe zu suchen, in welches Antigone gebracht wird. Nicht nur musste Kreon wünschen, dass dieser Ort den Augen der Menschen mehr entrückt sei; es begreift sich auch, wenn der Ort ferner lag, um so leichter, warum man trotz aller Eile nicht im Stande war, zu Antigone vor ihrem Tode zu gelangen. Aus alle dem scheint sich demnach zu ergeben, dass die linke Seitenthür zum Grabe der Antigone, die linke Nebenthür zu dem Orte hinführte, wo Polyneikes lag. Sind aber links neben dem Palaste zwei Thüren für die Handlung nöthig, so kann an dieser Seite der Bühne kein Nebengebäude mit einer dritten Thür gestanden haben; und fällt das Nebengebäude hier weg, so hat auch sicher rechts vom Palaste keins gestanden; denn nur architectonische Rücksichten hätten veranlassen können, ein an sich entbehrliches Gebäude dort darzustellen. Wer dennoch die Nebengebäude neben dem Palaste festhalten will, der hat blos noch über eine Thür links vom Palaste, die Seitenthür, zu disponiren, die dann eben sowohl zu dem Grabgewölbe der Antigone wie zu Polyneikes hingeführt haben müsste. Ich kann aber nicht glauben, dass man eine Thür, die gar nicht gebraucht wurde, angebracht habe, während eigentlich zwei andere Thüren für die Handlung des Stückes nöthig waren. — Die Scenerie zeigt demnach, wenn nur die erforderliche Anzahl der Thüren dar-

gestellt war, vier Thüren; die Scenerie erfährt im Laufe des Stückes keine Veränderung. Geppert sagt (pag. 145), dass die zwei Stücke, König Oidipus und Antigone, dieselbe scenische Ausstattung gehabt haben. So weit die Handlung die Scenerie bestimmt, ist dies vollkommen begründet. Ob bei beiden Stücken dieselbe Scenerie gebraucht worden ist, das wage ich weder zu bejahen noch zu verneinen.

Fest und keinem Zweifel unterliegend ist der Ausgang oder Eingang in den Königspalast bei Antigone und Ismene 1, Ismene 99, Kreon mit Gefolge 162, 329, 387, Ismene 526, Antigone und Ismene 582 (vergl. 578), Haimon, wie bereits angedeutet worden ist, 626, da er nur im Palaste gehört haben kann, was Kreon rücksichtlich Antigone's bestimmt hat, Kreon 780, Antigone 801, Kreon 882, Eurydike 1183 und 1243, dem Boten 1256 (vergl. 1253), dem Exangelos 1278, endlich bei Kreon 1347. — Durch die rechte Seitenthür tritt auf und ab Teiresias, von einem Knaben geführt, 987 und 1090. Der zur Kadmeia von Kreon beschiedene Chor tritt 100 von der Stadt her kommend durch die rechte Parodos auf. — Zu dem Orte, wo Polyneikes liegt, geht durch die linke Nebenthür Antigone 99; es kommt von da der Wächter 223 und kehrt dahin zurück 332; abermals kommt er mit Antigone 384, und geht 445 ab. Ob er wieder durch dieselbe Thür, durch welche er eingetreten ist, abgeht, muss unentschieden bleiben, da Kreon ihm freigestellt hat zu gehen, wohin er will. — Nach dem Grabgewölbe zur linken Seitenthür wird Antigone nach 987 abgeführt, von da kommt 1155 der Bote, und 1257 Kreon nebst seinem Gefolge.

Nicht ganz sicher ist, wohin Haimon in Verzweiflung sich entfernt, als er sieht, dass er Kreon's Beschluss in Bezug auf Antigone nicht ändern kann. Er eilt zur Stadt hinaus, also nach links hin. Zweifelhaft ist aber, ob er durch die linke Seitenthür nach dem Orte eilt, wohin Antigone soll gebracht werden, oder ob er durch die linke Nebenthür auf die Stelle zugeht, wo Polyneikes liegt. Da inzwischen der Verlauf des Stückes zeigt, dass Haimon zu der Grabhöhle Antigone's erst kommt, nachdem die Jungfrau bereits todt ist: so scheint es angemessener, ihn nicht direct dahin durch die linke Seitenthür, sondern durch die linke Nebenthür abgehen zu lassen. Es ist dies freilich kein zureichender Grund; denn auch wenn Haimon durch die linke Seitenthür abgegangen ist, kann er, in der Gegend umherschweifend, zu spät zu Antigone kommen. Kreon,

als er dem Haimon 1114 nacheilt, wird die Skene jedenfalls auf dem Wege verlassen haben, auf dem er Haimon hat abgehen sehen.

Zweifelhaft ist ferner, wann Antigone von der Skene fortgebracht wird, um in das Grabgewölbe eingeschlossen zu werden. Schneidewin lässt sie 943 vor dem Chorgesange, Solger und Donner nach dem Chorgesange (nach 987) abgehen. Für jenes spricht 939, wo Antigone sagt ἄγομαι δὴ κοῦκέτι μέλλω, für letzteres, dass der Chor sie in seinem Gesange 949 und 987 mit παῖ anredet. Das letztere ist wohl das entscheidende, zumal da der Chor ein auf Antigone's Anwesenheit berechnetes Trostlied des Inhaltes singt, dass auch andere erhabene Menschen von schwerem Unglück betroffen worden sind, und da die wiederholte Anrede an Antigone erfolgt, ohne dass der Chor übermässig aufgeregt oder ausser sich ist. Gegen das Abführen bei 987 streiten aber weder die von Antigone 939 gesprochenen Worte, aus denen nur zu entnehmen ist, dass sie schon da der Abführung gewärtig ist, noch etwa das 987 gerade erfolgende Eintreten des Teiresias von einer andern Seite her; denn 1256 findet dasselbe statt, dass, während der Eine nach einer Seite hin abgeht, ein Anderer von der entgegengesetzten Seite auftritt; und zwar geschieht dies nicht gerade selten.

Endlich ist fraglich, ob Kreon, nachdem er befohlen hat Antigone abzuführen 890, sich in den Palast zurückzieht, und von da 928 herauskommend seine Drohung von neuem aufnimmt, oder ob er während der ganzen Zeit auf der Bühne bleibt. Die Entscheidung wird dadurch erschwert, dass, wenn man Kreon 928 in Ungeduld über die Verzögerung, welche sein Befehl erfahren hat, aus dem Palast kommen lässt, man dem nicht entgeht, dass er so wie Antigone das folgende Stasimon noch anhört, und er sich also doch in Geduld fassen muss. Lässt man dagegen Kreon von 890 an unausgesetzt auf der Bühne bleiben: so fällt auf, wie er unmittelbar nach dem Befehle, Antigone alsbald ins Grabgewölbe zu führen, doch die berühmte lange Apostrophe der Antigone ὦ τύμβος u. s. w. vor sich gehen lässt, und nach deren Schlusse nichts weiter thut, als der mit dem Abführen der Jungfrau betrauten Wache aufs neue wegen des Verzugs zu drohen. Trotzdem glaube ich doch, dass Kreon auf der Bühne bleibt, indem es mir in der Intention des Dichters gelegen zu haben scheint, die Halsstarrigkeit Kreon's hierdurch ins grellste Licht treten zu lassen. Kreon bleibt bei dem einmal Beschlossenen, ohne sich durch

den Anblick Antigone's, durch deren rührende Apostrophe und den Gesang des Chors in seinem Entschlusse wankend machen zu lassen. Je mehr hierdurch die Verschuldung Kreon's den Zuschauern vor Augen tritt, um so erschütternder musste die an das gleich folgende Gespräch mit Teiresias sich anschließende Katastrophe die Gemüther der Zuschauer erfassen. Kreon bleibt also von 890 bis 1114 unausgesetzt auf der Bühne. — Am Schlusse wird Kreon in den Palast abgeführt. Dass der Chor eben dahin oder über die Bühne hin abziehe, dazu fehlt jeder Anlass; er entfernt sich also durch die rechte Parodos, durch die er aufgetreten war. Das Ekkyklema findet Anwendung, als die Leiche Eurydike's aus dem Palaste hervorgeschoben wird 1293 (so auch O. Müller kl. Schriften I. p. 533 und Geppert p. 175); Haimon's Leiche trägt Kreon selbst (vergl. 1268, 1278, 1297).

### König Oidipus.

Die Skene zeigt in der Mitte den Palast des Oidipus auf der Kadmeia zu Theben nebst Altären der Götter; an letzteren befindet sich im Beginn des Stückes das Volk, und zwar an denen der *θεοὶ προσταῖτες* mit *ἐκτῆροι κλάδοι* in den Händen 143. Welchen Göttern die geweihten Stätten zugehört haben, und wo sie zu suchen sind, darüber giebt das Stück keinen Aufschluss. Nur aus 919 u. ff. ersieht man, dass das Heiligthum des Apollon Lykeios, was Schneidewin wohl mit Recht mit dem des Apollon Agyieus identificirt, ganz in der Nähe ist, und aus 20 ist ersichtlich, dass die *διπλοὶ ναοὶ* der Pallas nicht bei dem Palast, sondern in der Stadt sich befinden\*). Dennoch müssen der Altäre noch mehrere als der eine des Apollon sichtbar gewesen sein, wie aus 3, 16 und 913 zu schliessen ist. Aus den sonstigen Anrufungen der Götter, wie wenn der Chor 900 den Zeus, 209 und 211 den Bakchos anruft, ist nichts zu folgern, da die Athene und Artemis, die ebenfalls angerufen werden (159, 161), ihre Tempel nicht hier, sondern am Markte gehabt zu haben scheinen.

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\*) Schneidewin glaubt, dass man die Heiligthümer des Zeus *Ἐρκεῖος*, des Apollon Agyieus und auch wohl die der Artemis und Pallas gesehen habe.

An der rechten Periakte muss die Andeutung, dass der Weg zur Stadt führe, an der linken die Andeutung von dem nach der Fremde hin gehenden Wege gewesen sein; und da der links befindliche Weg nach Delphoi führt, so ist es wenigstens möglich, dass der vom Chore angerufene Parnassos (463 ff.) in der Ferne an der linken Periakte sichtbar war. Ein weiterer landschaftlicher Hintergrund wird nirgends bemerklich gemacht; alles also, was zwischen dem Wege nach Delphoi und dem Palaste an der linken Seite, und zwischen dem nach der Stadt führenden Wege und dem Palaste an der rechten Seite der Bühne dargestellt war, ist ganz unsicher. Denn eine Frauenwohnung (die der Iokaste) scheint rechts vom Palaste nicht gewesen zu sein. Die ἐν δόμῳν 634 auftretende Iokaste weiss freilich nichts von dem argen Verdachte, den Oidipus gegen Teiresias in Bezug auf Kreon (385 ff.) ausgesprochen hat, obgleich Oidipus schon 462 in den Palast zurückgekehrt ist, und ihn sehr wohl seiner Frau, wenn sie im Palaste war, inzwischen hätte mittheilen können. Aber dass diese Mittheilung habe erfolgen müssen, wird sich schwerlich beweisen lassen. Vielmehr da der Verdacht, den Oidipus in Bezug auf Kreon ausgesprochen hat, nur eine Folge seiner augenblicklichen Gemüthserregung gewesen ist\*), und er Anstand nehmen musste dergleichen alsbald auch gegen die Schwester Kreon's auszusprechen: so folgt aus dem Nichtwissen der Iokaste keineswegs, dass sie sich nicht im Palaste befunden hat. — Aber eben so wenig lässt sich aus den Worten τέκνων ἀγοῦ (1521), die Kreon zu Oidipus spricht, als er ihn in den Palast abführt, etwas über das Fehlen oder Dasein der abgesonderten Frauenwohnung folgern. Am leichtesten wird freilich die Trennung des Oidipus von seinen Kindern den Zuschauern vor Augen gebracht, wenn letztere in eine andere Wohnung (die der Iokaste) gebracht werden als Oidipus. Aber wenn Iokaste ihr besonderes Wohnhaus hatte, aus dem sie 634 kommt: so muss man erwarten, dass sie 861, wo sie zu Oidipus sagt: ἴωμεν εἰς δόμους, auch in ihr Haus gehen, und 911 von da wieder erscheinen werde, während Oidipus sich in den Palast begeben hat. Damit stimmt aber nicht, dass sie 918 sagt, ihr Zuspruch richtete bei Oidipus nichts mehr aus, und dass (914) Oidipus durch Alles und Jedes sich in

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\*) Dass man 139 nicht auf Kreon beziehen kann, noch auch 288, zeigt 385, wo Kreon dem Oidipus noch ὁ πιστός, οὐχ ἀρχῆς φίλος ist. Eine Ironie liegt sicher nicht in den letzten Worten.

Angst setzen lasse. Also muss sie 861 ihren sehr aufgeregten Gatten in den Palast geführt haben, und von daher 911 wieder auftreten. Eben dahin muss sie aber auch 1072 eilen. Denn der 1223 erscheinende Exangelos meldet eben sowohl das Loos, welches Oidipus sich im Palaste bereitet hat, als das Schicksal, welches die Iokaste in demselben Palaste betroffen hat. Den Worten *τέκνων ἀποῦ* aber geschieht auch Genüge, wenn die Töchter sich nicht an den Vater hängen dürfen, als Kreon mit ihm in den Palast geht, sondern erst, nachdem Oidipus fort ist, von einem Theile der Begleitung zwar in den Herrscherpalast, aber in einen Theil desselben, wo sie vom Vater getrennt sind, abgeführt werden. Dazu kommt: es geschieht dies am Ende des Stückes, wo der weitere Verlauf der Handlung aufhört, und dem Zuschauer zu grossen Berechnungen keine Zeit mehr übrig bleibt. Es fällt also jeder Anlass, ein besonderes Frauenhaus zur Rechten des Palastes anzunehmen, weg.

Durch welche Thür der alte Hirt des Laios eintritt, vermag ich nicht mit Bestimmtheit anzugeben. Vom Lande kommend sollte man erwarten, dass er durch die linke Seitenthür eintreten werde. Da aber der Ort, von dem er herkommt, der Heimath zugehört: so kann er auch von rechts her durch die Stadt eintreten. Aber es liegt endlich auch kein Grund vor, ihn nicht aus einer rechten oder linken Nebenthür treten zu lassen. Ist letzteres der Fall, so werden im Stücke vier Thüren gebraucht; benutzt der Hirt eine anderweitig in Anspruch genommene, so ist mit drei Thüren allen Bedürfnissen genügt. — Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nur da ein, wo der Korinthische Bote erscheint 924; dieser kommt aus der Fremde, also von links. Da die linke Seitenthür bisher den nach Delphoi gehenden Weg angezeigt hat, so muss hier eine Drehung der Periakte eintreten. Freilich macht sich dadurch ein Widerspruch mit der Wirklichkeit bemerklich; denn die nach Delphoi und Korinthos führenden Wege gehen in der Wirklichkeit nach entgegengesetzten Richtungen; im Theater behalten beide dieselbe Richtung:

In Bezug auf das Auftreten der meisten Personen walten keine Zweifel ob. Von Delphoi durch die linke Seitenthür kommt Kreon (70) 84; von Korinthos durch dieselbe Thür der Bote 924. Welche Thür es ist, durch die der Hirt des Laios auftritt, lässt sich wie gesagt nicht bestimmt angeben. Wo derselbe aber 1185 bleibt und eben so der Bote von Korinthos, ferner der Exangelos, ist nicht bezeichnet; sie verschwinden un-



vermerkt von der Bühne. Aus dem Herrscherpalaste tritt Oidipus 1, geht dahin zurück 462 (vergl. 531), kommt von da heraus 532, geht hinein 862, kommt heraus 950, und geht hinein 1185. Von eben daher erscheint der Exangelos 1223, ferner Oidipus 1297, auf einen Wink Kreon's die Töchter des Oidipus als stumme Personen 1472\*); endlich führt Kreon den Oidipus eben dahin zurück 1523, und nach ihm werden auch die Töchter dorthin gebracht.

In Bezug auf 146 sind verschiedene Ansichten geltend gemacht worden. Schneidewin lässt den Oidipus in leisem Gespräche mit Kreon auf der Bühne verbleiben, und ihn erst am Ende der Parodos auf das, was um ihn vorgeht, und was der Chor sagt, achten. Donner spricht sich über das Gehen und Bleiben des Oidipus nicht aus, lässt aber Kreon nach 146 abgehen. Kock endlich (l. l. p. 21 Anm. 96) lässt den Oidipus nach 146, den Priester nebst der Deputation nach 150 sich von der Bühne entfernen. Schneidewin's Ansicht scheint die einzig richtige zu sein. Das Verbleiben des Oidipus auf der Bühne ist zuerst genügend motivirt, da Oidipus 145 das Volk alsbald zu sich entbieten lässt (*ὥς πᾶν ἐμοῦ δράστορος*, wie er sagt); er wird daher das baldige Erscheinen desselben erwarten, und nicht ohne triftigen Grund sich wegbegeben. Dazu kommt, dass eine weitere Besprechung über die von Apollon hergebrachte Antwort, über deren Sinn und Anwendung sich Oidipus bereits in ein Gespräch mit Kreon eingelassen hat, sein Verbleiben ebenfalls zu erheischen scheint; denn er ist mit der Sache noch nicht zum Ende gelangt. Nur dann aber, wenn Oidipus und Kreon auf der Bühne verbleiben, wird es auch klar, warum hier und in der Folge weder ein Abtreten noch ein Auftreten des Oidipus bemerklich gemacht wird, und warum Oidipus am Ende des Chorgesanges und der Parodos ohne Weiteres zu reden beginnt. Dass seine Worte nur an das Ende der Parodos anknüpfen, ist ganz natürlich; denn auf das Frühere hat er, im Gespräche mit Kreon begriffen, nicht gehört. Nun fehlt freilich in der neuen Scene, Kreon, von dessen Abgang man nichts gehört hat, und der, wie sich aus 512 ergibt, vom Oidipus nach der Stadt sich muss begeben haben. Aber

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\*) Denn Oidipus befindet sich im Vordergrunde der Bühne. Von da geht Kreon bei dem Verlangen, welches Oidipus nach seinen Töchtern äussert, auf den Palast zu, und führt die inzwischen auf seinen Wink erschienenen Mädchen zu Oidipus hin (vergl. 1480).

es hat wohl keine Schwierigkeit, ihn auf des Oidipus Geheiss während des Chorgesanges und zwar unmittelbar vor dem Schlusse desselben abgehend zu denken, denn auch die Sendung des Oidipus an Teiresias muss während der Parodos vor sich gehen. Oidipus sagt in Beziehung darauf 288:

*ἔπεμψα γὰρ Κρέοντος εἰπόντος διπλοῦς  
πόμπους. πάλαι δὲ μὴ παρὼν θαυμάζομαι.*

Dass man die Sendung an Teiresias nicht in eine frühere Zeit als die angegebene verlegen darf, zeigt 305, wo Oidipus dem Teiresias die vom Phoibos erhaltene Antwort mittheilen will, falls er sie nicht von den Boten erfahren habe (*εἰ καὶ μὴ κλύεις τῶν ἀγγέλων*). Die Boten können also erst nach der Rückkehr des Kreon von Delphoi an Teiresias gesendet worden sein, und das: ich wundere mich schon lange, dass er noch nicht da ist, erhält aus der Ungeduld des Oidipus seine genügende Erklärung. Am natürlichsten scheint sich alles so zu ordnen, wenn Oidipus auf den Rath Kreon's während der Parodos einen Diener nach Teiresias aussendet, später vor dem Schlusse der Parodos Kreon selbst eben dahin abgeht. Eine Analogie hierzu weise ich aus der Tragödie freilich nicht beizubringen; dagegen ist der Fall im Plutos, wo Plutos während eines Chorgesanges über die Bühne hin fortgeschafft wird, dem vorliegenden Falle sehr verwandt\*). Denkt man sich hingegen, dass Oidipus 146 in den Palast geht, so ist weder dieses, noch sein Wiedererscheinen durch den Dichter angedeutet worden, indem Oidipus den Kreon nicht einladet, ihn in den Palast zu begleiten. Das erstere ist auch nicht motivirt, da Oidipus eben erst aus dem Palaste erschienen ist, um zu untersuchen, zu handeln und zu helfen. Begleitet ihn Kreon in den Palast, so begreift man nicht, wie Kreon 512 aus der Stadt herkommen kann, oder man muss auch hier annehmen, dass Kreon nach der Parodos aus dem Palaste entsendet stumm über die Bühne sich entfernt, Oidipus aber später vor 206 erscheint. — Am unwahrscheinlichsten ist es, dass Kreon, wie Donner es ansieht, alsbald (vor 150) und zwar getrennt von Oidipus sich entfernt. Es bleibt alsdann räthselhaft, wie Oidipus 288 von seiner Sendung an Teiresias so sprechen kann, wie er thut. Denn die Zuschauer müssten in dem Falle, dass Kreon den Oidipus zusammen mit den andern Flehenden verlässt, gehört haben, wie Kreon gesucht hat, den Oidipus zur Absendung von Boten an

\*) Aves 1271 u. 1718 lässt sich dagegen nicht anführen.



Teiresias zu bestimmen; dies ist aber nicht der Fall gewesen. Allein endlich, ohne Kreon, kann Oidipus gar nicht auf der Bühne bleiben. Dazu eignet sich weder die Situation, noch die Stimmung des Königs. Nicht sinnend sondern Andere ausforschend und in Thätigkeit begriffen muss der König sein, der da meint zur Zeit des Mordes nicht in Thebens Nähe gewesen zu sein, und daher als Fremder nur von Anderen erfahren kann, was er zu wissen und zu finden wünscht. Bei wem aber kann und muss er zunächst mehr forschen wollen, als gerade bei Kreon? und den hält er darum bei sich auf der Bühne zurück.

Von der rechten Seitenthür her erscheinen der Hiereus und die Hülfflehenden 1, und entfernen sich wieder (142 ff.) 146. Da sie beim Erscheinen des Oidipus im Anfange des Stückes schon versammelt sind und vor den Götterbildern liegen (2): so geht dem Erscheinen des Oidipus ein stummes Spiel voraus\*). Zur rechten Seitenthür fort geht ferner Kreon vor 206. Von daher erscheinen Teiresias und sein Knabe (vergl. 444) 316, und beide gehen dahin zurück 462. Von daher kommt Kreon 512 und 1422, und geht dahin 677 zurück. Kreon äussert nämlich bei seinem Auftreten 512: *δεῖν' ἔπη πεπυσμένος κατηγορεῖν μου τὸν τύραννον Οἰδίπουν πάρεμι' ἀτλητῶν*. Er hat also von Anderen gehört, welchen Verdacht gegen ihn Oidipus zu Teiresias ausgesprochen hat. Er kann davon nur in der Stadt, wohin Teiresias 462 zurückkehrt, gehört haben, und kann demnach 512 nur von der Stadt herkommen; 677, wo er in Unfrieden von Oidipus scheidet, kann er diesen auch nicht in den Palast begleitet haben; er muss da also wieder zur Stadt zurückkehren und von daher 1422 erscheinen.

Der Chor erscheint 151, und tritt durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra ein. Am Schlusse des Stückes geht er auch wieder durch die Parodos fort. Denn es liegt kein Anlass vor, ihn die Bühne besteigen zu lassen. — Die Flehenden, welche beim Beginn des Stückes sich auf der Bühne befinden, können nicht füglich durch dieselben Personen dargestellt werden, welche später den Chor bilden, wenn man nicht eine ziemlich lange Pause nach 150 annimmt. Denn der Priester, welcher

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\*) Donner übersetzt v. 2: „warum erscheint ihr lagernd auf den Sitzen hier?“ man muss dabei sich hüten an Bänke zu denken. Vergl. Neue zu d. V. Die Bemerkung Donners: Priester bereiten ein Sühnopfer, kann auch falsch verstanden werden; denn das Stück weiss bloss davon, dass das Volk kommt, um die Hülfe der Götter anzuflehen.

147 zum Aufbruche und zum Verlassen der Bühne mahnt, spricht noch bis 150 fort; und mit 151 beginnt schon die Parodos, also das Eintreten des Chores.

### Die Sieben vor Thebai von Aischylos.

Der Ort der Handlung ist der Platz vor dem königlichen Palaste auf der Kadmeia. Der genannte Palast besteht nur aus einem Gebäude. Vor demselben und in dessen Nähe befinden sich aber mancherlei der Verehrung der Götter geweihte Stellen und Stätten, weshalb 203 von *θεῶν ἅδε πανήγυρις* die Rede ist. Vor allem müssen die Schutzgötter der Stadt, die 69, 293, 236, 104, 166 angerufen und erwähnt werden, und denen das von Eteokles 254 ausgesprochene Gelübde gilt, dort geweihte Stätten gehabt haben. Von eigentlichen Tempeln dieser oder anderer Götter ist freilich keine Rede, mehrmals dagegen von deren Bildsäulen 193, 166. Die Zahl und Lage derselben anzugeben ist inzwischen, da es an hinlänglichen Indicien fehlt, nicht wohl möglich. Schon die Zahl der einzeln angerufenen Götter ist so gross, dass schwerlich die Bildsäulen aller sichtbar gewesen sind. Denn ausser der Erde, der Ara und Erinys 69, die hier natürlich weniger in Betracht kommen, werden angerufen Zeus 110, 238, Pallas 120, Poseidon 123, Ares 101, 125, Aphrodite 127, der Lykeiische Apollon 131, 145, Artemis 134, 139, Hera 137, Pallas Onka 149; aber auch Dirke und Ismenos werden 289, 256 angerufen. Die Götterbilder, welche sichtbar waren, oder die Altäre mögen übrigens zum grossen Theile nur durch Hülfe der Malerei hergestellt gewesen sein; indess scheinen auch solide Statuen nicht ganz gefehlt zu haben 241. Sie mit Genelli p. 71 an dem Hyposkenion angebracht zu denken, oder mit Geppert p. 143 in der Orchestra vorauszusetzen, und dort eine *κοινοβωμία* anzunehmen, scheint mir nicht statthaft. Dem letzteren widerstreitet namentlich, dass der Chor in seiner namenlosen Angst nicht an einen Ort zusammenströmt, sondern die einzelnen Choreuten umherirren, und bald hier bald dort vor einem der Götterbilder sich niederzuwerfen scheinen. Mit grösserem Rechte deutet Droysen darauf hin, dass die Scenerie auch einzelne Theile der Stadt gezeigt habe; vielleicht hat man auch, besonders an der heimathlichen rechten Seite, einzelne Theile der *πυργώματα* 234 gesehen. Aber besondere Rücksicht nimmt das Stück auf alles das nicht.

Von Thüren sind nur drei nothwendig: die in den Palast führende Mittelthür, und die zwei Seitenthüren, von denen die rechte nach der Stadt, die linke nach aussen hinführt. War noch eine oder die andere über das unmittelbare Bedürfniss hinaus angebracht, so werden diese namentlich da gebraucht worden sein, wo die einzelnen von Eteokles zur Vertheidigung der Stadt ausgewählten Anführer zu den einzelnen Thoren hin abgehen 398 ff. Veränderungen finden in der Scenerie nicht statt. — Im Anfange des Stückes tritt Eteokles aus dem Palaste; er findet den Platz vor demselben, das Logeion, mit Bürgern (10, 30 ff.) von Theben erfüllt, und redet sie alsbald an. Sie müssen also etwas früher, als Eteokles erscheint, von der Seite der Stadt her gekommen sein. Droysen und Donner meinen zwar, dass das Volk in der Orchestra sei, und auch Hermann bemerkt zu v. 1: *conspicitur in scena, vel potius in orchestra, populus Thebanus*; aber nie erscheint ein Chor (und das wäre er in diesem Falle) stumm, wenn es nicht durchaus motivirt ist. Hier kommt noch hinzu, dass die Volksmasse sich auch 38 stumm entfernt, und gar nicht zu Worte gekommen ist. — Gleich darauf tritt von der Fremdenseite her, aus dem feindlichen Lager, ein Bote (vergl. 36) auf, der sich nach 68 nach derselben Seite hin entfernt; und bald darauf tritt auch Eteokles (77) ab. Wohin er geht, lässt sich weder aus dieser Stelle ersehen, noch aus 163 und den folgenden Versen bestimmen. Eteokles kann eben so wohl in den Palast, wie nach der Stadt hin abgehen, und von da her wieder erscheinen, da kein bestimmtes Geschäft genannt ist, was seine Gegenwart an einem der beiden Orte erfordert. Da aber seine Anwesenheit in der Stadt bei der drohenden Gefahr besonders nöthig zu sein scheint, so geht er wohl 68 nach der Seite der Stadt hin ab, und erscheint demnach auch 163 von dort her. Ob er durch die rechte Seitenthür oder die rechte Nebenthür abtritt, ist natürlich noch unsicherer. Durch die letztere ihn sich entfernen zu lassen, muss denen mehr zusagen, die ein Zusammenreffen desselben mit dem alsbald durch die rechte Parodos erscheinenden Chore vermeiden wollen. Da aber ein Zusammentreffen mit dem Chore in der Stadt, wo alsbald hinter der rechten Periakte gar verschiedene Wege sich eröffnen können, auch dann, wenn Eteokles durch die Seitenthür sich entfernt, nicht mit Nothwendigkeit angenommen werden kann: so hindert wohl nichts anzunehmen, dass der König sich durch die Seitenthür entferne, besonders wenn noch eine kleine Pause

eintrat, ehe der Chor sich sehen liess. War dagegen in der Scenerie wirklich eine rechte Nebenthür vorhanden, dann erscheint es allerdings einfacher, sich den König durch sie hin abgehend zu denken. — Der Chor erscheint 78 von der Stadtseite her, und zwar nach Kock p. 18 in der Orchestra, wo er zerstreut an einzelnen dort befindlichen Götterbildern kniend seine Gebete verrichtet (p. 19) und dann nach der eigentlichen (?) Orchestra sich begeben soll. Eben da lassen auch Genelli und Geppert den Chor erscheinen. Da ich nicht zugeben kann, dass die Götterbilder sich in der Orchestra befunden haben, und doch nicht umhin kann, den Chor in die Nähe der Götterbilder gelangen zu lassen: so kann ich der Ansicht der genannten Männer nicht beipflichten. Zu den Götterbildern treibt 93 die Angst die Jungfrauen hin, und dass sie denselben wirklich nahen, daran lassen die Ausdrücke, welche auf die grösste Nähe derselben an den geweihten Bildern hinweisen, nicht zweifeln. So wenn es 94 heisst, es sei Zeit *βρετέων ἔχουσθαι*, oder wenn Andere aus dem Chore sagen 130 *πελαζόμεσθα* der Kypris, Eteokles sie findet 166 *βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολισσούχων θεῶν*, der Chor 193 sagt: *ἐπὶ δαιμόνων ἦλθον ἀρχαῖα βρέτη*. Noch bestimmter und keiner Missdeutung unterworfen ist, was Eteokles 241 sagt: *παλινστομεῖς αὖ θιγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων\**). Der Chor muss sich also demzufolge auf dem Logeion befinden; und die Ängstrufe der einzelnen Choreuten zeigen überdies, dass er nicht in Masse, sondern einzeln zu den Altären gelangt. Auf welchem Wege dies geschehen ist, ob durch die rechte Seitenthür, oder durch die rechte Parodos, indem er dann aus der Orchestra die Treppen zur Bühne hinansteigt, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Zulässig ist beides. Da aber Aischylos noch in zwei Stücken, in den Eumeniden und den Hiketiden, den Chor in ganz ähnlicher Weise auf der Bühne auftreten lässt: so scheint es angemessener, auch hier das Gleiche anzunehmen. Das Logeion verlässt der Chor erst um 249 (vergl. 248 *ἐκτὸς οὐσ' ἀγαλμάτων εὐχου*), und zwar so, dass er 270 in der Orchestra angelangt dort sein Stasimon beginnen kann. Eteokles, der 163 wieder die Bühne betritt, entfernt sich abermals 269, und zwar um Anführer zu wählen, die den Feinden an den Thoren Widerstand leisten sollen (*τάξω μολών*); und zu dem Zwecke ist es nöthig, dass er zur

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\*) 223 *τάνδε ποτὶ σκοπᾶν, τέμιον ἔδος ἐκόμαν* dagegen geht wohl auf die Kadmeia.

Stadt geht, und zwar um so mehr, da bei dem aus dem feindlichen Lager 356 erscheinenden Boten nicht bemerklich gemacht wird, dass der König aus dem Palaste trete, sondern dass beide zusammentreffen. Ueberdies erscheint der König 453 in Begleitung namhafter Männer, deren Anwesenheit bis dahin nicht bemerklich geworden war. Durch welche Thür Eteokles sich entfernt und wieder erscheint, ist eben so unsicher, wie bei 68. Auch hier hängt es meist davon ab, ob man eine rechte Nebenthür in der Scenerie vorhanden sein lässt oder nicht. — Dass der König 453 in Begleitung von nicht wenigen Personen erscheint, wird zwar nicht ausdrücklich gesagt. An ihrem Dasein auf der Bühne ist aber, obgleich sie sich stumm verhalten mussten, weil sonst die übliche Zahl der Schauspieler wäre überschritten worden, nicht zu zweifeln. Es handelt sich nämlich um die Anführer, die den einzelnen feindlichen Anführern an den Thoren entgegen treten sollen. Um sie zu wählen, dazu war der König in die Stadt geeilt; mit ihnen, also wenigstens mit sechs, kehrt er zurück; und nachdem er von dem neuerdings aus dem feindlichen Lager gekommenen Boten vernommen hat, wer von den feindlichen Anführern den Angriff auf jedes Thor übernommen hat, sucht er den von den Seinen aus, den er für den Feinden gewachsen erachtet. Dadurch wird zugleich motivirt, warum er sie nicht früher schon von der Stadt aus zu den Thoren gesendet hat. Der für jedes Thor ausgewählte geht gewiss, sobald er seine Bestimmung erfahren, nach seinem Posten ab (398, 433, 462, 502, 543, 607). An ein späteres gemeinschaftliches Abgehen derselben ist nicht zu denken, da einerseits der Angriff auf die Stadt in nächster Aussicht ist, andererseits Eteokles nach Aussendung der übrigen Feldherren 656 seine Rüstung verlangt, und alsbald (700) zu einem Thore der Stadt hin abgeht, ohne dass noch von der Anwesenheit der anderen Anführer die Rede ist. Vor ihm hat sich schon der Bote nach links hin 633 entfernt. Die Umgebung des Königs ist während der besprochenen Scene, abgesehen von den sechs Anführern, gewiss nicht bedeutend gewesen; denn 656 redet er nur Einen an (*φῆρε*), der ihm seine Waffen bringen soll. Der König selbst muss wohl nach der Stadtseite hin abgehen, sei es durch die Nebenthür oder durch die Seitenthür. — 773 kommt der Bote mit der Meldung vom Tode der Brüder; er spricht von dem Zustande, in dem Stadt und Thore sich befinden, er kommt also von der Seite der

Stadt her und entfernt sich um 801 auf dem Wege, auf dem er gekommen ist. Der Leichenzug der beiden Brüder erscheint 828, und zwar auf dem Wege, den der Bote vorher genommen hat, 838 auch Antigone und Ismene; *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦκουσ' αἶδε ἐπὶ πρᾶγος πικρόν*, also sicher nicht in der Begleitung der Leichen, sondern, wie Donner auch sagt, aus dem Palaste. Die jetzt auf der Bühne anwesenden Personen bleiben nun bis zum Schlusse. Nur auf kurze Zeit kommt noch der Herold aus der Stadt dazu, nämlich zwischen 989—1038; er entfernt sich dann wieder nach der Stadt hin. Droysen ist der Ansicht, dass der Leichenzug von der Seite der Fremde her erscheine, dass die Leichen (letzteres meint auch Donner) vor der Bühnentreppe niedergesetzt werden, und die beiden Halbchöre an sie neben die Schwestern 932 herantreten. Es wird aber dadurch die Handlung in die Orchestra hin verlegt, und hier überdies ohne alle Noth. Eine Nothwendigkeit, den Chor gegen Ende des Stücks auf die Bühne steigen zu lassen, kann ich nicht bemerken. Weder 864, wo der Chor sagt, dass die königlichen Brüder ins Herz getroffen sind, noch die weiteren Klagen desselben, noch die von 852 an eintretende Theilung des Chores in zwei Halbchöre zwingen dazu. Eben so sieht man weiterhin nicht ein, was ein Besteigen des Logeions nöthig machen sollte. Denn den zwei Leichenzügen, deren einer mit Antigone nach der Seite der Fremde, der andere mit Ismene nach der Stadt hin sich in Bewegung setzt, kann der Chor sehr wohl sich anschliessen, ohne die Bühne zu betreten, indem er sich durch die Parodoi entfernt. Es ist der in der *Alkestis* besprochene Fall, der sich auch in den *Trachinierinnen* findet.

### Die Trachinierinnen.

Die Skene stellt den Platz vor dem Palaste des Königs Keyx in Trachis vor, und der Palast nimmt demzufolge die Mitte der hinteren Bühnenwand ein. An der rechten Periakte, die auf die Heimath hinzuweisen hat, befand sich der Weg nach der nahen Stadt. Ob vielleicht ausserdem ein dem Apollon, der Artemis, den Nymphen oder dem Dionysos geweihtes Heiligthum (denn dieser Götter gedenkt der Chor 208—220) noch die Nähe der Stadt angezeigt hat, lässt sich nicht bestimmen. Die 639 erwähnten heissen Bäder waren dazu am wenigsten geeignet. Auch von dem, was an der linken Peri-



akte dargestellt war, fehlt ein sicheres Zeichen. Deianeira betet zwar 200 zum Zeus auf dem Oite, erwähnt seiner als des auf diesem Felsgipfel Blitzenden 437, Herakles erwähnt ferner 1191 τὸν Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὑψιστον πάγον; aber alles dies geschieht ohne die geringste Hindeutung, dass die genannte Localität sichtbar war. Aus 1191 scheint sich vielmehr zu ergeben, dass man den Oite nicht sah. Denn war derselbe sichtbar, so konnte Herakles nicht wohl den Hyllos fragen, ob er den Oite kenne, sondern hätte auf ihn als sichtbaren hinweisen müssen. Dass ferner der Hafen, in dem Herakles anlandet, und auch das Meer nebenbei nicht sichtbar war, muss man aus 804 schliessen; denn Herakles wird nicht bei oder unmittelbar nach seiner Anlandung sichtbar.

Wenn ferner der Chor 634 sagt: ὦ ναύλοχα καὶ πετραῖα θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ πάγους Οἴτας παραναιετάοντες, οἳ τε Μηλῖδα παρ λῖμναν χρυσαλακάτου τ' ἀκτὰν κόρας, ἐνθ' Ἑλλάνων ἀγοραὶ Πυλάτιδες καλεῦνται, er also die heissen Bäder und die Berge des Oite nebst den dort stattfindenden Versammlungen der Hellenen anruft: so ist auch hieraus kein Schluss auf das, was die Skene darstellte, erlaubt. Was die linke Periakte darstellen musste, beschränkt sich nur auf den nach Euböia führenden Weg, und die Scenerie konnte demnach hier sehr einfach sein.

Nothwendig für die Oeconomie des Stückes sind nur drei Thüren: die in den Palast führende Mittelthür und die zwei Seitenthüren; mehr als diese erfordert wenigstens die Handlung nicht. Freilich steht dem nichts entgegen, den Hyllos (58) durch eine besondere Thür, die rechte oder linke Nebenthür, eintreten zu lassen.

Einer durchaus verschiedenen Ansicht über die Scenerie ist Geppert; er sagt (p. 150): „aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat die Scene (in den Trachinierinnen) die von Herodot genannten Gegenstände ganz in der Weise dargestellt, wie er sie schildert. Der Chor redet nämlich die Bewohner dieser Orte in einer Weise an, die es kaum zweifelhaft lässt, dass er auf die Scene Bezug nimmt. Er unterscheidet aber dabei die warmen Bäder mit ihrem Hafen und ihren Bergen, die Höhen des Oeta, den Melischen Meerbusen, der sich hier einbuchtet, und das Gestade der Demeter, wohin die Amphiktyonenversammlungen der Hellenen berufen werden. Dies bezieht sich indessen nur auf den Hintergrund und die Flanken der Scene. Dass dieselbe naturgemäss auch die Ebene darstellte,

welche in der Nähe Trachis rings umgab, lässt sich wohl aus der Erwähnung der Wiese abnehmen, auf der Lichas mit den Gefangenen durch die Neugier des Volkes aufgehalten wurde, als er auf dem Wege nach der Wohnung des Keyx war. Hier entwickelte sich die Handlung, und die Stadt scheint man in der Ferne gesehen zu haben.~ Leider ist in dieser Beschreibung der Scenerie nicht deutlich, an welchem Orte der Skene jedes gesehen worden ist, und es hält daher schwer, sich ein bestimmtes Bild von der Scenerie, wie sie Geppert vorgeschwebt hat, zu entwerfen. Aber selbst abgesehen davon, wie alles in der Scenerie vertheilt war: so fehlt es auch nicht an Bedenken gegen die einzelnen Vertlichkeiten, welche darin sollen aufgenommen worden sein. Der Chor kommt von der Stadt her zum Palaste: er muss also durch die rechte Parodos eintreten, und nach dieser Seite hin ist die Stadt in der Nachbarschaft zu denken. Geppert dagegen will sie an der Hinterwand und zwar in der Ferne sichtbar werden lassen. Aber gesetzt, es sei so gewesen, dann ist der Standpunkt der Zuschauer im Süden der Stadt, und es entsteht die neue Schwierigkeit, wo das Meergestade und der Hafen sichtbar geworden ist. Man muss voraussetzen: an der linken Seite. Aber abgesehen davon, dass die Küste sonst an der rechten Seite zum Vorschein kommt: so stimmt aladann die Scenerie nicht mehr mit der Wirklichkeit; denn der Weg nach Eubolia, der in Wirklichkeit an der rechten Seite liegt, befindet sich aldann an der entgegengesetzten Seite. Nur dann also, wenn der Zuschauer den Palast und die Stadt Trachis von Norden her sieht, und ihm Eubolia und der dahin führende Weg zur Linken liegt, stimmt die Scenerie mit der Wirklichkeit. Ist aber dies der Fall, so kann er den Oite in keiner Weise sehen, wenigstens nicht denjenigen Theil, auf dem der Sage nach Herakles soll verbrannt worden sein: denn Pyra (vergl. Jacobi's Handwörterb. d. Myth. II. p. 423) liegt im NW. von Trachis (vergl. Grote's Gesch. Griech. III. p. 55). Nun ist freilich nicht zu leugnen, dass Strabo auch das Gebirge im Süden und Osten von Trachis bis zu den Thermopylen Oite nennt: aber da das Stück selbst zeigt, dass der Oite nicht sichtbar gewesen ist (1191): so muss man auch diesen Gedanken aufgeben. Gegen die Darstellung des Meeres mit dem Hafen, wo Herakles anlandete, an der linken Seite der Bühne spricht ferner, wie bereits bemerkt, 504. Sind aber alle diese Punkte an den Seiten nicht sichtbar gewesen, so können sie noch weniger der Wirk-



lichkeit gemäss an den übrigen Theilen der Skenenwand den Zuschauern vorgeführt worden sein; denn diese kann nur die Oertlichkeiten dargestellt haben, welche zwischen dem von der Stadt nach Euboia führenden Wege und der Stadt lagen; die Thermopylen, das Meer und andere der genannten Striche liegen aber weit über diesen Bezirk hinaus, können also nicht gesehen worden sein. Welche Anzeichen Geppert hat, um aus den Anrufungen des Chores zu schliessen, dass auch die Scenerie auf die Wohnsitze dieser Umwohner Bezug nehme, weiss ich nicht. Wenn der Chor menschliche Gesellschaften anruft — wen anders als die Umwohner kann er rufen? Nennt er die Ortschaften einzeln, so geschieht es von Seiten des Dichters, um sehen zu lassen, wie viele an den Schicksalen des Herakles den lebhaftesten Theil nehmen, nicht darum, weil man deren Wohnsitze sieht. Es fehlt vielmehr jede bestimmte Andeutung, dass irgend eine der genannten Ortschaften gesehen wurde. Einzelne der genannten Punkte liegen überdies von Trachis so fern, dass sie nur in der grössten Ferne hätten angedeutet werden können, und was hätte dies geholfen? Wenn die Ebene soll dargestellt worden sein, auf der Lichas mit den Gefangenen durch die Neugier des Volkes aufgehalten wurde, soll man dann auch das ihn aufhaltende Volk gesehen haben? Hat man dies aber nicht gesehen, so sicher auch die Ebene nicht, die ohnedies als Ebene jedes charakteristischen Gepräges entbehren musste. Demnach kann ich mich nicht überzeugen, dass die Scenerie mehr als die nächste Umgebung von dem Palaste des Keyx dargestellt hat. Sophokles wird die weise Mässigung, die er sonst überall in Bezug auf die Scenerie zeigt, auch hier bewahrt haben, und zwar hier zumal, wo er auf alle jene besprochenen Oertlichkeiten als auf sichtbare im Stücke keinen Bezug nimmt.

Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein.

Durch die Mittelthür tritt auf oder ab Deianeira mit Lichas 1 (vergl. 39), Lichas 334 (vergl. 376), 393, ferner mit Deianeira 496, Deianeira 531, Lichas 598, Deianeira 632, 663, 812 (vergl. 868 mit 870), Hyllos 820 (vergl. 901), die Amme 871, Hyllos 971\*). Der Chor zieht von der Seite der Heimath her durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra ein; von der

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\*) Denn dass Donner nicht Recht hat, wenn er bemerkt: Herakles wird, von Hyllos und Männern aus dem Volke begleitet, auf einer Bahre hergetragen, zeigt deutlich 932 und 1122.

rechten Seitenthür (oder allenfalls von einer der beiden Nebenthüren) her kommt Hyllos 58. Die linke Seitenthür, durch welche der Weg nach Euboia hingeht, wird passirt von Hyllos 94, von dem Boten 180, von Lichas und den ihm folgenden Gefangenen 224, von Lichas 632, von Hyllos 734, von dort her endlich wird Herakles, von einem Greise begleitet, schlafend hereingetragen 962. — Der 180 erschienene Bote verliert sich unvermerkt, indem er sich wohl 496 in den Palast begiebt; eben so entschwindet die Amme nach 946 den Augen der Zuschauer.

Durch welche Thüren die Schauspieler am Schlusse sich entfernen, ist sehr zweifelhaft. Nachdem nämlich Herakles 1255 den Wunsch ausgesprochen hat, bald auf den Oite gebracht zu werden, geht man 1264 daran diesem Wunsche nachzukommen; die auf der Skene Anwesenden begleiten den Herakles. Aber durch welche Thür geschieht es? durch die rechte oder linke Seitenthür? d. h. auf dem in die Fremde, oder dem in die Heimath führenden Wege? Die Entscheidung, nach welcher Seite sich der Zug begiebt, hängt aber nicht sowohl davon ab, nach welcher Seite von der auf der Skene dargestellten Oertlichkeit der Oite in Wirklichkeit liegt, sondern ob er als Theil der Fremde oder der Heimath aufzufassen ist. Wäre die Lage des Oite in der Wirklichkeit das Entscheidende, so müsste der Zug in dem Theater zu Athen, das gegen SO. hin liegt, und in dem die Zuschauer den Palast des Keyx, der vor ihnen liegt, von N. her sehen, wenn die zwei Seitenthüren mit der Wirklichkeit und den Theatergesetzen übereinstimmen sollen, nach rechts hin sich entfernen, d. h. den Weg der Heimath betreten. Da aber dieser Gesichtspunkt von ganz untergeordneter Art für die theatralische Darstellung ist, so ist vielmehr zu untersuchen, ob der Dichter den Oite als einen Theil der Fremde oder der Heimath behandelt hat. Directe, bestimmte Anzeichen darüber liefert aber das Gedicht nicht; und es lässt sich bloss im Allgemeinen sagen, dass Herakles seine Heimath nicht wird verlassen und in einem fremden Lande sterben wollen, ein Satz, der freilich von so grosser Tragweite ist, dass er mancherlei Ausnahmen nicht ausschliesst. Dennoch möchte ich ihn hier aus Mangel an anderen festeren Gründen anwenden, zumal da es nicht an Beispielen in der Hellenischen Tragödie fehlt, dass der Begriff der Heimath nicht immer in seiner allerengsten Bedeutung zu fassen ist (vergl. den Hirten des Laïos im Oidipus R., auch

den Polyneikes im Oid. Kol.). Herakles dürfte demnach, falls ich nicht fehlgegriffen habe, durch die rechte Seitenthür fortgetragen werden, und somit auch im Tode in der Heimath bleiben. Der Chor begleitet ihn, braucht aber zu dem Zwecke nicht über die Bühne hin sich zu entfernen; sondern so wie er in der Alkestis dem Leichenbegängnisse der Königin beiwohnt, indem er durch die Parodos zum Grabe fortgeht und auf demselben Wege von da zurückkehrt, während die Leiche durch die nebenliegende Seitenthür fortgetragen wird, und die Leidtragenden durch sie zurückkehren: so ist auch unbedenklich anzunehmen, dass in unserm Stücke das Gleiche geschah. \*)

### Alkestis.

Die Handlung geht vor dem Palaste des Admetos in Pherai vor sich; der Palast des Königs nimmt also die Mitte der Skene ein. Daneben befinden sich die *ξενῶνες*; und da es von ihnen 543 heisst: *χωρὶς ξενῶνές εἰσιν*, und Admetos 546 zum Slaven sagt:

*ἡγοῦ συ τῶνδε δωμάτων ἐξωπίους  
ξενῶνας οἷξας, τοῖς τ' ἐφ'esτιῶσιν φράσον  
σίτων παρῆναι πλῆθος. ἐν δὲ κλήσατε  
θύρας μεσάυλους· οὐ πρόπει θοινωμένους  
κλύειν στεναγμῶν οὐδὲ λυπεῖσθαι ξένους.*

so muss die Gastwohnung ein von dem Palaste gesondertes Gebäude sein, in der Art dass man dort das bei der Bestattung der Alkestis im Palaste erhobene Klagegeschrei nicht hört. Andererseits ist die Trennung vom Palaste keine vollständige; denn damit sie das werde, müssen erst die *θύραι μέσσυλοι* geschlossen werden. Der Versuch, genauer anzugeben, wie die Gebäude construirt waren, und namentlich was die *μέσσυλοι θύραι* waren, kann nicht gelingen, und ist daher auch denen, die es versucht haben, nicht gelungen. Von der Einrichtung der späteren Häuser in Hellas, wie sie Vitruvius angiebt, und wie sie wirklich war, kann man nicht ausgehen. Was da galt und Norm war, darf nicht auf die heroischen Zeiten übertragen werden. Aus den Homerischen Gedichten aber lässt sich eine

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\*) Der Grund, dass Herakles darum nicht auf dem Wege der Fremde fortgetragen werden könne, weil sonst eine Drehung der Periakte eintreten müsse, ohne dass von jener Seite her eine neue Person auftritt, ist nicht haltbar, wie eine Vergleichung mit dem, was in der Elektra des Euripides geschieht, zeigen kann.

klare Ansicht schon darum nicht gewinnen, weil die *θύραι μέσσανλοι* darin nicht erwähnt werden. Da übrigens die genannten Thüren auf der Scenerie keinesfalls sichtbar waren, so ist es hier nicht nöthig, genauer auf deren Lage einzugehen. Abgesehen von diesen Thüren, hatte aber das Gastgebäude, das als gesondertes Gebäude seine besonderen Hausmeister (*ἐφροστῶτες*) hat, auch einen Zugang von der Bühne her, durch den Herakles in das Gebäude eintritt, wie er später durch ihn wieder erscheint. Da ferner die Thüren zur Rechten des Palastes anderweitig in Anspruch genommen werden, so muss die Gastwohnung nach links hin gelegen haben; die linke Nebenthür der Skene war also der Eingang zu ihr. — Die linke Seitenthür bildet den Weg in die Fremde; an der rechten Periakte kann eine Andeutung davon, dass Pherai in der Nähe lag, nicht gefehlt haben; denn von daher tritt der Chor durch die Parodos ein. Die rechte Nebenthür endlich zeigt den Weg, der in die Nachbarschaft von Pherai, vor dessen Vorstadt führt. Er trifft auf die von der Stadt nach Larissa führende Strasse, neben der Alkestis bestattet wird (835 *ὁρῶν παρ' οἴμον, ἥ 'πὶ Λάρισσαν φέρει, τύμβον κατόψει ξεστὸν ἐκ προαστίου*). Ein direkt dahin vom Palaste führender Weg ist darum erforderlich, weil Herakles sich zum Grabe vom Palaste aus begiebt, und nicht mit den zur Bestattung der Leiche Ausgegangenen zusammentrifft. Zwei Wege, die in gleicher Weise von dem Orte der Handlung aus nach irgend einem Ziele hinführen, finden sich übrigens auch in des Sophokles Elektra und in des Euripides Orestes, und zwar in Folge gleicher Veranlassung, wie sie die Alkestis darbietet.

Es kommen in unserm Stücke demnach alle fünf Thüren der Skene in Anwendung; dagegen findet keine Veränderung der Scenerie statt.

Aus dem Palaste (der Mittelthür) tritt im Anfange Apollon (23 *λείπω μελάθρων* sagt er), um sich nicht zu verunreinigen, wann Alkestis, wie bald geschehen werde, sterbe\*). In den Palast geht Thanatos 76 (vergl. 74: *στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτήν*, nämlich die Alkestis); aus ihm kommt die Dienerin 141, und begiebt sich dahin zurück 212; von daher treten auf 244 Alkestis, Admetos, Eumelos (vergl. 312) und die Schwester (vergl. 410), und gehen 434 wieder hinein. Durch dieselbe Thür tritt

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\*) Auch am Ende des Personenverzeichnisses heisst es: *ἐξίων ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἀδμήτου προλογίζει Ἀπόλλων*.

Admetos auf und ab 509 und 567; aus dem Palaste ferner wird die todte Alkestis herausgetragen 606, und es erscheint zugleich Admetos von daher. — Durch die linke Nebenthür geht in das Fremdenhaus Herakles 550 (vergl. 541 u. 543); von daher kommt ein Diener 747 und Herakles 773. — Aus der Fremde durch die linke Seitenthür tritt 476 Herakles auf, durch sie verlässt er die Bühne 1152. Durch die rechte Nebenthür geht Herakles ab, um die Alkestis zurück zu holen 860, durch sie kehrt er mit Alkestis 1006 zurück. — Durch die rechte Seitenthür kommt aus Pherai Pheres mit seinem Gefolge 614, und geht dahin zurück 733; eben dahin (zur Seitenthür) begiebt sich der Leichenzug, dem auch der Chor sich zugesellt, 740 u. 746. Der Zug geht durch die Stadt, um der Todten dadurch eine grössere Ehre zu erweisen, nicht auf dem näheren Wege, wo es das Ansehen hätte, als wolle der Zug dem Anblicke der Menschen sich entziehen. Durch die rechte Seitenthür kommt Admetos mit seinem Gefolge zurück. — Der Chor endlich tritt durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra ein.

Ausserdem ist noch Folgendes zu bemerken:

Der Ort, wohin Apollon nach 71 sich entfernt, und die Gegend, von wo Thanatos 28 erscheint, sind nicht sicher indicirt. Obgleich es nun ziemlich gleichgültig ist, wohin Apollon sich begiebt, da nur das Eine erforderlich ist, dass er den Palast des Admetos, in dem ein Todesfall bevorsteht, meidet: so scheint es doch am angemessensten, dass er nach der Seite der Fremde hin sich entfernt. Denn in der Stadt hat er nichts zu thun. Dass Thanatos von der Charonischen Stiege her erscheinen könne, lässt sich zwar nicht in Abrede stellen, ist aber hier gewiss nicht der Fall gewesen. Denn für's Erste ist es nicht nöthig, dass er von daher komme, um ihn als Tod erkennen zu lassen; das Schwert, welches er führt, und sein sonstiges Aeussere machten ihn ohnedies kenntlich. Sodann ist sein Amt der Art, dass man glauben muss, er wandle auf der Erde hin und her. Wie aber im gegenwärtigen Stücke Apollon auf den Wegen der Menschen wandelnd erscheint, so kann es auch Thanatos. Da aber endlich Aphrodite im Hippolytos, Poseidon und Pallas in den Troaden, Hermes im Ion, Dionysos in den Bakchen, Athena im Aias (um der Eumeniden, des Prometheus und mehrerer Aristophanischer Stücke nicht zu gedenken), also sämmtliche in den Prologen erscheinende Götter nicht aus der Höhe, nicht von der Tiefe her erscheinen: so zeigt sich auch hier Thanatos sicher auf keine

andere Weise, und er tritt demnach aus der Fremde durch die linke Seitenthür auf.

Dass der Chor bei der Bestattung der Alkestis zugegen ist, und also 746 das Theater verlässt, darüber kann kein Zweifel sein; eben so wenig darüber, dass er mit Admetos vom Grabe der Alkestis her zurückkommt 861. Dass dem so ist, darauf macht auch Schol. Cobeti zu 918 aufmerksam (*τί μ' ἐκώλυσας; πρὸς τὸν χορόν φησιν, ἣν γὰρ ὁ χορὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ* (Admetos)· *δύναται γὰρ ὁ χορὸς ἐξίστασθαι τῆς σκηνῆς, ὥς καὶ ἐν Αἴαντι μαστιγοφόρῳ*). Aber auf welchem Wege entfernt er sich? Beim Forttragen der Leiche hindert nichts, ihn im Gefolge der Leiche über die Bühne hin gehen zu lassen. Aber wenn dies geschieht, so kann er bei seiner Rückkehr im Gefolge des Admetos auch auf keinem andern Wege, als über die Bühne erscheinen. Dagegen aber machen sich erhebliche Bedenken geltend. Es findet nämlich in dem Falle nichts sich vor, was ihn veranlassen könnte, von der Bühne in die Orchestra hinabzusteigen, und doch zeigt der Schluss des Stückes, dass er sicher aus der Orchestra sich entfernt. Ferner: das Verbleiben des Chores auf der Bühne ist durch nichts motivirt; und doch beginnt bei seinem Erscheinen alsbald ein Zwiegespräch zwischen ihm und Admetos, welches ihm nicht Zeit lässt, sich vom Logeion zu entfernen. Da er nun überdies bald darauf ein vollständiges Stasimon (962 ff.) singt, wobei er nicht mehr auf der Bühne sein kann: so muss man annehmen, dass er weder beim Forttragen der Leiche, noch bei seiner Rückkehr von der Bestattung die Bühne betritt. Und diese Ansicht wird man um so mehr festhalten müssen, da der Leichenzug durch die rechte Seitenthür hin sich fortbewegt, auf diesem Wege also auch Admetos zurückkehrt. Den für die Oertlichkeit im Theater gültigen Gesetzen zufolge trifft nämlich der Chor, wenn er durch die rechte Parodos abzieht, mit den von der Bühne her Abtretenden zusammen; es ist derselbe Weg, den er einschlägt, und den jene einschlagen. Daher, wenn Admetos durch die rechte Seitenthür, der Chor durch die rechte Parodos zugleich zurückkommen: so kommen sie gemeinschaftlich von demselbigen Orte und desselbigen Weges; und es verschwinden damit alle Schwierigkeiten, die entstehen, wenn der Chor über die Bühne kommt. Ein ähnlicher Fall ist im Oidipus Kol., wo der durch den einzelnen Kolonaiier gerufene Chor nicht durch die rechte Seitenthür, sondern durch die rechte Parodos her erscheint; und dies ist



nicht einmal der einzige verwandte Fall; Aehnliches findet auch in des Sophokles Trachinierinnen und am Schlusse der Septem statt.

Wohin die Schauspieler am Schlusse sich entfernen, unterliegt keinem Zweifel: Herakles eilt fort, um den ihm obliegenden Kampf zu bestehen, also nach der Seite der Fremde hin, nach 1152; Admetos heisst sein Volk Freudenfeste feiern, und entfernt sich darauf mit seiner Umgebung in den Palast, nach 1158. Der Chor erwähnt, dass die Götter oft wunderbar in der Noth Rath und Hülfe schaffen; er entfernt sich also durch die rechte Parodos; die Bühne zu betreten hat er keinen Anlass.

### Hippolytos.

Die Skene stellt den Platz vor dem Palaste des Königs Pittheus in Troizene vor, und der Palast selbst nimmt die Mitte der Skenenfront ein. Vor dem Palaste oder zur Seite desselben befindet sich eine Bildsäule der Artemis, die Hippolytos bei seiner Rückkehr von der Jagd 73 bekränzt; eine andere Bildsäule, die der Aphrodite, *πύλαισι ἐφύεσθηκεν* 101. Wenn eine von beiden solid, und nicht gemalt war: so war dies natürlich die erstere. — Die linke Seitenthür zeigt den Weg nach Delphoi an; die rechte Seitenthür, die der Heimath, hat, da der Chor von hierher aus der Stadt kommt, eine Andeutung der benachbarten Stadt in ihrer Umgebung gehabt. Die um die zwei Nebenthüren dargestellte Localität ist minder sicher, da das Stück auf sie keine Beziehung nimmt. Die zur Rechten nach der Heimath hin liegende Thür scheint einen von Wald und Gebüsch umgebenen oder darauf zuführenden Weg dargestellt zu haben; an der linken scheint ein buschiges Thal gesehen worden zu sein. Ferner wage ich nicht mit Sicherheit anzugeben, ob die v. 30 angedeuteten Küsten Attika's als Hintergrund gesehen worden sind. Wenn Aphrodite sie *πέτραν κατόψιον γῆς τῆςδε* nennt, so folgt daraus begreiflicher Weise nicht, dass auch die Zuschauer den Felsen gesehen haben. Eben so wenig lässt sich mit Bestimmtheit sagen, ob das vom Chor 1126 ff. angerufene Meergestade und der Gebirgswald sichtbar gewesen sind. Die den Periakten bereits zugewiesene Bestimmung spricht nicht dafür. Denn da die rechte Periakte um des von dieser Seite her erscheinenden Chores willen auf die Nähe der Stadt hinweisen muss: so

könnte das Meer nur an der linken Seite gesehen worden sein. Dies würde aber den bekannten Theatergesetzen widerstreiten, und ein Grund zu einer Ausnahme liegt nicht vor. Dass der Hintergrund in der Scenerie theilweise Wald zeigte, ist darum wahrscheinlich, weil Hippolytos 51 von der Jagd zurückkommt, und das Erscheinen und Verschwinden der Göttinnen bei einem derartigen Hintergrunde sich am leichtesten und ungezwungensten darstellen liess. Ein Nebengebäude hat der Palast entschieden nicht gehabt. Nur 108, wo Hippolytos sein Gefolge εἰς δόμους gehen heisst, um dort sich zu pflegen und des Hippolytos Rosse zu besorgen, kann veranlassen, ein solches vorauszusetzen. Da aber Phaidra, während sie neben dem Thore des Palastes sitzt 577, das Zanken des Hippolytos im Palaste hört 587: so ist Hippolytos auch 113 sicher in den Palast gegangen. Von dort her tritt er überdies wieder 601 auf, und das Nebengebäude könnte also nur Behufs des 51 mit Hippolytos erschienenen Gefolges da gewesen sein. Nun leben aber die Diener in der Regel mit den Herren, denen sie dienen, in demselben Gebäude zusammen; die Nebenthüren ferner lassen mit ihrer Umgebung sich anderweitig besser für die durch die Handlung erforderliche Localität verwenden; es ist daher eine Gast- oder Diener-Wohnung neben dem Palast sicher nicht da gewesen. — Eine Veränderung erleidet die Scenerie nicht. Von den Thüren der Skene werden zwar nur vier gebraucht; aber auch die fünfte ist an der rechten Seitenthür, wo der Weg nach der Stadt hin führte, als aditus angedeutet gewesen.

Die zum Palaste führende Mittelthür betritt, wie schon bemerkt worden ist, Hippolytos mit seinem Gefolge 113 und 120; von daher erscheint Phaidra mit der Amme 170, und zwar, indem Phaidra schwer krank und abgehärmt von der Amme herausgeführt wird (170 πρὸ θυρῶν ἔξω μελάθρων κομίζουσα). Wenn der Schol. Cobeti hier ein Herausschieben vermittels des Ekkyklema annimmt, so halte ich dies für einen Irrthum. Wozu sollte Phaidra und mit ihr die Amme herausgeschoben werden, da erstere doch alsbald auf der Bühne weiter geht, und die Amme 180 sagt, es sei ein Lager herausgebracht worden, auf dem Phaidra sich niederlassen solle (vergl. auch σπένσεις 182 u. mehr dergl.)? 524 verfügt sich die Amme in den Palast zurück, und kommt von da mit Hippolytos heraus 601. Wenn gleich letzterer 659 entschlossen ist, ausser Landes zu gehen: so kann er dies doch nicht so,



wie er eben in Folge eines zufälligen Anlasses erschienen ist, ausführen. Dass er 668 wieder in den Palast geht, zeigt sich daraus, dass er 902 bei dem vor dem Palaste entstandenen Wehklagen wieder aus dem Palaste tritt. Die Amme geht 708 hinein, und Phaidra 731. Aus dem Palaste kommt 780 der Exangelos, Hippolytos 902, in ihn geht Theseus 1101, und kommt 1160 wieder von daher zurück. — 524 dagegen geht Phaidra nicht in den Palast. Zwar ist der Scholiast dieser Ansicht, wenn er zu 565 bemerkt: ἔξεισι (aus dem Palaste) παραχώδης ἡ Φαίδρα, und er setzt also voraus, dass sie vor dem 525 beginnenden Chorliede in den Palast gegangen ist. Aber aus 564 u. ff. ist deutlich zu ersehen, dass dies ein Irrthum ist. Phaidra nämlich hört da den Lärmen und das Schelten im Hause, und fordert 575 den Chor, der wissen will, was es drinnen giebt, auf näher zu treten. Der Chor aber bemerkt darauf 577, dass sie ja παρὰ κλῆθρα sei; er dagegen sei ferner, und könne demnach nicht genau hören, was im Hause vorgehe. Wäre nun Phaidra 565 aus dem Palaste gekommen, so müsste sie über den Lärmen im Palaste Auskunft geben können; und der Chor müsste auch sagen, dass sie eben herauskomme, nicht aber, dass sie bei dem Palaste sich befinde. Da er dies nicht thut, so muss Phaidra während des vorhergehenden Chorliedes auf der Bühne geblieben sein. — Von der linken Nebenthür her erscheinen, wie ich glaube, die Göttinnen, Aphrodite im Anfange, Artemis am Schlusse des Stückes. Da nämlich Aphrodite 53 nicht zum Himmel geht oder zurückkehrt, sondern nur bei Seite tritt (ἔξω τῶνδε τόπων), und also auf Erden, ja in der Nähe bleiben will; da ferner jede Andeutung fehlt, dass sie aus der Höhe her erscheint: so kommt sie sicher nicht vom Himmel, sondern von der Seite her, indem sie aus Gebüsch oder einem Thal oder dergleichen hervor tritt. Die linke Seite, die von der Stadt entlegener ist, scheint dazu die geeignetere. In Bezug auf die 1282 erscheinende und 1441 sich entfernende Artemis fehlt ebenfalls jeder Anlass, sie aus der Höhe her erscheinen zu lassen. Wenn die waldliebende Göttin von einem Walde her kommend sichtbar wird, so ist das dem Charakter der Göttin ganz angemessen. Eben darum, weil sie ganz in menschlicher Gestalt erscheint, nennt sie wohl auch bei ihrem Erscheinen ihren Namen. Und wenn Hippolytos da, als sie fortgeht, sagt (1440): χαίρουσα καὶ σὺ στεῖχε: so deutet auch dies entschieden auf ein Fortgehen, nicht auf ein Fortschweben.

Durch die linke Seitenthür tritt 790 Theseus vom Phoibos kommend ein, dahin entflieht Hippolytos 1101, von daher kommend tritt der Bote 1153 auf, und von da wird Hippolytos 1341 halb zerschmettert hergetragen. — Durch die rechte Parodos tritt der Chor auf. Die rechte Seitenthür wird nicht gebraucht; es wäre denn, dass der von der Jagd zurückkehrende Hippolytos mit seinem Gefolge durch sie, und nicht durch die rechte Nebenthür einträte 51. — Auf das Logeion steigt der Chor nicht, weder 575, wie aus dem bereits Bemerkten sich ergibt, noch auch 776, wo der Exangelos um Hülfe ruft. Denn ehe der Chor dazu kommt, zur Bühne hinan zu steigen, ist bereits die Nachricht da, dass Phaidra todt ist 786. — Durch Ekkyklema erscheint die todt Phaidra 811 (so auch O. Müller kl. Schrift. I. pag. 536 und Geppert p. 176). Der 780 erschienene Exangelos verliert sich bald darauf von der Bühne (vergl. Sophokles' Elektra).

Wohin die Schauspieler am Schlusse des Stückes sich entfernen, darüber enthalten ihre Worte keine Andeutungen. Da Hippolytos eben gestorben ist, Theseus ihn in seinen Armen hält, über sein Unglück klagt, und der Chor nur mit dem Gedanken: gross Elend und Jammer sei eingetreten, schliesst: so ist für den Chor kein Anlass da, von seinem gewöhnlichen Wege abzuweichen; er entfernt sich also durch die Parodos. Theseus geht, während Diener seinen Sohn in den Palast tragen, ohne Zweifel auch dahin ab.

### Medeia.

In Bezug auf die Scenerie des Stückes sagt Schöne in seiner Ausgabe der Med. p. X.: „sie (die Handlung) geht vor sich auf dem Vorplatze vor dem Herrscherpalaste zu Korinth, der wahrscheinlich am Fusse der südlich von der Stadt gelegenen Akropolis zu denken ist, mit dem Markte vor sich, welchen demnach die Orchestra darstellt. Von den drei Thüren der hinteren Bühnenwand führt die eine in die alte Wohnung des Iason, aus der also Medea kommt, die zweite (mittlere) in die des Kreon, die dritte in das neue δῶμα ἑνμφικόν (376, 1109). Von den Seitenzugängen zur Bühne deutet der rechts von den Zuschauern die Strasse vom Hafen Lechaion her, auf welcher Aegeus kam, an, und der links den Weg nach Kenchreä und zugleich nach Argos und Trözene, wohin er ging. An Verzierungen mit Bildsäulen und Altären, an denen

Korinth reich war, wird es bei der Aufführung nicht gefehlt haben; gewiss sah man die Statuen des Zeus und Helios, der Gäa und Themis, die im Stücke häufig angerufen werden.“

Wenn ich mich mit dieser Anordnung der Scenerie nicht einverstanden erklären kann, so liegt der Grund dazu darin, dass ich das derselben zu Grunde liegende Princip, eine Uebereinstimmung der Scenerie mit der wirklichen Localität herzustellen, nicht für richtig ansehen kann. Ich meine auch, dass das gegenwärtige Stück zeigt, theils dass der Dichter die wirkliche Localität sehr wenig beachtete, theils dass die Handlung mit dieser in entschiedenem Widerspruche steht. Mag auch der Herrscherpalast am Fusse der Akropolis gelegen haben, das Stück liefert keine Andeutung, dass die Akropolis sichtbar gewesen ist, und ich wage darum den Platz, an welchem die Handlung sich entwickelt, nicht genauer zu bestimmen, als dass ich ihn für den bei oder vor dem Palaste befindlichen ausbebe. Ob er zugleich Agora ist oder nicht, das bleibt sich für die Handlung gleich, und lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. Darum weil Korinth namentlich in späteren Zeiten reich an Bildsäulen, und schon in frühen Jahrhunderten durch grosse Verschiedenartigkeit der Culte ausgezeichnet war, kann ich mich ferner nicht veranlasst finden, die Skene mit vielen Statuen und Altären ausgeschmückt sein zu lassen. Der prachtliebende Römer mag jede Gelegenheit ergriffen haben, seinen Reichthum auch bei solchen Anlässen zur Schau auszustellen, dem maassliebenden Hellenen zur Zeit eines Sophokles und Euripides wurde nur vor Augen gestellt, was zu wahrhafter Belebung der Handlung diene. Da nun aber das Stück keine Hinweisung auf bestimmte Götterbilder als sichtbar enthält, so scheint mir deren Anwesenheit in der Scenerie sehr problematisch; aber allerdings kann wohl eine oder die andere Statue auch über das unmittelbare Bedürfniss der Handlung hinaus sichtbar geworden sein, wie namentlich die des öfter angerufenen Helios (746, 764). In Bezug auf die Seitenzugänge kann ich Schöne vollends nicht beistimmen. Seiner Anordnung der Skene zufolge muss Korinth entweder den Hintergrund für die ganze Scenerie des Schauplatzes bilden, oder es muss in gleicher Weise im Rücken der Zuschauer liegend gedacht werden. Daraus erwächst der Uebelstand, dass keiner der Seitenzugänge mit Nothwendigkeit als der der Fremde, keiner als der der Heimath bezeichnet werden kann; und es ist nach dieser Anordnung nicht zu entscheiden, von welcher Seite her der

Chor aufzutreten hat. Indem Schöne das Auf- und Abtreten des Aigeus nach der Wirklichkeit bestimmen will, ist er genöthigt, die Theatergesetze zu vernachlässigen. Die Anordnung der Hauptgebäude auf der Skene ist bei Schöne in Rücksicht auf architectonische Symmetrie eine ganz vorzügliche, aber die Handlung erfordert eine andere. Denn nimmer kann das für die Handlung unwichtigste Gebäude, das des Kreon, gerade die Mitte einnehmen, und das, vor dem die Handlung vorgeht, an die Seite gedrängt werden. Es würde damit zugleich auch die Handlung an die Seite der Bühne gedrängt, oder falls sie doch in der Mitte des Logeions dargestellt würde, würde sie höchst unwahrscheinlich werden. Die Scenerie also, weit gefehlt zur Belebung der Handlung beizutragen, würde geradezu nachtheilig auf dieselbe einwirken. Demnach wird man auch in der Anordnung der Gebäude sich zu Aenderungen verstehen müssen. Das Haupt- und Mittelstück der Scenerie muss der Palast der Medeia sein, vor dem sich die gesammte Handlung entwickelt; die linke Seitenthür muss den Weg nach der Fremde bezeichnen, die rechte Seitenthür den nach dem nahen Korinthos führenden; denn von rechts her kommt der Chor der Korinthischen Frauen durch die Parodos. Wegen 1117 (*καταδοκῶ τὰ κεῖθεν οἱ προβήσεται*) ist ferner nothwendig, dass man das Haus der neuen Braut Iasons (*νυμφικὸν δῶμα* 378, in welches Medeia hineinschleichen will 380) sieht, und da dasselbe neben dem Kreon's ihres Vaters liegen muss: so muss die rechte Nebenthür den Eingang zu jenem zeigen, und das des Kreon wird an oder neben der rechten Periakte wenigstens zum Theil sichtbar gewesen sein\*). Eine linke Nebenthür wird durch die Handlung nicht gefordert, und die Darstellung der Oertlichkeit, die vom Palaste der Medeia bis zu dem in die Fremde führenden Wege lag, war daher wohl ganz dem Belieben des Malers überlassen. Denn die Rennbahn muss man doch wohl nach der Seite der Stadt hin suchen, und sie ist

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\*) Aus 1177 (*ἡ μὲν εἰς πατρὸς δόμους ὤρμησεν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀρτίως πόσιν* zu Iason) und 1205 (*πατὴρ ἄφνω προσελθὼν δῶμα προσπιτνεῖ νεκρῷ* nämlich die Braut) ergiebt sich, dass Kreon's Haus, da man Kreon nicht hat über die Bühne zur Tochter eilen sehen, mit dem der Tochter ausserhalb der Bühne in Communication stand. Es scheint demnach das Haus der Braut von der rechten Nebenthür sich noch eine Strecke nach der rechten Seitenthür hin ausgedehnt zu haben, und an der rechten Seitenthür ein Theil von Kreon's Hause so zum Vorschein gekommen zu sein, dass die zum Hause führende Thür den Zuschauern nicht sichtbar wurde.

demnach an der rechten Seite wohl nicht mehr zur Darstellung gekommen. — Aus alle dem ergibt sich, dass die Bühnenfront vier Eingänge zeigte; eine Aenderung der Scenerie trat nicht ein.

Aus der Mittelthür tritt 1 die Amme der Medeia, ferner geht 105 der Paidagogos mit den Kindern der Medeia hinein; denn eben darum, weil die Kinder mit Medeia in demselben Hause wohnen; sagt die Amme zu dem Paidagogos warnend 91: *μὴ πέλαζε μητρὶ δυσθυμουμένῃ* (vergl. 101 u. ff.). In den Palast geht 203 die Amme, und tritt von dort mit Medeia heraus 213\*). Die Kinder der Medeia mit dem Paidagogos (denn er befindet sich bei ihnen, wie 1002 zeigt) kommen 894 heraus, und gehen dahin mit Medeia 1080 zurück. Der Paidagogos scheint schon vorher 1019 auf Geheiss der Medeia sich dahin begeben zu haben. Von neuem tritt Medeia 1116 aus dem Hause, und geht 1250 wieder hinein; 1317 endlich erscheint Medeia über ihrem Hause auf dem Drachenwagen. — Durch die linke Seitenthür kommt Aigeus 663 aus der Fremde, und geht durch sie 763 wieder in die Fremde. Von der rechten Seitenthür her kommt der Paidagogos mit den Kindern der Medeia von der Rennbahn her 49, ferner 271 Kreon aus seinem Palaste; letzterer geht dahin 356 zurück. Aus dem Hause der Braut kommt durch die rechte Nebenthür Iason 446, und geht dahin 622, wie aus den Vorwürfen der Medeia sich zu ergeben scheint (z. B. 623). 819 sendet Medeia die Amme dorthin zu Iason, der von da 866 erscheint. Mit den Kindern der Medeia begiebt sich Iason dahin 975 (vergl. 969), 1002 kommt der Paidagogos von da mit den Kindern zurück, ferner tritt 1121 von daher ein Bote, 1293 Iason auf. Der Chor kommt aus der Stadt durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra. Auf die Bühne steigt der Chor 1275 sicher nicht, wiewohl ihm der Gedanke, in solcher Weise den Kindern, die von Medeia gemordet werden, zu Hülfe zu kommen, nicht fremd bleibt. Statt wirklich zu Hülfe zu eilen, singt er 1279—1292. Wenn aber Iason 1293 zum Chor sagt: *ἔγγυς ἔσσεσθε στέγης*, so folgt daraus keineswegs, dass der Chor auf der Bühne sich befindet, zumal da von einem Versuche desselben, ins Haus der Medeia einzudringen, keine Rede ist. Erst Iason lässt 1314 die Rie-

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\*) Vergl. 819, wo, wie es scheint, Medeia die Amme zu Iason sendet, nicht aber eine Dienerin; denn eine solche ausser der Amme voraussetzen, ist kein hinlänglicher Grund vorhanden.

gel und Pforten des Hauses öffnen. Die Begriffe der Nähe und Ferne sind so relative Begriffe, dass aus derartigen Bezeichnungen nur selten eine feste und bestimmte Antwort sich ergibt. — Der Bote, welcher den Tod der Braut gemeldet hat, und 1121 erschienen ist, verliert sich unvermerkt von der Bühne. — Am Schlusse geht der Chor durch die Parodos dahin ab, von wo er gekommen ist, Iason in das Haus seiner Braut, da er vor dem der Medeia nach dem, was so eben darin geschehen ist, Grauen haben muss; überdies hat auch Medeia 1394 ihn aufgefordert, sein neues Weib zu beerdigen, und er hat erklärt, dies thun zu wollen. — In Bezug auf die Art, wie Medeia auf dem Drachenwagen erscheint, spricht sich Donner nicht aus (er bemerkt: in der Luft). Pflugk, auch O. Müller kleine Schrift. I. p. 536 (wiewohl letzterem die Sache bedenklich zu sein scheint,) denken an das Ekkyklema, aber wohl mit Unrecht. Denn ein Fortschweben auf oder mit demselben lässt sich nirgends nachweisen. Eher könnte eine Schwebemaschine gebraucht worden sein. Da aber Medeia nicht auf ebener Erde im Drachenwagen sichtbar zu werden scheint, sondern gleich von Anfang an in der Höhe, so dass der Zorn und die Rache wuth Iason's sich alsbald als ohnmächtig erweist: so ist die Lösung, welche der Scholiast zu 1317 giebt, wohl die einfachste und die richtige. Er sagt: ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου ἐστῶσα ταῦτα (τί τάσδε κινεῖς etc.) λέγει. Denn erscheint Medeia auf den Zinnen ihres Palastes, so braucht der Wagen sich nur allmählich nach hinten zu entfernen, um Medeia's Verschwinden darzustellen, und es geschieht dieses alsdann auf dem Dache der Skene. Es ergiebt sich hieraus, dass ich mehr mit dem übereinstimme, was Geppert p. 185, als mit dem, was er 176 darüber sagt. Schöne spricht sich nicht genauer über den Gegenstand aus. Seine Ansicht aber (zu 1241 seiner Ausg.), dass die Kinder der Medeia von dieser in der αὐλή getödtet werden, also vor dem Palaste, indem der Platz durch eine Mauer und die θύρα αὐλῆος nach aussen abgesperrt war, lässt schliessen, dass er die Medeia von hier aus auf einer Schwebemaschine sich erheben lässt. Da aber die Kinder ἔσω δωμαίων geschickt worden waren, da der Weheruf der Medeia vor ihrem ersten Auftreten nicht aus der αὐλή, sondern aus dem Palaste herkommt, da grosse Schwierigkeiten in Bezug auf die Scenerie entstehen, wenn man vor dem Palaste noch eine den Hof umschliessende Mauer annehmen will: so kann ich seiner Ansicht nicht beipflichten.



## Orestes des Euripides.

Die Handlung geht vor dem Palaste Agamemnon's in Argos vor sich. Dieser Palast nimmt somit die Mitte der Skene ein. Ihn vorn mit einer Hofmauer, etwa auf Anlass von 1277, umschlossen sein zu lassen verträgt sich mit der übrigen Scenerie nicht. Ueber sein äusseres Aussehen wird nur angegeben, dass er oben mit *θρυκοῖς*, Zinnen, versehen war (1569), die den *γεῖσα* zugezählt werden. Dass er ein flaches Dach hatte, ergibt sich daraus, dass Orestes mit Andern auf dem Palaste erscheint. Von der sonstigen Pracht desselben, die der Phrygier rühmt, erfahren wir nichts; denn das, was derselbe meldet, bezieht sich nicht auf das Aeussere des Palastes. Die Stellung des Palastes den Zuschauern gegenüber ist aus der Scene 1251 ff. zu entnehmen. Es übersieht dort der eine als Wache aufgestellte Halbchor *τὰ πρόσθ' αὐλᾶς*, während die andere Hälfte des Chors eine andere Seite des Palastes vor Augen hat. Da nun die beiden Theile des Chors nur an der rechten und linken Seite der Orchestra aufgestellt sein können: so fällt der gegen Ost hin stehenden Abtheilung nur dann eine Vorderansicht des Palastes zu, wenn der Palast den Zuschauern gegenüber nicht von vorn her sichtbar ist, sondern mit seiner Vorderseite gegen SO hin gewendet ist, so dass die Zuschauer ausser einem Theile der Vorderfront zugleich die linke Seite des Palastes erblicken. Die südöstliche Lage der Palastfront scheint sich auch daraus zu ergeben, dass Elektra, die an der Thür des Palastes sich befindet, die von NO vom Grabe Klytaimnestra's zurückkehrende Hermiope erblicken kann, ehe sie in der Nähe des Palastes sich befindet. Der Chor der Argeierinnen, der von rechts her erscheint, lässt keinen Zweifel darüber, dass an der rechten Periakte eine Andeutung der nahen Stadt sich befinden musste (1279); an der linken Periakte ist der Weg aus der Fremde. Von den Nebenthüren ist nur eine genau bezeichnet, nämlich die, welche den Weg zum Grabe Klytaimnestra's anzeigt; es ist die rechts liegende Nebenthür. Tyndareos nämlich, der am Grabe Klytaimnestra's von der Rückkehr des Menelaos Kunde erhalten hat (471), kommt zum Palaste, und will sich von da nach der Stadt begeben. Läge das Grab in der Richtung, welche die linke Nebenthür anzeigt, und käme Tyndareos von daher: so müsste er die vom Palast zum Grabe gesendete Hermione getroffen haben. Dies ist aber nicht der Fall; er weiss von ihr und von deren Sendung nichts. Liegt

dagegen das Grab in der Nachbarschaft der Stadt in der Richtung der rechten Nebenthür, so ist es einerseits nicht auffallend, wenn Tyndareos durch die Stadt zum Palaste sich hinbegiebt, und andererseits erklärlich, warum er auf seinem Wege Hermionen nicht begegnet ist. Dazu kommt: das Grab Klytaimnestra's ist als das eines Todten, dem man eine besondere Ehre erweisen wollte, gewiss eher in der Nähe der belebten Stadt, als an einem mehr abgelegenen Orte erbaut worden. Endlich scheint auch der um die linke Nebenthür befindliche Raum noch nöthig gewesen zu sein, um die Seitenansicht des Palastes möglich zu machen. Das Grab Klytaimnestra's ist nicht sichtbar; der dahin gehende Weg verschwindet also wohl bald hinter Gebüsch oder Bäumen. Eben so wenig ist das Grab Agamemnon's sichtbar. Da Pylades den Orestes dahin durch die Stadt führen will (801), so muss man sich vorstellen, dass es nach der rechten Seitenthür hin hinter der Stadt liegt. Mit der bis hierher versuchten Anordnung der Scenerie scheint nur éines nicht zu stimmen; v. 726 nämlich sieht Orestes den Pylades in Eile *Φωκέων ἄπο* herbeikommen; Pylades selbst aber sagt (729): *προβαίνων ἰκόμην δι' ἄστεως, ξύλλογον πόλεως ἀκούσας, τὸν δ' ἰδὼν αὐτὸς σαφῶς, ἐπὶ σὲ σύγγγονόν τε τὴν σήν, ὥς κτενοῦντες αὐτίκα*. Denn wenn Pylades von Phokis her d. h. von links her erschien, so konnte er, wie es scheint, die an der rechten Seite befindliche Stadt nicht berührt haben; kam er dagegen von rechts aus der Stadt her, so hatte Orestes keinen Grund zu vermuthen, dass der Freund aus Phokis komme; und es kann demnach scheinen, als müsse die Stadt in der Scenerie eine andere Stelle gehabt haben. Dennoch ist gerade die Lage der Stadt vollkommen sicher; denn der von dort her aus der Heimath durch die rechte Parodos erscheinende Chor erlaubt nicht, sie anderweitig zu fixiren. Aber eben so sicher ist es, dass der aus der Fremde erscheinende Pylades nur von links her erscheinen kann. Auch Orestes muss ihn von daher erscheinen sehen, wie seine Worte *Φωκέων ἄπο* zeigen; denn käme er von rechts, so hätte er eher sein Erstaunen über seine Erscheinung von dort her aussprechen müssen. Zu dem wohlfeilen Auskunftsmittel zu sagen, dass die Scenerie die Zuschauer darüber nicht aufgeklärt habe, vielmehr der Dichter dies als etwas für die Handlung Unwichtiges, was auf die hinter den Cöulissen liegende Localität sich bezieht, dem eignen Ermessen der Zuschauer, falls sie darauf achteten, überlassen habe, möchte ich inzwischen nicht greifen; obgleich ich nicht mit Sicherheit an-



zugeben vermag, in welcher Weise die Scenerie die Schwierigkeit entfernt hat. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist es mir, dass die Stadt von der rechten Seite der Bühne bis an deren linke Seite hin sich ausgedehnt hat. Dies konnte entweder so geschehen, dass die Zuschauer dieselbe als Hintergrund in der Scenerie vor sich sahen, oder dass vorausgesetzt wurde, sie ziehe sich im Rücken der Zuschauer so weit von rechts nach links hin. Da der Palast im Vordergrunde den grössten Theil der Scenerie einnimmt und die Aussicht auf die dahinter liegenden Localitäten hemmt, da ferner, wenn die Stadt in der Weise sich ausdehnte, die Unterscheidung zwischen Fremde und Heimath an den Periakten nicht sichtbar wird: so möchte ich glauben, dass der Dichter sich die Stadt im Rücken der Zuschauer bis zur linken Seite fortgehend denkt. Eine Ausdehnung derselben bis auf diese Weite hin kam den Zuschauern aber erst dann zu Gesicht, als des Pylades Auftreten von links her ein Drehen der Periakte nöthig machte. In diesem Momente nämlich zeigte die neu an der Periakte erscheinende Localität noch einige Häuser der Stadt, während dieselbe Periakte vorher einfach nur den in die Fremde führenden Weg, auf dem Menelaos 356 erschienen war, darstellte.

Die Bühne zeigte, wenn die bisherige Anordnung nicht verfehlt ist, demnach vier Eingänge; eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nur mit dem bei des Pylades Erscheinen erfolgenden Umdrehen der linken Periakte ein.

Aus dem Palast kommt durch die Mittelthür der Skene 71 Helene und 111 Hermione; zurück dahin geht Helene 125, und Elektra 315.\*) Letztere kommt zurück 844; Orestes und Pylades gehen 1245 hinein; desgleichen Hermione 1344 und Elektra 1352. Aus dem Palaste kommt 1369 ein Phryger und 1506 Orestes; in denselben geht der Phryger nach 1526 (vergl. 1524, wo Orestes ihm gebietet hineinzugehen) und nach 1536 Orestes. — Die rechte Nebenthür passirt, indem sie zu Klytaimnestra's Grabe geht, Hermione 124; letztere kommt von da erst 1323 zurück.\*\*\*) — Durch die rechte Seitenthür kommt 470 Tyndareos,

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\*) Es ist ein Versehen, wenn Kock (p. 35 und 37) darauf hindeutet, dass auch Orestes mit Elektra die Bühne verlassen habe; er bleibt auf der Skene; vergl. 301, 311, 313.

\*\*) D. h. sehr spät, was um so mehr auffällt, da eigentlich das Gegentheil, dass im Drama in kurzer Zeit grosse Entfernungen zurückgelegt werden, Regel ist. Vergl. Agam. 264, wo der König in einem Tage von

und geht 629 (vergl. 612) nach Argos zurück; ferner geht des Weges Menelaos 717 (denn von dorthier, nicht aus dem Palaste, kommt er später wieder auf die Skene); desgleichen Pylades und Orestes 806 (vergl. 801, 846, 877 ff.). Aus der Stadt kommt 852 der Bote, 1022 Orestes und Pylades, endlich 1554 Menelaos. Durch die linke Seitenthür tritt ein 356 Menelaos, 729 Pylades; 140 der Chor durch die rechte Parodos. — 1567 wird Orestes auf dem Dache des Palastes sichtbar, zugleich mit ihm Pylades; endlich 1574 auch Hermione. Es geschah dies ganz einfach, indem die Schauspieler auf dem Skenendache (vergl. 1569) sich zeigten. — 1618 heisst Orestes zwar den Pylades das Haus anzünden; aber die bald darauf erfolgende Erscheinung Apollon's hindert die Ausführung des Befehls. Dass aber Orestes und Pylades mit brennenden Fackeln versehen sind, ersieht man aus 1573, 1543, 1594.

1625 erscheint Apollon hoch oben in den Wolken; den Ort wo, und die Art wie es geschah, ist nicht möglich, mit voller Bestimmtheit anzugeben. Schwebte der Gott in der Höhe, so befand er sich wohl hoch oben an der linken Seite der Bühne auf der mit Wolken umgebenen Mechane. Da aber der Effect auch ziemlich derselbe bleibt, wenn Apollon auf dem mit Wolken umgürteten Bühnendache vorn an den Zinnen durch Vortreten sich zeigte: so lässt sich auch diese Weise der Darstellung nicht geradezu abweisen; und da das Erscheinen dann weniger an eine bestimmte Seite der Bühne gebunden ist, als bei der ersten Art des Erscheinens: so lässt sich der Ort, wo er in letzterem Falle sichtbar wird, nicht sicher angeben. Helene kommt wohl nicht mit Apollon zur Erscheinung; denn 1631 ist sehr verdächtig, und die Worte in 1673 zeugen nicht

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**Troia** nach Mykenai kommt, und, falls dies dafür angesehen würde ausserhalb des Stückes zu liegen, die Septem c. Theb., wo 700 Eteokles zum Kampfe mit dem Bruder abgeht, 773 dagegen der Bote schon den Ausfall des Kampfes meldet. Im Hippolytos verlässt Hippolytos 1101 das Land, und 1153 meldet der Bote, dass derselbe auf dem Wege nach Argos vom Wagen gestürzt ist. In der Andromache geht Peleus 765 nach Pharsalos ab, und ist 1047 wieder in Phthia. In den Hiketiden des Euripides geht Theseus von Eleusis nach Athen hin und zurück zwischen 364 und 381, zieht Theseus 597 gegen Theben, und die Nachricht seines Sieges kommt 634 in Eleusis an. In der Elektra des Euripides geht der Mann der Elektra 431 ausser Landes, um den Paidagogos zu holen, und ist mit ihm 487 schon zur Stelle. In der Hekabe wird ein Bote 890 nach dem Thrakerfürsten gesendet, und letzterer erscheint schon 952.

sicher dafür, da der Abschiedsruf an Helene auch erfolgen kann, ohne dass Menelaos sie sieht.

Im Anfange des Stückes sieht man Orestes auf einem Ruhe-  
 bette liegend (35 ἐν δεινίοις κεῖται; vergl. 227, 233), und zwar  
 nahe dem Eingange des Palastes. Denn als die aus dem Palaste  
 getretene Helene Elektren nicht bewegen kann, zu Klytaimnestra's  
 Grabe zu gehen, und sie an deren Statt Hermionen, die im Pa-  
 laste sich befindet, dazu brauchen will, hat sie nichts nöthig  
 als zu sagen (111): ὦ τέκνον ἔξελθ', Ἐρμιόνη, δόμων πάρος.  
 Sie verlässt also weder den Platz, wo sie in der Nähe von Ore-  
 stes sich befindet, noch sendet sie eine Dienerin in den Palast.  
 Auch heisst Elektra 170 den Chor, der sich nach des Orestes  
 Befinden umschaute, ἀπ' οἴκων zurückweichen. Da aber an ein  
 Heraustreten von Orestes und Elektra im Beginne des Stückes  
 nicht zu denken, vielmehr die aus beiden bestehende Gruppe  
 dort alsbald in Ruhe verweilend gesehen werden muss: so ist  
 wohl nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass die Geschwister beim Be-  
 ginne des Drama aus dem Palaste vermittle der Exostra oder  
 einer andern dem Ekkyklema verwandten Maschine hervorge-  
 schoben worden sind.\*) — Am Schlusse des Drama entfernt sich  
 Orestes mit Pylades von dem Dache des Palastes in den Pa-  
 last; in letztern begiebt sich auch Menelaos; Apollon entzieht  
 sich in der Höhe den Blicken der Zuschauer; der Chor geht  
 durch die rechte Parodos ab.

Das anfängliche Auftreten des Chors geschieht sicher durch  
 die Parodos, nicht von der Skene her. Denn da der Chor,  
 wenn er zum Lager des Orestes heranzutreten hatte, dies leicht  
 von der Orchestra aus thun konnte, da ferner das Einzugslied  
 des Chors von der Orchestra aus gesprochen werden musste:  
 so ist kein Anlass da, den Chor ausnahmsweise auf einem an-  
 dern Wege eintreten zu lassen. Dieser Ansicht ist auch Kock  
 pag. 35 und 37. Wenn er dagegen den Chor pag. 35 „in den

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\*) Gleiches musste auch stattfinden im Beginne von des Euripides Hi-  
 ket., wo v. 10 zeigt, dass im Beginne des Stückes sieben Mütter die Aithra  
 am Altare mit Oelzweigen in den Händen umgeben; ferner in den Troa-  
 den, wo Hekabe (37) schon während des Prologs auf der Bühne in schwe-  
 ren Kummer versunken da liegen muss. Eben so im Herakles mainom. —  
 Noch evidentere sind die Beispiele, die Aristophanes liefert. Im Beginne  
 der Nubes liegt Strepsiades mit seiner Familie da und schläft; ebenso schla-  
 fen im Anfange der Vespae zwei Sklaven, die sich auf der Wacht vor ei-  
 nem Hause befinden.

Eingängen der Orchestra“ erscheinen lässt, so ist der Pluralis nicht zu billigen; der Chor, der aus der Stadt herkommt, kann nur von rechts her sichtbar werden. Dagegen stimme ich vollkommen der Bemerkung (p. 37) bei, dass man den Chor, schon ehe er zu sprechen beginnt, in der Orchestra, etwa von 132 an, anwesend zu denken hat. — Eine weitere Frage ist, ob der Chor seinen Standpunkt in der Orchestra, den er von Anfang an eingenommen hat, beibehält, oder ganz, vielleicht auch nur theilweise, auf die Bühne steigt. \*) Sobald nämlich Elektra den Chor erblickt, empfiehlt sie ihm die grösste Ruhe, und die einzelnen Choreuten ermahnen sich dazu untereinander ebenfalls (140). Wenn nun Elektra weiter sagt (142): fort, dahin geht, fort vom Lager! wozu der Scholiast mit Recht bemerkt: *ἰδοῦσα ταύτας ἢ Ἑλέκτρα ἐρχομένας πρὸς τὴν στρωμνὴν τοῦ Ὀρέστου λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς· ἀποπρὸ βᾶτ', ἐκεῖσ', ἀποπρὸ μοι κοίτας· ἀπὸ τῆς στρωμνῆς μακρὰν καθίσσατε\*\**): so ist eine solche Weisung hier, wo Orestes dicht am Palaste liegt, nur an ihrer Stelle, wenn der Chor wirklich dem Palaste und dem Lager des Kranken von der Orchestra her sich nähert. Dies kann aber nur geschehen, wenn er die Treppe zum Logeion hinansteigt. Auch das *πρόσιθ' ἀτρέμας*, was Elektra zum Chore spricht, in 149 weist, da der Chor jetzt sicher schon bis in der Mitte der Orchestra sich befinden muss, darauf hin, dass wenigstens ein Theil des Chors sich auf dem Logeion befindet; und Elektra empfiehlt ihm demnach beim Annahen an Orestes Stille und Behutsamkeit. Noch bestimmter endlich sind die Worte (170): *οὐκ ἀφ' ἡμῶν* (den Geschwistern), *οὐκ ἀπ' οἴκων πάλιν ἄρα μεθεμένα κτύπου πόδα σὸν εἰλίξεις;*. Da Elektra den Chor nicht aus der Orchestra fortscheuchen will, so muss man hier nothwendig voraussetzen, dass er neben den Geschwistern am Hause selbst sich befindet, und darauf wird sich denn auch 181 und die folgenden Verse am leichtesten beziehen lassen. Der Chor muss demnach in der That auf die Bühne gestiegen sein. Nach dem Erwachen des Orestes aber entfernt er sich wieder

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\*) Kock p. 37: „es scheint fast, als ob der Chor aus der Orchestra hinauf nach der Bühne strebte —; von diesem Unternehmen wird er aber zurückgehalten durch das ausdrückliche Verbot der Elektra, dem Lager des Unglücklichen zu nahen.“

\*\*\*) womit die Worte der Hypothesis zu vergleichen sind, die Gelpert p. 142 sehr gut benutzt, um die Stellung der Gruppe genauer anzugeben.

von dort, und er hat dazu vollkommen Zeit, weil er an dem zwischen den Geschwistern obwaltenden Gespräche keinen Theil nimmt. \*)

Die Frage, ob der Chor auf die Bühne steigt, kehrt noch einmal gegen Ende des Stückes wieder. 1251 heisst Elektra die eine Hälfte des Chores *τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη τρίβον* betreten, die andere *ἐνθάδ' ἄλλον οἶμον εἰς φρουρὰν δόμων*. Der erste Halbchor besetzt hierauf den Eingang gegen Ost 1259, der zweite den gegen West 1260, und beiden Hälften schärft Elektra ein, sich dahin und dorthin umzuschauen 1261—1267. Nachdem ein Landmann, aber nur im Vorbeigehen, vom Chor gesehen worden zu sein scheint, sagt Elektra zum ersten Halbchor, er solle sagen (1277), *εἰ τὰδ' ἔρημα τὰ πρόσθ' αὐλᾶς*; und nachdem sie darauf eine bejahende Antwort erhalten hat, geht Elektra, um *ἐν πύλαισιν* (1281) des Palastes zu horchen. — Ist hier der Chor auf die Bühne gekommen? Ich glaube sicher: nein. Zwar ist keine Frage, dass die Bewachung der Zugänge zum Palaste von der Skene aus erfolgen konnte, und eigentlich auch von dort aus erfolgen sollte; aber da der Raum in der dem Logeion zunächst angrenzenden Orchestra die Oertlichkeit bezeichnet, die unmittelbar an den Schauplatz der Handlung angrenzt, wie sie es auch in der That ist: so kann die Bewachung der Zugänge zum Palaste eben so gut von hier aus stattfinden, wie von der Bühne aus. Es liegt also keine Nothwendigkeit, kein triftiger Anlass vor, den Chor hier die Bühne betreten zu lassen; vielmehr stellt sich der Chor auf das Geheiss Elektra's an beiden Parodoi auf; von hier aus übersah er eben so wohl die Parodoi, wie die auf dem Logeion von der rechten und linken Seite her befindlichen Zugänge.

Der Bote verliert sich nach 956 von der Skene.

### Elektra des Sophokles.

Der Ort der Handlung ist Mykenai (9), und das Logeion ist der Platz vor dem Palaste der Pelopiden (10, 40). Der Palast dieser Herrscher bildet also das Haupt- und Mittelstück der Decoration. Was die Scenerie ausserdem noch zeigte, giebt der von der linken Seitenthür her eintretende Paidagogos beim Beginne des Stückes an. Links, sagt er, ist der Tempel der

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\*) Geppert p. 251 scheint gleicher Ansicht zu sein.

Hera (7, 8), und (6) *αὐτὴ τοῦ λυκοτόνου θεοῦ ἀγορὰ Λύκειος*. Links vom Herrscherpalaste befand sich also der Tempel der Hera, rechts von der Mittelthür die genannte Agora. Der Tempel, obgleich dem Palaste benachbart, braucht nicht im Vordergrund zu sein; er wird nicht betreten. Rechts vom Palaste muss ein Tempel Apollon's sichtbar sein, um das Dasein der Agora an diesem Orte bemerklich zu machen. Stand er in der Gegend der rechten Nebenthür, so war die Stadt Mykenai an der rechten Periakte angedeutet; war dagegen der Tempel an der Periakte dargestellt, so wurde durch ihn zugleich die nahe liegende Stadt repräsentirt. Inzwischen kann es nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass er in der Gegend der rechten Nebenthür sich befand; denn erstlich wird die Decoration dadurch symmetrisch; der Tempel des Apollon an der rechten Seite entspricht dem der Hera an der andern Seite des Herrscherpalastes. Sodann ist nicht anzunehmen, dass der Raum rechts vom Palaste, da er dem Schauplatze der Handlung unmittelbar anliegt, bedeutungslos für die Handlung sein wird. Da aber eine Frauenwohnung neben dem Palaste sich sicher dort nicht befand, (denn überall wird im Stücke sehr stark hervorgehoben, dass Elektra und demnach auch die anderen Kinder Agamemnon's mit den Mördern ihres Vaters in einem Hause wohnen müssen, vergl. 263 ff. 818, 1190): so muss man dadurch sich veranlasst sehen, gerade hier die Anwesenheit des Tempels des Phoibos anzusetzen. Dazu kommt endlich, dass Klytaimnestra 634 auf einem Altare des Lykeiischen Phoibos in der Nähe des Herrscherpalastes opfert; und dieser Altar, wo könnte er passender gestanden haben, als gerade vor dem Tempel des Gottes, wenn derselbe sich vor der rechten Nebenthür befand? (Vergl. auch 1376, 1379). Wenn dem aber so war, so deutete die rechte Periakte Mykenai oder den dahin führenden Weg, die linke den (nach Phokis) in die Fremde führenden Weg an. Ausser diesen zwei Zugängen und der in den Palast führenden Mittelthür ist noch eine Thür nöthig, die den zu Agamemnon's Grab führenden Weg bezeichnet. Da Orestes mit dem Paidagogos, die von links her auftreten, das Grab Agamemnon's schon vor ihrem Auftreten besucht haben, da ferner das Grab nicht in der unmittelbaren Nähe der Stadt liegen kann: so muss der Weg dahin durch die linke Nebenthür führen. Ob dabei der Tempel der Hera von der linken Nebenthür rechts oder links liegt, ist irrelevant; natürlicher scheint es, ihn dem Palaste mehr genähert zwischen der linken Nebenthür und der Mittelthür zu denken, so dass er



dem Tempel Apollon's an der anderen Seite correspondirt. Dass man einen Weg, der direkt vom Palaste zum Grabe führt, annehmen muss, ergibt sich daraus, dass Chrysothemis, als sie zum Grabe geht, mit Orestes nicht zusammentreffen darf. Ginge sie nun auf dem Wege, auf dem Orestes durch die linke Seitenthür her vom Grabe erscheint: so müsste aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein Zusammentreffen stattfinden. Sie muss sich demnach auf einem anderen Wege zum Grabe hin aufmachen. Ausser den vier genannten Eingängen wird keiner durch die Handlung erfordert; eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein. — Schneidewin ist der Ansicht, dass das Löwenthor sichtbar gewesen sei. Aber eine Hinweisung auf dasselbe findet sich nirgends, und da überdies die Handlung unmittelbar vor dem Palaste vor sich geht: so ist das Thor wohl vielmehr im Rücken der Zuschauer zu denken (328).

Durch welche Thüren die Schauspieler auf und abtreten, unterliegt fast keinen Zweifeln. Durch die Mittelthür erscheinen aus dem Herrscherpalaste oder gehen dahin ab Elektra 86, Chrysothemis 324, Klytaimnestra 516, eben dieselbe mit dem Paidagogos 803, Chrysothemis 1057, der Paidagogos 1326, Orestes und Pylades 1375, Elektra 1383 und 1398, Orestes und Pylades 1424 und 1436, ferner 1466, und endlich mit Elektra und Aigisthos 1507. Den kürzeren zum Grabe Agamemnon's durch die linke Nebenthür führenden Weg betritt Chrysothemis 471, und kommt von da 871. Auf der Phokischen Strasse durch die linke Seitenthür (so auch Herm. *de re scen. in Aesch. Orest.* p. 5) treten als Fremde auf 1 der Paidagogos, Orestes und Pylades, und alle drei entfernen sich 85 auf demselben Wege, um später wieder als Fremde auftreten zu können. 660 kommt von daher der Paidagogos, 1098 Orestes und Pylades. Von der Seite der Stadt her durch die rechte Seitenthür kommt Aigisthos *ἐκ προασπίου* 1431 (cf. 313 ff. 1308); durch sie entfernt sich, wie es scheint, der Paidagogos (um 1383) nach der Stadt hin, um dort das Ende der Katastrophe abzuwarten. Freilich kann er dies auch, wenn er sich nach links hin entfernt. Analoge Fälle, wo Schauspieler sich stillschweigend von der Bühne entfernen, und die Localität, nach der hin es geschieht, nicht näher angegeben ist, sind keineswegs selten. Namentlich sind es Boten oder Diener, Hirten, Ammen, die sich so entfernen oder fortschleichen\*). — Durch die rechte Parodos, also

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\*) Der Bote im Orestes nach 956, in der Medea, der Paidagogos 1019



von der Stadt her tritt 120 der Chor in die Orchestra ein, und geht am Schlusse des Stückes auf demselben Wege wieder ab. Ein Anlass, die Bühne zu besteigen, ist für ihn nicht vorhanden. — Die Leiche der Klytaimnestra denkt sich Solger 1465 durch Orestes und Pylades herausgetragen; sie erscheint aber nebst Orestes und Pylades vermittels des Ekkyklema, wie auch O. Müller kleine Schrift. I. p. 533 und Geppert p. 176 meinen. Ein Herausragen der Leiche anzunehmen, scheint schon darum nicht angemessen, weil Orestes nicht bei der Leiche verbleiben kann, sondern weiter auf der Bühne vortreten muss.

### Phoinissai.

Die Scenerie stellt einen Theil der Kadmeia dar; und zwar nimmt der Herrscherpalast die Mitte der Skenenfront ein. Er ist ein zweistöckiges Gebäude mit flachem Dache (vergl. 90 *διῆρες ἑσχατον*). Dass in seiner Nähe *βώμιοι ἐσχάραι πέλας πάρεϊσι*, sagt Polyneikes, als er 274 dem Palaste sich nähert, und zwar sind es namentlich *θεῶν βωμοὶ πατρῶων* (603) und *θεῶν τῶν λευκοπώλων δώματα* (des Amphion und Zethos, wie Hermann meint). 632 werden wieder *ἄγάλματα θεῶν* und 631 der *Φοῖβος Ἀγνιεύς* genannt. Wie viele Altäre sichtbar gewesen sind, und wo sie gestanden haben, ist aus dem Stücke nicht zu ersehen; keinesfalls hat der des Apollon Agyieus gefehlt. Wären Tempel in der Nähe des Palastes sichtbar gewesen, würden wohl bestimmte Hindeutungen auf sie nicht fehlen. Der Herrscherpalast besteht übrigens nur aus einem Gebäude; er hat

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und der Bote 1121, im Hippolytos der 780 erschienene Exangelos, in den Trachinierinnen der Bote, der 496 in den Palast zu gehen scheint, und die Amme nach 946, im Oidipus R. der Bote aus Korinthos und der Hirt des Laios 1185, ferner der Exangelos; im Herakles main. der Exangelos nach 1015, in der Andromache die Amme in der 881 beginnenden Scene, im Ion der Sklave nach 1228, in den Herakliden der Sklave 891, in Eur. Elektra der Bote nach 879, der Paidagogos nach 998; in der Iphigeneia in Aulis der Greis, der in sein Zelt geht, 316 und nach 895; in den Acharnern der erste Bote, der 1071, und der zweite, der 1084 erscheint; in den Equites Demosthenes nach 155 (vergl. Beer über Zahl etc. p. 26 u. ff.). — Der Paidagogos muss sich übrigens 1383 darum entfernen, weil er 1442 von neuem als Aigisthos auftreten muss; er kann also nicht während der Verse 1421—1441 auf der Skene verbleiben, wie Donner annimmt. Auch ist kein Grund zu längerem Verbleiben da, indem ein Rath oder eine Warnung von seiner Seite weder erfolgt, noch nöthig ist; denn die Katastrophe, die begonnen hat, schreitet unverweilt vorwärts.

keine Nebengebäude\*). Selbst Kreon's Wohnhaus liegt in der Stadt (1317), denn von da her kommt er zu Iokaste, nachdem er die Leiche seines Sohnes in seine Wohnung geschafft hat. — Da der in der Stadt anwesende Frauenchor von rechts her in der Orchestra erscheinen muss, so muss an der rechten Seite der Weg zur Stadt sich befunden haben\*\*). An der linken Seite ist der Weg nach der Fremde hin. Zwischen dem Palaste und der rechten Periakte war ein Theil der Festungswerke dargestellt, und mit ihnen findet vom Palaste aus durch die rechte Nebenthür ein sehr lebhafter Verkehr statt. Mehr ins Einzelne hinein lässt sich das Aussehen der Scenerie nicht verfolgen. Unwahrscheinlich ist es aber nicht, dass man auch an der linken Seite des Palastes Mauern mit Zinnen oder Thürme gesehen hat. Ferner kann auch leicht an der linken Periakte oder in der Nähe derselben der schneebedeckte hohe Parnassos, dessen wiederholentlich gedacht wird, dargestellt gewesen sein (207, 226, 234). Dagegen ist keine Veranlassung da, der Dirke und des Ismenos Fluthen, deren 101, 647, 826 gedacht wird, dargestellt zu sehen; denn nicht Alles, was von dem Dache des Palastes aus gesehen wird, braucht darum auch den Zuschauern gezeigt zu werden. — Was Geppert (p. 143 u. 144) von andern Einzelheiten in Bezug auf die Kadmeia berichtet, wage ich nicht zu benutzen, weil es für das Stück in keiner Weise erforderlich ist. Auch fehlt jeder Anlass zu vermuthen, dass der Dichter eine Uebereinstimmung der Scenerie mit der Wirklichkeit angestrebt habe. —

Zugänge sind auf dem Logeion vier vorhanden gewesen; eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein. Aus dem Palaste kommt durch die Mittelthür der Skene im Anfange des Drama Iokaste, und geht dahin 87 zurück. Auf dem Palaste befinden sich der Paidagogos und Antigone von 88 bis 202. Aus dem

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\*) Genelli p. 64 sagt freilich, dass eine zweistöckige Gesindewohnung bis an den äussersten Rand des Proskenions sich hingezogen habe; aber das Gebäude ist in keiner Weise erforderlich, und die Lage, die ihm Genelli anweist, streitet durchaus mit der für die antike Skene bestehenden Einrichtungsweise.

\*\*) Die Stadt von der rechten Periakte bis zur linken Nebenthür sich erstrecken zu lassen, scheint nicht angemessen. Eteokles müsste alsdann durch die linke Nebenthür, also die zwei uneinigen Brüder von einer und derselben Seite der Bühne her erscheinen; auch würde in diesem Falle die meiste Communication mit der Stadt nicht an der rechten, sondern an der linken Seite der Bühne stattfinden.

Palaste kommt Iokaste abermals 301, und begiebt sich in denselben mit Eteokles 637 zurück. Eteokles kehrt von da zurück 690, Iokaste 1072, endlich treten aus dieser Thür Antigone 1270 und Oidipus 1539. — Dass Eteokles 637 mit Iokaste in den Palast geht, bemerkt auch der Scholiast zu 588, und ergibt sich auch daraus, dass Eteokles während des folgenden Chorgesanges nicht auf der Bühne verbleiben kann. Denn erstlich ist er selbst zu aufgereggt, als dass er ruhig während des Gesanges dort verweilen könnte; sodann steht der Gesang in keiner unmittelbaren Beziehung auf Eteokles; er behandelt die Urzeit Thebens und nimmt auf des Eteokles Anwesenheit keine Rücksicht. Endlich redet Eteokles 690 einen Diener an, als er wieder kommt. Da dieser nicht bei der Zusammenkunft der Brüder auf der Bühne gewesen sein kann, so muss er später in Begleitung des Eteokles erscheinen, also Eteokles vorher von der Bühne sich entfernt haben. Dass letzterer, obgleich er mit ganz anderen Entwürfen als die Mutter umgeht, doch mit dieser zusammen sich in den Palast begiebt, darf nicht auffallen. Der Iokaste musste daran gelegen sein, den Sohn in ihrer Nähe zu haben, um ihn wo möglich vom Zweikampfe mit dem Bruder abzubringen.

Von der Stadt her durch die rechte Seitenthür tritt Kreon auf 697, geht Eteokles ab 784 (vergl. 748 und 861), denn er muss den Menoikeus in Kreon's Hause aufsuchen, damit dieser den Teiresias veranlasse, zur Burg zu gehen. Von daher erscheint Teiresias mit Manto und Menoikeus 834\*). Zur Stadt zurück begiebt sich Teiresias mit Manto 959, (denn 954 heisst Teiresias die Tochter ihn *πρὸς οἶκον* führen), ferner Kreon 984 (dass er nicht in den Palast geht, ist aus 986 ersichtlich), der von dort her 1310 (vergl. 1317) abermals erscheint. Die rechte Nebenthür, welche zunächst zu den Festungswerken der Stadt führt, wird benutzt 446 von Eteokles, als er von daher erscheint, 1019 von Menoikeus, der sich nach jener Gegend hin entfernt (vergl. 1009 ff. 1091, 1315). Ferner kommt von dort her 1067 ein Bote, der 1263 (vergl. 1213) sich eben dahin zurück begiebt. 1282 entfernen sich auf diesem Wege Iokaste und Antigone; dagegen erscheint von dort her der Bote 1335 und Antigone mit den Leichen der Brüder nebst Iokaste 1481.

Der Chor obgleich aus Phoinissen bestehend kommt, da

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\*) Dass dies von der Stadt her geschieht, sagt auch der Schol. zu 841. In Bezug auf Menoikeus vergl. 768 u. ff.

er zur Zeit in Theben anwesend ist, also nicht von der Fremde her auftritt, durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra. — Von ausserhalb der Stadt durch die linke Seitenthür tritt auf Polyneikes 261, und geht 637 wieder ab.

Am Schlusse zieht der Chor durch die rechte Parodos ab, Kreon geht (bald nach 1682) in die Stadt; die Leichen werden in den Palast getragen; Oidipus geht mit Antigone auf dem Wege zur Fremde ab, um sich nach Kolonos zu begeben (1705, 1707) 1763. Eine Drehung der linken Periakte tritt dabei nicht ein. Die linke Seitenthür ist nur von Polyneikes benutzt worden, der von ausserhalb der Stadt herkam. Da Oidipus jetzt ebenfalls zur Stadt hinauselt, und dem Wege an der linken Seitenthür noch kein weiteres Ziel, dem er zugeht, beigelegt ist: so ist kein Anlass da, eine Drehung der linken Periakte eintreten zu lassen.

### A g a m e m n o n.

Ort der Handlung ist der Platz vor dem Palaste Agamemnon's, und der genannte Palast bildet demnach das Mittelstück der Scenerie. Neben ihm befindet sich nach Droysen, Donner und Genelli p. 164 rechts das Sklavenhaus, links eine Gastwohnung. Aber weder Aigisthos kann füglich aus der Gastwohnung, noch Klytaimnestra aus der Gesindewohnung kommen, noch die Begleitung Agamemnon's in ein neben dem Palaste befindliches Gebäude eintreten; wenigstens giebt das Stück dazu theils keinen Anlass, theils widerspricht die Handlung derartigen Annahmen entschieden. — Ob das Phryktorion sich auf dem Palaste befand, oder (und das ist Hermanns Meinung *de re scen.* p. 6) das Dach des Palastes dazu verwendet wurde, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit aus dem Stücke ansehen. Da aber Pollux unter den Theilen des Theaters die *σχοπή* und das *φρυκτώριον* erwähnt, das alte Theater also eigene thurmähnliche Baue, die zum Behufe des Umschauens und der Signalfeuer errichtet waren, gehabt haben muss: so scheint es, dass man auch hier auf dem Palaste einen thurmartigen Bau voraussetzen muss, und zwar um so mehr, da es galt, von ihm aus in die weite Ferne zu schauen. In des Euripides *Phoinissai* wird freilich das einfache Dach des Palastes benutzt, um eine Umschau zu halten; aber dort bezieht sich das Umsehen auch nur auf die nächste Umgebung Thebens. Wenn Droysen und Donner das Dach der Gesindewohnung als Warte gebraucht wer-

den lassen, so ist das entschieden falsch. Denn abgesehen davon, dass die Gesindewohnung selbst mehr als problematisch ist, so müsste der Wächter in dem Falle über die Bühne eilen, als er der Königin die Siegesbotschaft melden will; dies thut er aber nicht. Noch unbegründeter ist die Vorstellung, welche sich Genelli von dem Phryktorion macht (p. 164), indem er es sich als abgesondertes Gebäude neben dem königlichen Palaste auf der Seite der Heimath ganz vorn und hart an der Ecke des Paraskenion, gleich hoch mit der Skene, weil der Wächter über das Skenengebäude hinweg in die Fremde habe schauen müssen, denkt. Auch in dem Falle hätte der zur Klytaimnestra eilende Wächter auf dem Logeion sichtbar werden müssen. Ausserdem aber hindert der an der rechten Periakte zur Stadt hinführende Weg, wie der an der linken Periakte in die Fremde gehende, es an eine dieser Stellen zu legen. — Vor dem Palaste haben sich nach Droysen und Donner drei Altäre befunden; und die Lage derselben bestimmt Droysen in der Art, dass er den des wegeleitenden Apollon vor der königlichen Pforte, den des Zeus rechts, den des Apollon links von ihr sich denkt. Das Dasein der Altäre ist aus 487 mit Recht, wie es scheint, gefolgert worden; in Bezug auf ihre Stellung ist nur die des Apollon Agyieus als gesichert anzusehen, aber nicht in so weit, dass Genelli (p. 164) selbst die Seite der Fremde neben der königlichen Thür als seinen Standort angeben durfte. Uebrigens können selbst mehr als drei Altäre gesehen worden sein (88—91 [vergl. 777] und 494).

Ueber dem Palaste war nach Droysen die Aussicht auf die Stadt, auf die Berge und den Meerbusen von Argos. Das mag die Umschau gewesen sein, die der Wächter von der Höhe aus hatte; der Zuschauer konnte wegen des den Vordergrund bildenden hohen Königspalastes keine Aussicht auf die hinter demselben liegenden Gegenden haben. Was aber neben dem Palaste in der Ferne zu sehen war, lässt sich nicht bestimmen, wiewohl Genelli (l. l.), von dem Grundsatz ausgehend, dass die Scenerie nicht weit von der Wirklichkeit sich entfernt habe (l. l. p. 165), es sehr bestimmt aufzählt. — Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; von Thüren sind nur drei für die Handlung erforderlich.

Im Anfange des Stückes erhebt sich der Wächter auf seiner Warte, und er eilt von hier zur Klytaimnestra, ihr das eben gesehene Feuersignal zu melden. Donner und Droysen lassen ihn darum nach 39 die Warte verlassen, und demnächst

auf der Bühne auftreten. Genelli (p. 166) ist unsicher, ob der Wächter durch die Gesindewohnung den Zuschauern unsichtbar sich entfernt, oder ob er (und das scheint ihm wahrscheinlicher) nach v. 30 eine Treppe hinuntersteigt und durch eine den Zuschauern sichtbare Thür der Warte noch auf der Bühne sich zeigt, ehe er sich ganz entfernt. Auch ist er geneigt, ihn vor dem Herabsteigen oben auf der Höhe ein Feuer anzünden zu lassen. — Aber man sollte, wenn die Sache sich so verhalten hätte, doch erwarten, der ziemlich geschwätzige Alte werde von alle dem den Zuschauern etwas mittheilen. Er thut es aber nicht, sondern sobald er das den Zuschauern sicher nicht wahrnehmbare Feuerzeichen erblickt hat, sagt er nur, zur Klytaimnestra eilen zu wollen. Auf die Skene tritt er nicht; die letzten Verse, in denen er seine Unzufriedenheit mit dem während Agamemnon's Abwesenheit Vorgefallenen ausspricht, eignen sich am wenigsten, in der Nähe des Palastes gesprochen zu werden. Ausserdem lässt sich in seiner Rede keine Stelle auffinden, wo er oben hätte abbrechen und unten angemessen seine Rede hätte wieder aufnehmen können. Er steigt also sicher von oben alsbald in das Innere des Palastes hinunter, und um dies möglich zu machen, musste, wie bereits angedeutet, das Phryktorion auf dem Palaste sich befinden. Ein Feuer zündet er vor seinem Weggehen nicht an. Hätte er es gethan, so wäre seine Botschaft überflüssig geworden, der Chor hätte nicht an der Einnahme Trojas zweifeln können, und Klytaimnestra hätte bei Aufzählung der Signale bis zu dem auf ihrem Palaste gegebenen fortgehen müssen.

Der Chor tritt 39 durch die rechte Parodos ein; er redet die 83 aus dem Palaste tretende Königin an. Das Letztere bezweifelt freilich Genelli; er sagt (p. 168): wäre die Königin bereits sichtbar gewesen, so würde es ungeziemend von Seiten des Chores gewesen sein, die Antwort der Königin nicht abzuwarten, sondern auf Dinge überzugehen, die vor ihr zu berühren der Chor Anstand nehmen musste. Genelli lässt daher (l. l. p. 171) die Königin erst mit 241 aus dem Palaste treten, nachdem ein Diener kurz vorher ein Feuer auf dem Altar des Apollon Agyieus angezündet habe. Klytaimnestra sei dann alsbald an den Altar getreten, habe dort ihr Opfer stumm verrichtet, bleibe aber dann noch nach 336 (l. l. p. 173) auf der Bühne, da sie es sei, die den Herold zuerst ankommen sehe, und weil sie ihre Empfindlichkeit über das, was der Chor geäußert hatte, ausspreche (sie müsse es also gehört haben); und



die Bühne verlasse sie erst 592. Aber, wenn es sich so verhielt, die Königin also nicht alsbald erschien, wozu wurden die Flammen auf den Altären angezündet? wie kommt der Chor dazu, die angeblich abwesende Königin wiederholt anzureden? Wenn der Chor dagegen in seinen Betrachtungen fortfährt, ohne sich durch der Königin Gegenwart stören zu lassen, so lässt sich sehr wohl sagen, wie er dazu kommt, ohne ungeziemend zu sein. Er sieht, dass Klytaimnestra ans Opfern geht, und dass er demnach für jetzt auf keine Antwort zu rechnen hat. Endlich: käme Klytaimnestra erst 241 auf die Bühne, um ihre angebliche Freude und ihren Dank gegen die Götter, wie sie doch glauben machen will, zu bezeugen, so hätte sie sich dazu gute Zeit gelassen und leicht zu Argwohn Veranlassung gegeben. Allerdings geht Klytaimnestra nach 336 nicht in den Palast zurück; aber die von Genelli in dieser Beziehung aufgestellten Gründe sind theils falsch, theils unzureichend. Zunächst kündigt nämlich nicht Klytaimnestra, sondern der Chor die Ankunft des Heroldes an; sodann aber spricht sich in ihren Worten keine Empfindlichkeit aus, sondern nur die Erwartung, dass man bald erfahren werde, wie es eigentlich stehe. Aus alle dem ergibt sich demnach, dass Genelli's Exposition den wahren Sachverhalt nicht trifft. — Donner, Droysen, Kock (p. 17) und Hermann lassen die Königin mit einem Zuge von Dienerinnen (deren Zahl Hermann indess auf zwei herabsetzt) 83 aus dem Palaste erscheinen, und Droysen lässt die Königin von da an unausgesetzt bis 592 auf der Bühne verweilen; Donner und Hermann hingegen sind der Ansicht, dass sie 340 sich entfernt, 565 wieder erscheint und 592 sich abermals entfernt. Der Anlass zu diesen verschiedenen Ansichten ist, dass die 83 und 99 vom Chore angeredete Königin nicht antwortet, und der Chor in seinen weiteren Betrachtungen keine Rücksicht auf sie zu nehmen scheint. Dennoch redet er sie 243 abermals an; und es erfolgt dies Mal auch eine Antwort von der Königin, die mit angeblichen Dankopfern beschäftigt ist. Von 336 an aber verschwindet die Königin abermals, der Chor wendet sich in Gebeten an die Götter, und sieht endlich 467 den Herold erscheinen. Dieser nimmt aber in seinem Berichte auf die Königin keine Rücksicht. Da fällt 565 die Königin plötzlich in das zwischen dem Chore und dem Herolde stattfindende Gespräch ein, gleich als wäre sie anwesend gewesen, und begiebt sich nach 592 in den Palast. Das Räthsel, was hier obwaltet, ist also das zeitweilige Dasein und das zeitwei-



lige Verschwinden der Königin von der Bühne. Es ist vollkommen richtig von Hermann gelöst worden zu 103, wo er sagt: *non respondet choro Clytaemnestra. Scilicet quum ante aedes regias in scena complures arae cerni videantur, in quibus ignis vel accensus erat vel jam accendebatur, egressa ex aedibus regina, ut mos est, cum duabus ancillis, ad eas aras deinceps accedit tus et suffimenta in ignes injiciens. Deinde videtur spectatoribus a dextra abire, ut in urbe sacra factura, tum redire finito chori carmine. Postquam igitur chorus parodum et conjunctum cum ea stasimon cecinit, propius ad orchestram accedente Clytaemnestra, unde v. 241 τὸδ' ἄγχιστον Ἀπίας vocatur, iterum eam compellat, spectareque ad illud, quod antea non responderat, videntur haec verba v. 248 οὐδὲ σιγῆς. Parodum autem quum chorus canere incipit, aliquid nuntii acceptum esse ex accensis ignibus conjiciens, adhuc se de re-ditu sperare significat.* Einige Einzelheiten dürften indess doch anders zu fassen sein, als Hermann sie aufgefasst hat. Klytaimnestra nämlich bleibt nicht nur bis 340, wie Hermann und Donner annehmen, sondern bis 592; sie ist während der Zeit vorzugsweise mit Opfern beschäftigt, entfernt sich dabei zuerst nicht nach rechts, wie Hermann meint, sondern nach links hin, später erst nach rechts hin. Sie kann, wenn sie in dieser Weise sich entfernte, mit dem später von links eintretenden Herolde nicht zusammentreffen; und da sie viel später als der in der Orchestra verbleibende Chor ins Gespräch mit ihm kommt, so muss sie erst viel später als der Herold auf die Bühne zurückkehren. Denn sicher entfernt sich die Königin nach rechts und links hin so weit, dass sie den Zuschauern hinter der Periakte wenn auch nicht auf gar lange entschwindet. Es leuchtet von selbst ein, dass sie auf ihrem Gange zwei Mal in die Nähe des Chores kommt, und jedes Mal, wenn dies der Fall ist, redet der Chor sie an. Als sie aber zuletzt von rechts her zurückkehrt, greift sie selbst in das Gespräch ein. Was den Dichter zu dieser Anordnung veranlasst hat, ist wohl zunächst das Bestreben gewesen, die Königin recht eifrig opfernd darzustellen; sodann der Umstand, ihr, die Alles um des äusseren Scheines willen thut, weitläufige Auseinandersetzungen über die Stadt und den König, die ihr nicht angenehm sein konnten, zu ersparen. — Wenn Hermann 481 u. ff., in denen die Ankunft des Heroldes gemeldet wird, dem Chore, nicht der Königin beilegt, so hat er darin unzweifelhaft Recht. Der Chor ist es, der in der Regel die auftretenden Personen ankündigt. Ferner: wäre Klytaimnestra bei dem Erscheinen des Heroldes zugegen, so müsste dieser

sich vor allem an die Königin wenden und sie anreden; er thut es aber nicht. Ausserdem aber könnte auch die Königin nicht von 481—565 stumm und ruhig mit anhören, was da gesprochen wird, namentlich nicht die zweite Rede des Heroldes, die ganz ungeeignet ist in Gegenwart der Königin gesprochen zu werden. Klytaimnestra kann also da nicht anwesend sein. Demungeachtet aber kann sie auch nicht in den Palast gegangen sein, und 565 plötzlich wieder von da heraustreten. Zu dem Einen wie zu dem Anderen fehlt es an einem genügenden Anlasse. Die Königin kann also nicht gar fern von der Bühne gewesen sein, und war demnach sicher mit Opfern beschäftigt. In dem, was sie sagt, nimmt sie nur auf die zunächst vorher gesprochenen Worte Rücksicht, und es wird also vorausgesetzt, dass sie das Uebrige wegen zu grosser Entfernung nicht habe hören können.

Der Herold Agamemnon's muss natürlich von der Seite der Fremde her erscheinen; er entfernt sich auch nach jener Seite hin; denn Klytaimnestra hat ihm einen Auftrag an ihren Gatten mitgegeben \*).

Agamemnon zieht auf einem mit Mäulern bespannten Reisewagen, auf dem sich auch Cassandra befindet, durch die linke Parodos in die Orchestra ein, und der Wagen geht, nachdem alle ausgestiegen, durch die rechte Parodos der Behausung Agamemnon's zu. Klytaimnestra aber lässt durch ihre Dienerinnen Purpurdecken von dem Palaste bis auf die zur Orchestra führende Treppe, die der König betreten muss, legen (so auch Genelli 176—179). Auch Droysen hegt im Ganzen dieselbe Vorstellung; nur von dem zahlreichen Gefolge, das er dem Könige beigiebt, und das bei der eiligen Reise des Königs keine Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, endlich von dem Umzuge, den er den König ohne Noth noch Veranlassung durch die Orchestra halten lässt, muss man absehen. Hermann zweifelt mit Unrecht an der Bespannung des Wagens, und scheint demnach vorauszusetzen, dass der Wagen nur eben an der linken Periakte sichtbar werde. Aber Wagen erscheinen nicht auf der Bühne; dazu fehlt der erforderliche Raum und die dazu nöthigen Seitenthüren in der Skenenwand. Sodann aber fehlt es für unser Stück auch nicht an bestimmten Andeutungen, dass der

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\*) Den Auftrag, ihm zu sagen, er möge bald kommen. Der Herold will also nicht nur dem Agamemnon entgegen gehen, wie Genelli p. 174 u. 175 meint.

Wagen in der Orchestra ankommt. Dahin gehört, dass Klytaimnestra dem ankommenden Gemahle sich nicht alsbald nähert; sie konnte es nicht, weil Agamemnon nicht auf der Bühne ist, sie selbst aber nach altem Brauche die Bühne nicht verlassen darf. Ferner weist eben darauf dies hin, dass Agamemnon längere Zeit spricht, ehe er daran denkt den Palast zu betreten. Steht er nicht vor dem Palaste, sondern befindet er sich noch in der Orchestra, von wo er erst über das Logeion schreiten musste, um bis zum Palaste zu gelangen: so fällt dies weit weniger auf.

In den Palast selbst tritt auch das geringe Gefolge Agamemnon's, obgleich Genelli (p. 180) es in die Gastwohnung hin verweist. Aber das Dasein einer abgesonderten Gastwohnung ist nirgends mit einiger Sicherheit aus dem Stücke nachzuweisen; die Begleitung des Königs ist überdies nur sehr gering (ausser Cassandra wird nur ein Diener bestimmt erwähnt); und da auch Cassandra etwas später als die übrigen in den Palast geht, so ist kein Anlass die wenigen anderen Diener anderswo unterzubringen\*).

Nachdem der Mord Agamemnon's im Palaste vollbracht ist, erscheint Klytaimnestra aus dem Palaste kommend; mit ihr zugleich werden die Leichen der beiden Ermordeten (1403, 1409, 1460) vermittle des Ekkyklema zur Anschauung gebracht. Klytaimnestra mit einem Beile auszustatten, wie Droysen thut, dazu fehlt jeder Anlass. Auch sieht man nicht ein, was ihn und Donner veranlasst, die Leichen mit rothen Decken verhüllt heraustragen zu lassen, oder Genelli (p. 183), die Badewanne mit dem Leichname Agamemnon's durch Knechte heraustragen, und sie in die offene Thür niedersetzen zu lassen. Denn wenn Genelli bemerkt, dass, da die Thür von nun an geöffnet bleibe, hier die Exostra habe gebraucht werden müssen, um das Innere hinter derselben so viel nöthig darzustellen: so scheint mir dies in völligem Widerspruche mit der vorherigen Ansicht zu stehen. Aber auch ein Herausragen der Leichen in einem Falle, wo die Anwendung des Ekkyklema fast Regel ist, ist unstatthaft, und mit vollem Rechte erklären sich Geppert (p. 175), O. Müller kl. Schriften I. p. 531 und Hermann *de rescen.* p. 8 auch hier für Anwendung des Ekkyklema, neben

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\*) Dass Genelli die Klytaimnestra, als sie die Cassandra wiederholt zum Eintreten auffordert, aus der Gesindewohnung treten lässt (pag. 181), während sie vorher in den Palast gegangen ist, scheint ein blosses Versehen zu sein.

dem, wie Hermann richtig aus 1440 schliesst, Klytaimnestra ihren Standort nahm. — Die Ausstellung der Leichen lässt Genelli p. 186 beim Erscheinen des Aigisthos aufhören, und sie alsdann von der Thür entfernt werden. Damit streiten aber 1571, 1576, 1581, 1596, 1603 und andere Stellen mehr, und Genelli hat Niemanden gefunden, der ihm hierin beigestimmt hätte (vergl. Geppert p. 175).

Aigisthos endlich tritt von Bewaffneten begleitet 1621 von der Seite der Stadt her, also durch die rechte Seitenthür kommend, auf. Hermann nimmt zwar an, dass er mit zwei Begleitern aus dem Palaste trete; aber schwerlich ist dem so. Aigisthos konnte sich mit Bewaffneten vor dem Morde im Palaste nicht verbergen; es hätte dies das Gelingen des ganzen Planes gefährdet. Da Aigisthos wusste, dass er verdächtig sei (1605), musste er sich jedenfalls von dem Orte, wo die Frevelthat vollbracht werden sollte, fern halten. Dazu kommt: Aigisthos wusste nicht im Voraus, wann Troja würde eingenommen werden, wann Agamemnon zurückkommen werde. Er konnte sich aber nicht auf's Ungewisse hin im Palaste mit Bewaffneten, zumal mit einer grösseren Zahl derselben, verbergen. Um diese Unwahrscheinlichkeit zu mindern, scheint es, dass Hermann die Zahl derselben auf zwei beschränkt. Aber im Vertrauen auf diese zwei hätte er nicht dem Chor mit seiner Macht Trotz bieten können. — Genelli (p. 185), Droysen und Donner lassen den Aigisthos aus der Gastwohnung kommen. Aber auch einen derartigen Aufenthalt liess der gegen Aigisthos wache Verdacht nicht zu. Ueberdies, woher kommt es, dass Aigisthos, wenn er im Palaste oder in der Gastwohnung war, erst über 200 Verse später als Klytaimnestra erscheint? Dazu ist kein Anlass, wenn er in der Nähe des Ortes war, wo die Greuelthat vollbracht wurde. Aber er war nicht in der Nähe; er kommt aus der Stadt her. Dort hat er abgewartet, wie der Anschlag gelingen werde, dort hat er Bewaffnete um sich gesammelt; er erscheint nun mit diesen, und zieht demnächst mit Klytaimnestra als neuer Herrscher in den Königspalast ein, etwas was dadurch eine ganz andere Bedeutung erhält, als wenn er schon vorher aus dem Palaste hervorgetreten wäre, denn es supplirt dies, wie Hermann sehr richtig bemerkt, Alles, was vom Tage des Mordes bis zum Tage der Rache, der in den Choephoren dargestellt wird, vorgeht\*). — Fraglich ist

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\*) Was Genelli damit meint, dass, wenn Aigisthos von aussen her er-

endlich, ob Klytaimnestra bei und nach dem Erscheinen des Aigisthos auf der Bühne verbleibt. Der Ansicht, dass sie unausgesetzt bis zum Schlusse des Stückes sichtbar bleibt, ist nämlich Hermann (zu 1594). Aber es ist doch auffällig, dass Klytaimnestra von 1545 bis 1624 sich mit keinem Worte vernehmen lässt, dass sie den Streit zwischen Aigisthos und dem Chore sehr arg werden lässt, und ruhig zuhören soll, bis sie endlich mit einem Male überaus geschäftig eingreift und ihn zu dämpfen sucht, dass der Chor weder 1605 noch 1614 auf sie hinweist, dass Klytaimnestra auch da, wo von ihr die Rede ist, nichts erwiedert, endlich dass der Chor in 1615 in so starken Ausdrücken über Klytaimnestra und deren That sich äussert, wie nirgends zuvor (nur 1371 kommt dem nahe). Es ist daher weit wahrscheinlicher, dass die Königin vor 1545 von der Thür des Palastes aus, an der sie steht, in den Palast zurücktritt, und erst da, als der Streit sehr heftig wird und sie fürchten muss, dass es zu offenem Kampfe kommen werde, wieder auf dem Logeion erscheint, um die Streitenden auseinander zu bringen. So führt denn auch Klytaimnestra am Schlusse den Aigisthos zum Theil gegen dessen Willen in den Palast hinein, der Chor aber entfernt sich durch die rechte Parodos nach der Stadt hin.

### B a k c h a i.

Die Handlung geht vor dem Palaste des Pentheus (60, 645) auf der Kadmeia (653) in Theben vor sich. Dieser Palast nimmt mithin die Mitte der Scenerie ein, und er ist mit Säulen und Triglyphen verziert 1214\*). Neben ihm nach der Stadtseite hin (also rechts vom Palaste) befand sich der Sitz des Teiresias (347 *θάκου τοῦδε*), an der linken Seite des Palastes der Sekos der Semele, die Trümmer von der Wohnung der Semele, mit Weinreben überwachsen; eine Wehr umfriedigt den Platz und macht ihn zu einem *μνημα* der Semele\*\*) (6, 7, 11, 598). Zugleich aber befindet sich auch dem Palaste zur

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schiene wäre, er mit dem Chore in Gemeinschaft gekommen wäre, verstehe ich nicht; denn die, welche von ein und derselben Seite herkommen, stehen darum noch nicht immer auf gleicher Seite.

\*) In 591 ist *κλειν* freilich nicht sicher; aber die Triglyphen zeigen deutlich, dass auch die Säulen nicht gefehlt haben.

\*\*) Schöne (p. 7) scheint ein besonderes Denkmal der Semele neben dem Palaste anzusetzen.

Linken ein Gefängniss, und zwar in solcher Nähe des Palastes, dass man aus ihm oder aus dessen Hof in den Palast und dessen inneren Hof gelangen kann. Es ist ein dunkeler Gewahrsam (510, 549, 611), zu dem die linke Nebenthür den Eingang bildet. Weiterhin liegt an der linken Seite der nach der Fremde hin führende Weg. Rechts von dem Palaste befindet sich zunächst an der Nebenthür der Weg nach dem Kithairon. Schöne meint zwar (p. 7), der Weg dahin führe durch Theben (und er würde alsdann an die rechte Seitenthür zu verlegen sein); aber wenn Pentheus im Begriff dahin zu gehen den Dionysos fragt 840: καὶ πῶς δι' ἄστεως εἶμι Καδμείους λαθών; und Dionysos antwortet: ὁδοὺς ἐρήμους ἔμεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι (es ist dies der Vers, auf den sich Schöne beruft): so meint er damit nicht menschenleere Strassen in Theben, sondern Wege, welche die Stadt nicht berühren. Ferner wäre es auch auffällig, wenn der Weg nach dem Kithairon durch die Stadt führte, dass der Stadt selbst sehr selten und nur nebenbei im Stücke gedacht wird. Dieses Bedenken fällt dagegen weg, wenn der Weg nach dem Kithairon durch die rechte Nebenthür geht, die Stadt dagegen an der rechten Seitenthür gedacht wird, wo wohl auch eine Andeutung derselben, namentlich an der Periakte, nicht gefehlt haben wird\*). Ob auch die Thürme und Mauern, welche die Kadmeia schirmten und umgaben, wenigstens theilweise zu sehen waren, lässt sich nicht bestimmt und sicher angeben; 653 wird wenigstens auf sie hingedeutet, und es ist daher leicht möglich, dass ein Theil derselben irgendwo sichtbar war. Das 780 genannte Thor der Elektra war dagegen wohl nicht zu sehen.

Wenn Schöne (p. 7) sagt: „im Hyposkenion befanden sich neben anderen Verzierungen muthmasslich die Statuen der Göttin Hestia, die der Chor im zweiten, und der Dirke, die er im dritten Chorgesange anruft,“ und er unter Hyposkenion die das Logeion vorn begrenzende Wand versteht: so scheint dies ein Irrthum zu sein, der auf einem falschen Begriffe von Hyposkenion beruht. Ob die genannten Statuen dagegen in der Nähe des Palastes sich befanden, lässt sich nicht sicher entscheiden; es scheint kaum, da kein besonderer Anlass, weshalb man sie für sichtbar halten soll, vorhanden ist. — Geppert findet (p. 143)

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\*) Die Worte 172, in denen es heisst, dass Kadmos ἐπύργωσ' ἄστυ Θηβαίων τόδε, beziehen sich wohl mehr auf die Kadmeia als auf die übrige Stadt; aus ihnen ist daher kein Schluss auf die der rechten Periakte beigegebene Decoration gestattet.



die Scenerie wegen der rauchenden Trümmer von Semele's Hause neben dem Palaste übereinstimmend mit der Wirklichkeit; aber das Gefängniss erwähnt Pausanias, auf den sich Geppert beruft, gar nicht. Inzwischen die Möglichkeit, dass die Scenerie im Ganzen mit der Wirklichkeit übereingestimmt habe, ist keineswegs zu bezweifeln; nur freilich ist das noch sehr entfernt von völliger Uebereinstimmung. Wenn Euripides mehrere Einzelheiten hervorhebt, die dieser Localität allein anhaften, so scheint er damit nicht sowohl eine Uebereinstimmung mit der Wirklichkeit erstrebt zu haben, sondern er hat diese Einzelheiten nennen müssen, weil sie mit der Handlung so verflochten sind, dass sie nicht zu umgehen waren.

Die einzige Veränderung, welche in der Scenerie vorgeht, betrifft nicht die Periakten, sondern den mittleren Theil derselben. Nachdem nämlich Dionysos von Pentheus in das an den Palast anstossende Gefängniss gesteckt worden ist, erwartet der Chor (588), dass *τὰ Πενθέως μέλαθρα διατινάξεται πεισίμασιν*. Er sieht auch alsbald das Steingebälk durch einander stürzen (*τὰ λάινα [κίοσιν] ἔμβολα διάδρομα τάδε* 591) und den Dionysos, der die Zerstörung anrichtet, aus dem Gebäude hervortreten. Schon vorher aber hat derselbe den Chor aufgefordert, mit Fackeln das Haus des Pentheus anzuzünden. In der That lodert auch die Flamme auf, aber (596 ff.) nur auf der Semele heiligem Grabe; und wenn der Chor 602 weiter sagt, dass Dionysos herzuschreite *ἄνω κάτω τιθεῖς μέλαθρα τάδε*: so spricht er nur aus, was er erwartet, dass erfolgen werde, nicht das, was er sieht. Denn dem Palaste des Pentheus selbst geschieht nichts, er bleibt unversehrt; man geht auch ferner in ihn ein und kommt aus ihm (z. B. 914), und dass er fortbesteht, setzt auch v. 1214 und 1239 voraus. An ein Verbrennen des gesammten Palastes ist also nicht zu denken. Was Dionysos 623 sagt: *ἀνετίναξ' ἐλθὼν ὁ Βάκχος δῶμα καὶ μητρὸς τάφῳ πῦρ ἀνῆψεν* bezieht sich demnach nur auf das bereits Erwähnte; eben darauf (auf das Gefängniss allein und namentlich den Theil, der beim Herausbrechen des Dionysos zerstört worden ist) auch v. 633: *δῶματ' ἔρρηξεν χαμᾶζε· συντεθράνωται δ' ἅπαν*. Aus alle dem ergiebt sich also mit Sicherheit, dass die Veränderung, welche die mittlere Scenerie erleidet, sich auf das Gefängniss beschränkt, und an einen grossartigen Brand, der kunstvoll veranstaltet wäre, nicht zu denken ist. Wie die Veränderung im Aussehen des Gefängnisses hervorgebracht wurde, lässt sich, da die Scholiasten



darüber schweigen, nicht sicher angeben. Wenn aber an jener Stelle Rauch verbreitet wurde, so scheint es, dass man leicht dazu kommen konnte, eine andere Decoration oder wenigstens einen Theil vor die bisher gesehene vorzuschieben. Aus dem Zusammenstürzen des Gefängnisses auf dessen soliden Bau zu schliessen, scheint mir gewagt. Das Krachen der Balken liess sich leicht hinter der Coulissee nachahmen, und um deswillen braucht demnach das Gefängniss nicht aus Brettern bestanden zu haben. Ausserdem liess sich der daneben befindliche Palast leichter erschüttern, wenn er auf leicht beweglicher Leinwand dargestellt war, als wenn es ein solider Bau war. Die Möglichkeit inzwischen, dass hier ein Theil der Coulissen aus solidem Bauwerke bestand, muss zugegeben werden. Unsere Kenntniss der antiken Scenerie reicht nicht so weit, dass sich hier mit voller Bestimmtheit das Eine behaupten, das Andere ableugnen lässt. Für einen soliden Bau bietet wenigstens die Komödie ein sicheres Beispiel in dem Philosophenhouse des Sokrates dar.

Eine Veränderung der Periakten tritt nicht ein; Thüren werden fünf erfordert.

Aus der Mittelthür kommt 178 Kadmos, ferner Pentheus 642; hinein gehen Pentheus 846, Dionysos 861 (vergl. 929); wiederum treten Pentheus und Dionysos von da heraus 912, und in diese Thür begiebt sich wohl auch der Bote 1152. — Durch die rechte Nebenthür treten ab Dionysos 63, Kadmos und Teiresias 369; aus ihr kommt ein Sklave mit Dionysos 432 und 660 der Bote; hinein gehen Dionysos und Pentheus 976\*) (vergl. 1045, womit also 961 nicht streitet); von dort her kommt 1024 ein Bote, 1168 Agaue, 1216 Kadmos mit der Leiche des Pentheus. — Aus der Stadt her durch die rechte Seitenthür tritt ein Teiresias 170. Aus der linken Seitenthür, also aus der Fremde, kommt 1 Dionysos. Da nämlich bald nach ihm sein Gefolge, der Chor, durch eine der beiden Parodoi eintritt (64), so kann auch Dionysos nur von einer der Seitenthüren herkommen; denn der Gott hat Menschengestalt angenommen (4), und entfernt sich auch (64) auf den Wegen der Menschen. Ganz fremd im Lande ist übrigens weder der Gott noch der Chor; ersterer weiss schon viel von seiner Wirk-

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\*) Muthmasslich; indess ist die Sache wegen 1044, wo auf die Stadt selbst hingewiesen zu werden scheint, doch sehr zweifelhaft; und ist das Bedenken gegründet, so müssen beide durch die rechte Seitenthür abgehen.

samkeit im Lande zu berichten. Aber dennoch zeigen die ersten Worte des Gottes wie des Chores, dass beide für jetzt als aus der Fremde kommend zu denken sind; also müssen sie von links her erscheinen. Wenn Dionysos dies thut, wird zugleich erklärlich, warum ihn der Anblick des ihm zunächst liegenden Sekos der Semele zuerst beschäftigt. — Durch die linke Seitenthür tritt auch Pentheus 215 auf. — Durch die linke Nebenthür geht 518 Pentheus mit Dionysos ins Gefängniss (vergl. 618); 603 kommt Dionysos von dort heraus. Pentheus hingegen tritt 642 aus einer andern Thür (aus der zum Palaste führenden Mittelthür). Dies ist inzwischen vollkommen dadurch motivirt, dass das Gefängniss durch den hinter ihm befindlichen Hof mit dem Palaste in Verbindung steht, so dass Pentheus den Zuschauern unsichtbar nach jenem Gebäude hinüber laufen konnte. — Vor dem Schlusse tritt Dionysos als Gott auf (freilich ist dort der Text defect); er erscheint von oben her und in der Höhe, und tritt wohl zum Theil von Wolken umgeben eben so an die obere Brüstung der Skene heran, wie Athena in der Taurischen Iphigeneia.

Am Schlusse des Stückes entfernt sich der Chor durch die Parodos, durch welche er eingetreten ist; Agaue entflieht vom Hause, entfernt sich also durch die linke Nebenthür, die Andern gehen, falls Nauck's Lesart 1381 die richtige ist, mit Ausschluss des Dionysos in den Palast.

Während 370—431 bleibt Pentheus stumm auf der Bühne, und verlässt sie nicht, wie Donner meint; denn der Sklave findet ihn 434 auf derselben.

### Der rasende Herakles.

Der Ort der Handlung ist der Platz vor dem königlichen Palaste des Herakles (523, 554) in Theben (4). Der Palast ist ein hohes Gebäude (107 ff.) mit grossen wohlverschlossenen Thoren (1029, 332), und vor dem Palaste, wahrscheinlich der Thür ganz nahe, befand sich ein *βωμὸς σωτῆρος Διός* (48). Die weitere Umgebung desselben greift fast gar nicht in die Entwicklung der Handlung ein, und es lässt sich nicht einmal angeben, ob man etwa auf Stufen vom Vorplatze zu dem Palaste hinaufstieg; es liegt wenigstens nichts vor, was darauf hindeutete. An der Heimathsseite ist vielleicht irgend ein Theil von Theben, an der Fremdenseite ist wohl sicher der in die Fremde gehende Weg auch in der Decoration angedeutet gewesen. Was von den

781—797 namhaft gemachten Gegenden und Dingen in der Scenerie sichtbar war, lässt sich nicht angeben. — Geppert ist der Ansicht (pag. 144), dass die Scenerie mit der Wirklichkeit übereingestimmt habe, weil das Haus des Amphitryon nach Pausanias eben so ausser der Stadt gelegen habe, wie bei Euripides der Fall sei (598); und auch der Altar des Zeus σωτήρ scheine zu den berühmten Alterthümern Thebens gehört zu haben. Wenn aber Euripides einen besondern Werth darauf gelegt hätte, in der Scenerie das Bild der Wirklichkeit wiederzugeben, dann hätte er vor allem das Aussehen des Herakleischen Palastes genauer angeben und dessen Umgebung in die Handlung selbst verweben müssen. Aber in Bezug auf die Umgebung fehlt jede Andeutung, und von dem Palaste theilt er weniger mit, als von vielen andern Gebäuden in andern Stücken. Der für die Handlung nothwendige Altar des Zeus Soter, an den sich keine besondere geschichtliche Erinnerung anknüpft, beweist vollends nichts.

Die Scenerie erleidet keine Veränderung; Thüren werden drei verwendet.

Im Anfange des Stückes befinden sich Amphitryon, Megara und die drei Kinder des Herakles (70, 206, 303 etc.) als Flehende am Altare des Zeus. Da sie diese Gruppe nicht vor den Augen der Zuschauer zum Altare gehend bilden können: so müssen sie sammt dem Altare durch eine Maschine hervorgeschoben werden (vergl. den analogen Fall in des Euripides Orestes u. a. m.). — Aus dem Palaste tritt durch die Mittelthür Lykos 140 auf\*); hinein gehen die fünf am Altare Weilenden 347; sie kommen von da 451 zurück, und gehen 636 (vergl. 606) abermals dahin mit Herakles. 701 tritt Amphitryon aus dem Palaste, 725 geht Lykos, 734 Amphitryon hinein; aus demselben tritt 909 der Exangelos, der sich nach 1015 von der Bühne verliert, 1032 Herakles mit den Leichen, und 1042 Amphitryon. — Aus der Fremde kommt durch die linke Seitenthür Herakles

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\*) 139 heisst es von Lykos *περῶντα τῶνδε δωμαίων πύλας* mit Trabanten. — Donner lässt hier den Lykos zum Palaste gehen. — 240 befiehlt Lykos den Dienern, Männer nach Holzkloben auf den Parnassos und Helikon zu senden. Schon daraus, dass Lykos seinen Befehl durch Diener ausführen lässt, nicht selbst Leute nach den Bergen aussendet, ersieht man, dass an ein Fortgehen auf dem Wege der Fremde nicht zu denken ist; vielmehr geht einer oder einige seiner Begleiter in den Palast, um dort das Befohlene anzuordnen.

523 und Theseus nebst Gefolge 1163. — Aus der Stadt tritt durch die rechte Parodos der Chor 107 ein; durch die rechte Seitenthür entfernt sich dagegen 335 nach der Stadt Lykos, der daselbst wohnt 566; zurück von dort kommt er mit Begleitung 701. — Ueber dem Palaste erscheinen in der Höhe Iris und Lyssa 822, und verschwinden eben dort 874\*) Wenn der Chor 880 sagt, dass Lyssa ἐν δίφροισιν gekommen sei, ferner ἄρμασι δ' ἐνδίδωσι κέντρα, und wenn er ihr grausenerregendes Aeussere noch weiter ausmalt: so kann es zweifelhaft sein, ob sich in diesen Worten der Schrecken des Chores ausspricht, oder ob das Aeussere der Lyssa in der That so gewesen ist. Die Möglichkeit, dass Lyssa auf einem Wagen stehend in der Höhe sichtbar geworden ist, kann nicht in Abrede gestellt werden. Ist es doch jedenfalls nur ein gemalter gewesen, so gut wie die Rosse; und ein grausenerregendes Aeussere hat die Göttin sicher gehabt. Wenn Geppert pag. 182 sagt, dass Iris und Lyssa auf der μηχανή über der linken Nebenthür auf einem mit Pferden bespannten Wagen in der Hinterwand erschienen, und dort so lange geblieben seien, bis sie wieder verschwanden (analog der Athena in den Eumeniden): so meine ich, dass Geppert hierbei auch nur von der Scenerie spricht, welche die Göttinnen umgab. — Donner's Annahme, dass der wahnsinnige Herakles 867—874 sich am Eingange des Palastes gezeigt habe, entbehrt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit; es fehlt dazu jede Analogie. — Am Schlusse gehen Theseus und Herakles in die Fremde ab, Amphitryon entfernt sich mit den Leichen in den Palast, der Chor durch die Parodos. — Durch Hülfe des Ekkyklema werden die Leichen der Megara und der drei Kinder des Herakles 1032 sichtbar, indem 1029 (διάνδιχα κληῖθρα ὑσιπύλων δόμων κλίνεται) die Thore des Palastes sich aufthun (gleicher Ansicht ist Geppert pag. 174 und O. Müller kleine Schriften I. pag. 536). — 905 sagt der Chor: θύελλα σείει δῶμα, συμπίτνει στέγη und 907 μελάθρων τάραγμα ταρτάριον . . . εἰς δόμους πέμπεις. Wenn auch die grause Verwirrung der Gemächer, deren der Chor in der zuletzt angeführten Stelle gedenkt, nicht von dem verschieden ist, was 905 bestimmter ausgesprochen worden ist, dass das Haus, der Palast erbebt, und die Decke einstürzt: so ist es doch nicht möglich, das Erstere auszuspre-

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\*) 817 ὑπὲρ δόμων braucht nicht gerade auf und über dem Palaste zu bedeuten, sondern kann ganz allgemein stehen für: in der Höhe.

chen, ohne dass auch dem Chore und den Zuschauern etwas dem Entsprechendes vor Augen tritt, um so mehr, da Herakles 1142, als er zur Besinnung kommt, ebenfalls die Zerstörung des Hauses mit den Worten ἡ γὰρ συνήραξ' οἶκον, ἢ βάκχευς, ἐμόν; erwähnt. Andererseits muss man sich hüten, sich die Zerstörung grösser vorzustellen, als sie gewesen sein kann. Nicht nur bleibt der Palast im Wesentlichen stehen, und am Schlusse des Stückes begiebt sich nicht nur Amphitryon mit den Leichen in denselben hinein, so dass derselbe also der Hauptsache nach erhalten sein muss, sondern die 905 angedeutete Zerstörung wird so wenig weiter ausgemalt, und wird so ganz über die andern sich drängenden Ereignisse vergessen, dass man der Wahrheit gewiss näher kommt, wenn man annimmt, dass die Zerstörung möglichst wenig, als dass sie möglichst viel betroffen habe. Erwähnt doch auch selbst der schon 909 aus dem Palaste stürzende Bote die am Palaste angerichtete Zerstörung kaum mit einem Worte, und zwar erst 1007, während die von Herakles im Innern des Palastes verübten Mordthaten fast seinen ganzen Bericht ausfüllen. Man wird also wohl nicht sehr fehl greifen, wenn man annimmt, dass nächst Erbeben und Wanken des Palastes, in welches die Scenerie versetzt wird, das Einstürzen eines Giebels des Palastes oder etwas dem Aehnliches die Hauptsache bildete, was alles an der Tapete nicht schwierig sein konnte zur Darstellung zu bringen.

Der Chor betritt die Bühne nicht, selbst nicht 252, wo die Choreuten drohen, dem Lykos mit ihren Stäben den Kopf zu zerschlagen; denn Anstalt dazu treffen sie nicht. Wenn ferner Herakles 526 Weib und Kinder ὄχλῳ ἐν ἀνδρῶν sieht, so ist das auch der Fall, wenn die Choreuten in der Orchestra sind. Der Aufforderung, in den Palast zu dringen 747 (τὰ δωμάτων σκοπῶμεν), folgt keine That, weil der bald hörbare Weheruf (ὦ μοί μοι) jede Untersuchung überflüssig macht (vergl. πρὸς χοροὺς τραπώμεθα und das mit 763 beginnende Chorlied). Endlich heisst Amphitryon 1042 die Geronten, den eben eingeschlafenen Herakles nicht im Schlafe zu stören, und sich von ihm zu entfernen 1047. Als aber Herakles erwacht, heisst Amphitryon die Choreuten ἀποπρὸ δωμάτων fliehen. Aber alles dies geschieht, indem der Chor in der Orchestra bleibt; und zwar flieht der Chor zuletzt der Parodos zu. 1110 erbietet er sich freilich, mit Amphitryon an Herakles heranzutreten; aber auch dies thut er nur in so weit, dass er aus der Parodos, wohin er geflohen, der Stelle des Logeion, wo Herakles liegt, sich

nähert. Nirgends ist dagegen eine Spur, dass er mit Herakles in wirkliche Berührung auf der Bühne kommt.

### Die Iphigeneia in Tauroi.

Der Platz vor dem Tempel der Artemis in Tauroi ist der Schauplatz der Handlung. Wiewohl der Tempel auf einem felsigen Boden errichtet ist, und daher in seinem Unterbaue über die Umgebung hervorragte (97): so ist er doch sicher nicht auf einer bedeutenden Anhöhe erbaut. Vom Meere liegt er nicht fern; die Meereswogen bespülen die Felsen in der Nähe des Tempels (1196); aber sichtbar ist das Meer nicht gewesen, weil die Küste sonst an der linken Seite der Bühne im Widerspruch mit den Theatergesetzen zum Vorschein gekommen wäre. Ueberdies wird nur durch Boten berichtet, was sich an der Küste ereignet hat. Diese Boten müssen von links herkommen; daher kann nicht im Widerspruche hiermit das Meer an der rechten Periakte, wo es sonst zur Erscheinung kommt, angedeutet worden sein. Ausserdem erscheint von rechts her der Chor; was also nach dieser Seite hin angedeutet war, konnte nicht das Meer sein, sondern nur Gebäude, in denen der zum Tempel gehörige Chor seine Wohnung hatte. — Die weitere Umgebung des Tempels, die von keinem besondern Einflusse auf den Gang der Handlung ist, ist fast gar nicht bezeichnet. Ein Weg aber, der vom Palaste des Königs zum Tempel führte, konnte nicht fehlen. Er muss zwischen dem Tempel und der Küste durch die linke Nebenthür führend gedacht werden, weil die an der Küste gefangenen Jünglinge zum Könige gebracht werden, ohne die Bühne zu berühren. Erst vom Könige aus kommen sie zu der Stelle des Tempels (333 ff.), also auf dem Wege, den der König später betritt. Der Palast des Königs ist nicht sichtbar; die Handlung, namentlich die Erkennungsscene der Geschwister, und was sich daran von Folgen anschliesst, würde sonst unwahrscheinlich, indem es gleichsam unter den Augen des Königs geschehen müsste. Am Tempel haben sich Nebengebäude befunden. Die Worte 65, wo Iphigeneia sagt: *εἴμ' εἶσω δόμων ἐν οἷσι ναίω τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων θεᾶς*, beziehen sich aber, obgleich Schöne dieser Ansicht ist, nicht auf sie. Da wo Iphigeneia zunächst wieder erscheint, ist freilich nicht genau ersichtlich, von wo sie herkommt. Aber später holt sie den Brief nicht aus einem Nebengebäude des Tempels, sondern aus dem Tempel selbst; und da sie auch im



Anfange des Stückes aus dem Tempel zu kommen scheint: so würde eine neben dem Tempel befindliche Priesterwohnung für die Handlung in keiner Weise förderlich sein. Die Priesterin ist also auch wohl 64 in den Tempel gegangen (*τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων* ist Apposition zu *δόμων*). Dahin hat sie auch den Chor beschieden, und muss also auch dort auf denselben warten. Die Wohnhäuser der Dienerinnen, die beim Tempel beschäftigt sind, müssen, da der Chor von der rechten Parodos herkommt, an oder neben der rechten Periakte angebracht sein; ein Weg von da zum Tempel kommt freilich auf der Bühne nicht in Anwendung. Der zwischen der Mittelthür und der rechten Seitenthür der Skene befindliche Raum mag vornehmlich durch den Tempel eingenommen worden sein, zumal da einzelne Theile des Tempels in grosser Genauigkeit scheinen sichtbar gewesen zu sein. Aus 113 aber möchte man geneigt sein zu schliessen, dass der mit Säulenhallen (405) umgebene Tempel halb von der Seite her sei gesehen worden; auch konnten nur dann die 97 genannten Treppen (*προσαμβάσεις*) ohne Mühe sich herstellen lassen. Eben darauf führen auch die die Intercolumnien einschliessenden Gitter (*χαλκότευκτα κληῖθρα* 99), welche die Jünglinge mit Hebeln zu durchbrechen oder aufzuheben gedenken, wie die an den Tempelgesimsen aufgehängenen Rüstungen und Waffen (*ἀναθήματα* 74), die unter den am Tempel sichtbaren Gegenständen aufgeführt werden. An eine den Tempel einschliessende Mauer ist nicht zu denken, sondern es ist 96 die Höhe der Tempelmauern, die das Eindringen hindert. — Vor dem Tempel befindet sich ein Altar mit Spuren getrockneten Blutes 72.

Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; Thüren werden nur drei gebraucht, indess wird eine vierte noch an der rechten Periakte angedeutet gewesen sein.

Aus der Mittelthür (dem Tempel) tritt im Beginne des Stückes Iphigeneia, und geht dahin nach 66 zurück, kommt von da um 137, geht 642 abermals in den Tempel, tritt 725 (vergl. 724) wiederum von dort heraus, geht 1088 mit Orestes und Pylades, wie 1222 zeigt, wieder hinein, und kehrt selbst 1157, Orestes und Pylades 1222 von da zurück. Um 1232 geht Thoas in den Tempel; denn von dort her tritt er 1307 wieder auf. — Aus der Fremde, von der Küste her kommen durch die linke Seitenthür Orestes und Pylades 67, gehen 122 dahin zurück, ferner mit ihnen eben dahin Iphigeneia 1233; endlich erscheint von dort her ein Bote 1284. — Von seinem Palaste



herkommend tritt Thoas (vergl. die Elektra des Euripides) durch die linke Nebenthür auf 1152, und entfernt sich dahin am Schlusse. Von eben daher muss der von der Küste herkommende Hirt 238, der mit dem gefangenen Orestes und Pylades beim Könige gewesen ist, erscheinen. Er geht dahin nach 342 zurück. Von eben daher kommen, vom Könige geschickt, Orestes und Pylades 467. Durch die linke Nebenthür geht auch wohl der von Thoas zur Stadt gesendete Sklave 1211. Dagegen kommen die aus der Stadt zu Hülfe entbotenen Bürger 1422 ff. nicht auf die Bühne; und zwar schon darum nicht, weil die Einen den Flüchtigen zu Pferde nachjagen sollen, Andere Fahrzeuge ins Wasser setzen sollen. Ueberdies erscheint bald Athena nach dem Aufrufe der Bürger und nach einer kurzen gegen den Chor gerichteten Drohung, so dass der Fortgang der Handlung die Verfolgung unterbricht und aufhebt. —

In welcher Weise Athena 1435 erscheint, und wie sie verschwindet, deutet das Stück nicht an. Sicher geschieht es, indem sie in der Höhe erscheint; denn wenn sie den auf der Skene nicht anwesenden Orestes 1447 mit den Worten *κλύεις αὐδὴν καίπερ οὐ παρών* anredet: so muss sie dabei nothwendig eine hohe Stellung einnehmen, wenn die Worte nicht als unangemessen erscheinen sollen, indem sie voraussetzt, Orestes werde ihre Worte hören. Dass die Göttin schwebt, oder auf dem Theologeion oder einer ähnlichen Maschine steht, ist nicht wahrscheinlich, weil sie sich nicht von der Stelle zu bewegen braucht. Es genügte, wenn sie an die Zinnen der Skenenwand, die wohl mit oder als Wolken decorirt waren, herantrat.

Der Chor erscheint von der Seite der Heimath durch die rechte Parodos 123, und entfernt sich auch durch dieselbe am Schlusse. Denn wiewohl Thoas verspricht, den Chor nach Hellas zu entsenden, so spricht doch weder der Chor seinen Entschluss es alsbald zu thun aus, noch trifft Thoas dazu auf der Stelle Vorkehrungen. Thoas muss nach seinem Palaste hin abgehen; eine besondere Andeutung, dass er es thut, fehlt freilich.

Der Chor verlässt übrigens im ganzen Stücke die Orchestra nicht; denn selbst 1068, als Iphigeneia ihn beschwört *πρός σε δεξιᾶς, σὲ καί σ' ἰκνοῦμαι, σὲ δὲ φίλης παρηίδος γονάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἐν δόμοισι φιλτάτων*, wo sie demnach sich bestimmt an einzelne Frauen des Chores wendet, und ihnen eben darum näher treten muss, ist an ein Besteigen der Bühne nicht zu

denken, geschweige denn dass Iphigeneia in die Orchestra gehen sollte. Sie tritt nur näher an den Rand des Logeion heran. — Die *πρόσπολοι*, welche dem Orestes und Pylades die Fesseln abnehmen und später in den Tempel gesendet werden (vergl. 470 und 725), sind Diener des Königs, die der Dichter von der Bühne entfernen musste, damit die Erkennungsscene nur in Anwesenheit des Chores vor sich gehen konnte.

### I o n.

Die Handlung geht vor dem Tempel Apollon's in Delphoi vor; dieser Tempel ist daher der Mittelpunkt der Scenerie. Er ist nach den Andeutungen, welche das Stück darbietet, und die freilich keineswegs ganz bestimmt sind, nicht das Bild eines den frühern Zeiten angehörigen Tempels, sondern er war mehr so dargestellt, wie Hellas deren viele in seiner Glanzperiode aufzuweisen hatte. Der Reichthum an Säulen (185), sein mannigfacher äusserer Sculpturschmuck (denn Sculpturen sollen doch die Bildwerke ohne Zweifel vorstellen) bezeugen es. An den Gesimsen (*θριγκοῖς*) des Tempels sind *ἀναθήματα* befestigt 156, 177, 107. Wenn die *μαντεῖα αἰπεινά* genannt werden (739), so kann es eben sowohl darum geschehen sein, weil der Tempel auf hoher Grundlage (38) errichtet mit Treppen versehen ist, die zu ihm hinanführen, als weil er selbst auf einem Abhange lag. Hier scheint er in Rücksicht auf das Erstere das Prädicat erhalten zu haben, und es werden also auch Treppen, die zu ihm wie zu den meisten Tempeln hinanführten, nicht gefehlt haben; weshalb auch (38, 510) die ihn einfassenden *κρηπίδες* erwähnt werden. Vor dem Tempel befand sich ein Vorplatz (121, 185), über den, da er abschüssig gewesen zu sein scheint, ein gewundener Pfad 743\*) zu ihm hinangeführt hat. — Der Tempel scheint übrigens hier nicht minder, wie der in der Taurischen Iphigeneia erforderliche, schräg vor den Zuschauern gestanden, also halb von der Seite gesehen worden zu sein. Nur bei solcher Stellung konnte eine lange Reihe Friesbilder dem Chor und den Zuschauern sichtbar werden; nur dann liess sich der Ausgang zum Tempel auf Stufen (743) ohne grosse

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\*) *Στίβος περιφερής* ein gewundener Pfad, so dass Anlass da war, auf ihm an den Rand des Logeion zu kommen, und dort mit dem Chore zu reden. So wenigstens erklärt Donner den Ausdruck, anders freilich Seidler und Hermann.

Schwierigkeit dicht an den Couliissen herstellen. — Wie das Thal oder die Thalgründe (die *γύαλα θεῶν* 76, 220), die den Tempel umgaben, beschaffen waren, lässt sich nicht genau angeben. An einer Seite des Tempels aber befand sich ein Lorbeerhain (76); es scheint dies links vom Tempel gewesen zu sein, da die rechts vom Tempel befindlichen Thüren anderweitig gebraucht werden, um zwei Wege anzudeuten, von denen der eine zur Kastalischen Quelle führt, der andere den Zelten zugeht, in die sich Xuthos mit Ion begiebt, die aber selbst nicht sichtbar sind (806, 1129). Sichere Anzeichen, welcher von beiden Wegen dem Tempel näher lag, scheinen nicht vorhanden zu sein. Da aber die Quelle in der Nachbarschaft des Tempels gelegen haben dürfte, so führte wohl der Weg durch die rechte Nebenthür zu ihr, der durch die rechte Seitenthür zu den Zelten, die der Hauptsache nach nicht sichtbar können gewesen sein. Die ebenfalls nicht sichtbaren *ξενῶνες* der Kreusa können darum nicht an der rechten Seite vorausgesetzt werden, weil der Chor, der in Delphoi fremd ist, von ihnen her durch die linke Parodos in der Orchestra erscheint; sie müssen also an der linken Seitenthür, durch welche der Weg in die Fremde führt, angesetzt werden. Hinter das Lorbeergebüsch an der linken Nebenthür sie zu versetzen, erlaubt ebenfalls das Auftreten des Chores nicht. — Vor dem Tempel fehlte es sicher nicht an Altären; einer derselben wird 1255, 1258, 1280, 1306 genannt; aber wahrscheinlich wurden mehrere gesehen, wie denn auch Xuthos seine Frau heisst zu den *βωμούς* (422) draussen vor dem Tempel zu treten. — Von den Bergen der Umgegend sind sicher die Spitzen des Parnassos, die Ion auch nennt als von der Frühsonne erleuchtet (86), die auch ausserdem 714 angerufen werden, sichtbar gewesen. —

Geppert\*) meint (pag. 146), dass Euripides im Ion auf die Oertlichkeit Delphoi's in einer Weise Bezug nehme, die nicht zweifeln lasse, dass die Scene mit aller Treue und Wahrheit aufgefasst worden sei. Es will mir aber scheinen, dass Euripides bei einem Ereignisse, das sich ganz an den Delphischen Tempel und dessen nächste Umgebung anschliesst, füglich nicht weniger von der Wirklichkeit entlehnen konnte, als er davon

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\*) Genelli pag. 71 meint, dass das vom Chore besungene Peplon vor der Hauptstiege am Hyposkenion ausgehängen habe. Daran ist natürlich nicht zu denken. Die vom Chore erwähnten Bildwerke sind offenbar Theile des Tempelfrieses.

entlehnt hat. Der Tempel mit dem Lorbeerhaine und den Altären in seiner Nähe, der Parnassos und die Kastalische Quelle, die Lustzelte und Gasthäuser, mehr ist es nicht, was er von der Localität in seinem Stück berührt hat. Aber man braucht auch nicht einmal in Abrede zu stellen, dass der durch die Poesie, durch seine Spiele und sein Orakel gepriesene Tempelort, den die Scenerie darzustellen hatte, mancherlei Aehnlichkeiten mit der Wirklichkeit gehabt habe. Dennoch fehlt viel, um den Schluss zu begründen, dass der Tempel mit seiner Umgebung so dargestellt worden sei, wie er in der Wirklichkeit war. Zu einer solchen Sklaverei waren die Athener auch in der Zeit des Euripides noch nicht reif. Ueberdies, wenn der Weg aus der Fremde von links herkommend dargestellt war, so ist dies ein entschiedener Widerspruch mit der Wirklichkeit, da man den Zugang zum Tempel doch wohl nicht an der Nordseite des Tempels ansetzen kann. Thut man dies aber dennoch, so kann wiederum der Parnassos nicht gesehen worden sein, weil er alsdann den Zuschauern im Rücken lag. Wer dagegen den Tempel von Süden her sah, musste, wenn er es sehen wollte, wie es in Wirklichkeit war, die Athener von rechts her ankommen sehen; und doch konnte dies nach den Theatergesetzen nicht geschehen. Einem Widerspruche mit der Wirklichkeit entgeht man also keinesfalls. — Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; die fünf Thüren der Skene werden sämmtlich gebraucht.

Aus der Mittelthür (dem Tempel) erscheint Ion 82, denn nach 315 ruht er im Tempel selbst, und muss also am frühen Morgen von daher kommen; in den Tempel geht Xuthos 424, und kommt 517 von da zurück; 1320 kommt die Pythia heraus, und begiebt sich 1368 in den Tempel zurück. — Durch die linke Seitenthür tritt Kreusa auf (247), ferner Xuthos (401), der von dem Orakel des Trophonios herkommt (300); durch dieselbe Thür begiebt sich 428 Kreusa, die auf Geheiss ihres Mannes (423) an den Altären vor dem Tempel beten sollte, während er im Tempel verweilte, zu ihren Wirthsleuten. Sie kehrt 725 in Begleitung des Paidagogos zurück, geht 1047 wieder nach demselben Orte hin ab (1039 *εἰσω προξένων*), und kehrt 1250 zurück. — Als Fremde, die den Tempel zum ersten Male sehen (184), muss der Chor durch die linke Parodos eintreten; er bleibt in der Orchestra nahe an deren vorderem Rande (220, 226 ff.) und besieht von da die Bildwerke am Tempel. Es nöthigt also nichts ihn auf die Bühne gehen zu lassen, was

Geppert anzunehmen geneigt ist (pag. 251). — Durch die rechte Nebenthür geht Xuthos mit Ion 675, eben dahin der Paidagogos 857; von da erscheint 1106 ein Sklave, 1261 Ion. — Durch die linke Nebenthür tritt aus dem Lorbeergebüsch (1) Hermes behufs des Prologes; 81 entfernt er sich auf demselben Wege (76). — Durch die rechte Nebenthür werden (94) Diener nach der Kastalischen Quelle entsendet. — Athena erscheint 1553 bis gegen 1619 über dem Tempel (vergl. 1549) mit strahlendem Antlitze; sie hat dazu 1570 ἔζευξεν ἄρματα; sie zeigt sich also am Rande der Skenendecke oder 'vermittels des Theologeion auf einem gemalten Wagen.

Am Schlusse verschwindet Athena in der Höhe, der Chor geht durch die Parodos ab; Kreusa und Ion begeben sich in ihr Quartier, um von da nach Athen zu ziehen.

### A n d r o m a c h e.

Der Ort der Handlung ist der Platz vor dem Heiligthume der Thetis 117, 43, 135, 161 in Phthia 16; an ihn stösst der Palast des Peleus an 21, 34, 881, der zunächst mit der Handlung in Verbindung steht; er bildet also das Hauptstück der Scenerie. Sichtbar ist zugleich das ἄγαλμα θεᾶς, der Thetis, an dem Andromache beim Beginne des Stückes als ἱκέτις sitzt 116, 246, 311, und das als βωμός eine Zuflucht für Andromache bildet 411, 427, 565. Daneben waren freilich noch andere Götterbilder sichtbar 859. Das Heiligthum steht als der Heimath zugehörig an der rechten Nebenthür. Die rechte Seitenthür stellte den zur Stadt hin führenden Weg, die linke den nach der Fremde hin führenden vor, jener durch Häuser, dieser durch landschaftliche Umgebung charakterisirt. Die linke Nebenthür endlich zeigt den Weg nach Pharsalos hin an, wo Peleus wohnte. Dass dazu der an der linken Periakte befindliche Zugang nicht benutzt worden ist, lässt sich wohl nicht bezweifeln, da sonst diese Strasse gebraucht worden wäre, um die Wege nach Pharsalos 90, nach Lakedaimon 746, nach Delphoi 881, dann wieder nach Lakedaimon 1008 und endlich nach Delphoi 1070 anzudeuten. Es wäre mithin die linke Periakte so oft gedreht worden, wie sonst in keinem Trauerspiele; denn eine öftere Drehung als eine einmalige wird sich in keinem nachweisen lassen. Erscheint dagegen Peleus durch die linke Nebenthür, so braucht eine Drehung der linken Periakte nur

1070\*) einzutreten; oder wenn auch der Weg nach Delphoi 881 noch besonders durch Drehen angezeigt wurde, so war nur ein dreimaliges Umwenden der Periakte nöthig. Da aber eine Analogie zu dem letztern, dass bei dreimaliger Umwendung der Periakte nur zweierlei Gegenden zum Vorschein kommen, sich nicht beibringen lässt, überdies eine Nothwendigkeit dazu nicht vorliegt: so wird man es wohl bei dem einmaligen Drehen haben bewenden lassen. — Thüren werden fünf angewendet.

Aus dem Heiligthum der Thetis, der rechten Nebenthür, tritt (1) Andromache vor. Durch die Mittelthür erscheint aus dem königlichen Palaste 56 die Dienerin, 147 Hermione; durch sie entfernt sich letztere 268, desgleichen Menelaos mit Molottos, Andromache und den königlichen (cf. 493) Dienern 463; aus dem Palast kommen 501 Andromache, Molottos und Menelaos, 802 die Amme, 825 Hermione. — Durch die linke Nebenthür geht nach Pharsalos hin die Dienerin 90; von da kommt Peleus 547 (cf. 752 und den gleichen Fall in des Euripides Elektra), dahin geht zurück Peleus mit Andromache und Molottos 765 (cf. die ἐρημίαν ὁδοῦ 752); von da kommt Peleus 1047. — Durch die rechte Seitenthür (aus der Stadt) kommt Menelaos mit Molottos 309 (vergl. 73), durch die rechte Parodos der Chor der Phthiothiden 117. — Durch die linke Seitenthür entfernt sich Menelaos (vergl. 854 u. 918) 746; von daher kommt Orestes und zwar aus Delphoi 881 (vergl. 998 u. 1090 ff.); durch sie geht Orestes mit Hermione nach Lakedaimon 1008 (vergl. 984), kommt 1070 der Bote aus Delphoi; und endlich wird von daher der todte Neoptolemos gebracht 1166. Thetis erscheint 1231, wie die Worte des Chors 1228 ff.

*δαίμων ὃδε τις λευκὴν αἰθέρα  
πορθμευόμενος τῶν ἱπποβότων  
Φθίας πεδίων ἐπιβαίνει*

zeigen, in der Höhe, und zwar, wie bei derartigen Erscheinungen Brauch ist, an der linken Seite der Bühne in Wolken, sei es auf dem Theologeion, einer andern Maschine oder auf dem Dache der Skene; eben dort verschwindet sie auch. — Der Chor zieht nach den solennen Schlussversen durch die rechte Parodos ab. Peleus will zwar mit der Leiche nach Delphoi 1240; aber da er dazu mancherlei Vorbereitungen treffen muss,

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\*) Die Gegend, von der her Orestes 881 erscheint, braucht nicht näher angegeben zu werden.

so ist nicht zu zweifeln, dass er am Schlusse mit der Leiche sich in den königlichen Palast begiebt.

### Herakleidai.

Die Bühne stellt den Platz vor dem Tempel des Zeus Agoraios in Marathon, einem Orte der Attischen Tetrapolis 80, der ganz in der Nähe Athen's liegend gedacht und damit fast identificirt wird (198, 387), vor. Vor dem Tempel befindet sich ein Altar des genannten Gottes.\*) Ueber die weitere Umgebung des Tempels fehlt es fast ganz an Andeutungen; denn die δόμοι (477), aus denen Makaria kömmt, sind nichts anders, als der Tempel selbst, in den sich Alkmene mit den Töchtern des Herakles begeben hat (vergl. 584, 695). Dieser Tempel ist es auch, der 646 τὸδε στέγος genannt wird; und in ihm hängen an Pflöcken die Waffen, welche Iolaos 698 ff. sich bringen lässt. Andere Gebäude sind freilich in der Nähe; nämlich die, in welche Iolaos aufgefordert wird zu gehen, nachdem er den Altar verlassen hat 340, 343, 347. Sie werden aber nirgends als sichtbar bezeichnet, und es bleibt demnach zweifelhaft, ob sie wirklich dargestellt gewesen sind. Ein Zugang zu ihnen ist nicht erforderlich, und die für die Handlung nöthigen Zugänge beschränken sich auf drei: den Zugang zum Tempel durch die Mittelthür, den durch die Seitenthür in die Fremde führenden, und den an der rechten Seite nach Athen hin gehenden (der Chor tritt nämlich durch die rechte Parodos ein). Wo der 603 von Iolaos genannte Sitz sich befunden hat, ist nicht genauer angedeutet.

Wenn Geppert l. l. p. 148 sagt: „wo die Scene in (der Iphigeneia in Aulis und in) den Herakliden des Euripides war, dies lässt sich beinahe bis aufs Haar bestimmen“: so finde ich dies gewagt. Führt er doch selbst als Beweis für seine Behauptung nur an, dass in Marathon die Quelle, welche nach der Makaria benannt worden war, den Ort bezeichnet, wo die Handlung vorging. Aber gerade diese Quelle wird in keiner Weise mit der Handlung in nahe Berührung gebracht, und man sieht daher nicht ein, warum die Handlung gerade bei ihr soll vorgegangen sein. Wenn Geppert geneigt ist, den Euripus sich

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\*) Donner (zu 1 u. 33) nimmt mehrere Tempel oder Altäre an; vergl. 48, 61, 70, 73, 121 u. s. w.



als Hintergrund der Scene zu denken: so bietet das Stück dazu durchaus keine Veranlassung dar. Im Uebrigen stehen die einzelnen Theile der Scenerie entschieden in Widerspruch mit der Wirklichkeit; den Athenern lag in ihrem Theater Boiotien nach rechts hin; im Theater, wo die Fremde an der linken Seite der Bühne dargestellt wurde, musste es ihnen zur Linken liegen.

Dass Iolaos mit den Söhnen des Herakles im Beginne des Stückes sich nicht vor den Augen der Zuschauer zum Altare des Zeus hinbegeben, und dort mit ihnen als Flehender sich niederlassen kann, versteht sich von selbst. Die Worte 33 *ἔεται καθεζόμεσθα βώμιοι θεῶν* zeigen, dass die genannten Personen, sobald sie sichtbar werden, sich schon an jenem Orte befinden; sie müssen also dahin im Beginne des Stückes durch irgend welche Maschinerie sammt dem Altare hervorgeschoben oder hervorgerollt worden sein.

In Bezug auf die Scenerie findet keine Veränderung statt; Thüren werden nur drei gebraucht.

Aus dem Tempel tritt durch die Mittelthür Makaria 474, Alkmene 646, durch sie geht 701 ein Diener ab, und kehrt von daher 720 zurück. — Durch die rechte Seitenthür tritt Demophon 120 ein, geht 352 durch sie ab, und kommt abermals 381 von da. — Durch die linke Seitenthür aus der Fremde her kommt Kopreus 55, und geht dahin zurück 287; desselben Weges gehen Demophon nach 574 und Makaria nach 601; von daher kommt 630 der Diener des Hyllos; dahin geht 747 Iolaos mit seinem Diener; von da kommt ein Sklave der Alkmene 784 (vergl. hierzu die Anm. von Pflugk), endlich ein Bote mit Eurystheus 928. —

Ob Demophon nach 473 von der Bühne abgeht, ist nicht ganz klar; Donner spricht sich für dessen Entfernung aus. Da aber Demophon 567—573 aufs neue spricht, ohne dass seines Kommens gedacht worden ist: so scheint mir Donner's Ansicht nicht richtig zu sein. Dazu kommt, dass die Pronomina in 488 und 493 nur auf den König als eine anwesende Person hinweisen können, ferner dass zwischen hier und 567 kein Anlass für den König die Bühne zu verlassen da ist. Er bleibt also wohl sicher auf der Bühne, und entfernt sich erst bald nach 573. Er will, tief gerührt wie er ist, nicht bei Makaria's Abschied gegenwärtig sein, und hat überdies, nachdem er das Nöthige angeordnet hat, keinen Grund zu längerem Verbleiben. Wie bald er sich entfernt, ergiebt sich daraus, dass

**Makaria** ihre Geschwister nicht dem Könige, sondern dem Iolaos allein empfiehlt. Wäre der König noch anwesend, so müsste man das Erstere erwarten. Somit stimme ich Pflugk (vergl. dessen Bemerkung zu 565), nicht Hermann, bei.

Der Chor tritt 73 durch die rechte Parodos ein. Wenn Geppert (l. l. p. 251) geneigt ist, den Chor im Verlaufe des Stückes auf die Bühne kommen zu lassen, so kann sich dies nur auf 307 ff. beziehen. Nachdem nämlich Iolaos ausgesprochen hat, dass die Kinder des Herakles hier in Athen neue Freunde gefunden haben, sagt er zu diesen Kindern:

δότη, ὦ τέκν', αὐτοῖς χεῖρα δεξιάν,  
ὕμεῖς τε παῖσι, καὶ πέλας προσέλθετε.

Aber zu *προσέλθετε* ist Subject *τέκνα*, das *ὕμεῖς τε παῖσι* steht in parenthesi, und das *αὐτοῖς* bezieht sich nicht zunächst auf den Chor, sondern auf den auf der Bühne befindlichen König und dessen Begleitung. Dass der Chor hier auf die Bühne steige, ist in keinem Falle erforderlich.

Wohin der Sklave 891 sich verliert, ist nicht zu ersehen; es scheint da freilich etwas ausgefallen zu sein, wie schon Musgrave angedeutet hat.

Am Schlusse führen Sklaven den Eurystheus durch die rechte Seitenthür hin fort; eben dahin geht Alkmene mit den Andern. Der Chor endlich entfernt sich durch die rechte Parodos.

### Die Hiketiden des Euripides.

Schauplatz ist der Platz vor dem Tempel der Demeter und Kore (33) zu Eleusis (2), in dessen *σηκός* (30) ein Altar der Deo (93, 290) sich befindet. Wie aber der Tempel beschaffen war, lässt sich nicht recht ersehen, und auch von der Umgebung desselben erfährt man nur so viel, als für die Handlung durchaus anzudeuten nöthig war. — Die Athener sind das im Stücke dominirende Element, und danach sind also auch die Bedeutungen der Seiten auf der Skene zu bestimmen; an der linken Seitenthür befand sich daher der Weg nach der Fremde, an der rechten der nach Athen hinführende; der Tempel der Demeter lag in der Mitte der Skene.\*) Der Ort, an welchem die sechs Helden verbrannt wurden, wird durch

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\*) Die 938 genannten *οἶκοι* sind nichts als der Tempel selbst.

die rechte Nebenthür erreicht worden sein; der, wo **Kapaneus** verbrannt wurde, lag in der Richtung der linken Nebenthür, unter einem hohen steilen Felsen, der demnach dem Tempel zur Seite sichtbar war. Der Scheiterhaufen war (980)\*) sichtbar. Dennoch scheinen auch neben dem Tempel sich noch Häuser befunden zu haben; es sind dies die, bei denen (*μελάθρων ἐκτός* 982) die vom Theseus für die Todten bestimmten Ehrengaben, die doch nicht aus dem Tempel genommen sein konnten, erblickt werden. Da zu ihnen führende Thüren nicht sichtbar zu sein brauchen, so können die Häuser leicht so dargestellt worden sein, dass man keine Thüren in ihnen erblicken konnte. — Geppert (pag. 152) ist der Ansicht, dass die Schutzfliehenden des Euripides unter allen Stücken, die uns erhalten sind, den reichsten Beweis dafür darbieten, dass die Scenerie der Alten eine Uebereinstimmung mit der Wirklichkeit angestrebt habe, und er meint sogar die Stelle bestimmen zu können, von woher der Anblick der Skene aufgenommen worden sei. Es soll die Stelle sein, wo dem Pausanias die Gräber der sieben Argivischen Heerführer gezeigt wurden. „Den Hintergrund der Scene, sagt er, bildete auch hier wahrscheinlich das Meer, den Mittelpunkt derselben der Tempel der Persephone und Demeter (89), in dessen Nähe sich noch andere Gebäude befanden (940), vor denen man die Gräber errichtete, und hinter denen sich ein Fels erhob.“ Warum das Meer in der Scenerie den Hintergrund bilden soll, dazu sieht man keine Veranlassung. Uebrigens, wo soll es im Hintergrunde erscheinen? Die Seitenthüren, durch welche Wege nach Athen und Theben hingehen, erlauben nicht, dass es in deren Nähe erscheine. Wenn es der Wirklichkeit gemäss sichtbar werden sollte, konnte das Meer nur an der linken Seite erscheinen; aber gerade da darf es auf dem Theater nicht gesehen werden. Der Hintergrund, die eigentliche Skenenwand, stellt, wie daran nicht gezweifelt werden kann, den Tempel und den daneben befindlichen Fels vor. Was aber dahinter lag, wurde, wenn es niedrig war, verdeckt; also konnte das Meer dort auch nicht sichtbar werden. Da aber ferner der Dichter auf dasselbe keine Rücksicht nimmt, warum sollte es dargestellt werden? denn die Scenerie ist um keines andern Zweckes willen da als der zur Anschauung kommenden Handlung wegen. Wenn die 938 erwähn-

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\*) *θαλάμας τὰσδε Καπανέως τύμβον θ' ἱερόν* ist die Umschreibung für: Scheiterhaufen.

ten Gebäude wirklich etwas anderes sein sollten, als der Tempel selbst (und die Möglichkeit hiervon kann nicht geleugnet werden): so sind doch Gebäude neben Tempeln etwas so Gewöhnliches, dass man hieraus nicht schliessen darf, es sei speciell die Umgebung des Tempels zu Eleusis dargestellt worden. Weiter denkt sich Geppert die Gräber der Helden vor diesen Gebäuden errichtet. Aber war dies wirklich der Fall, dann bekommt der Tempel, der ganz nahe dem Schauplatze sein muss, eine zu entfernte Lage, oder die Gräber liegen dem Tempel um vieles näher, als man nach dem, was dem Pausanias gesagt wurde, annehmen darf; und die Scenerie wäre also ein sehr untreues Bild der Wirklichkeit. Ich finde nur Eines, was entschieden für eine gewisse Uebereinstimmung der Scenerie mit der Wirklichkeit spricht, und das ist der steile Fels, unter und neben dem der Tempel sich befand. Aber daraus zu schliessen, dass das gesammte durch die Scenerie gegebene Bild eine Copie der Wirklichkeit sei, würde ich für übereilt halten, zumal da, was hier geschah, in grauer Urzeit geschehen sein sollte, also der spätere Ort nicht die Lage und das Aussehen des frühern zu haben brauchte.

Ausser einer Drehung der linken Periakte findet keine Veränderung der Scenerie statt. Thüren werden eigentlich nur vier gebraucht; denn statt der linken Nebenthür scheint das über ihr befindliche Pulpitum in Anwendung zu kommen.

Im Anfange des Stückes befindet sich Aithra mit den sieben Müttern vor der Mittelthür am Altare; auch die Dienerinnen der Frauen müssen unfern von ihnen beim Beginne sich vorfinden, wie auch Adrastos, von dem es 22 heisst, dass er daselbst anwesend sei (*κεῖται* und dazu Markl.), und zwar (104) an den *πύλαις* des Tempels, nebst den sieben Kindern der gefallenen Fürsten. Auf welche Weise ist alles dies geschehen? Die unmittelbar am Altare befindlichen Personen können in keiner Weise vor den Augen der Zuschauer aus den Coulissen gekommen sein und ihre Stellung allmählich eingenommen haben. Denn wären sie vor den Augen des Publicums einzeln hervorgetreten, und hätten sie sich so um Aithra geschaart, wie konnte Aithra, zu der noch keine der Frauen gesprochen hatte, sagen, sie sei von deren Wunsche unterrichtet? sie habe bereits einen Herold wegen dieser Sache an Theseus geschickt? Das stumme Spiel, welches Geppert (pag. 153) dem Beginne des Stückes voraufgehen lässt, genügt also nicht, die Situation, in welcher sich Aithra im Beginne des Stückes befindet, zu erklären, und es

kann mithin keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass Aithra mit den sie umgebenden Frauen und mit dem Altare beim Beginne des Stückes hervorgeschoben oder herausgerollt worden ist. In dem Momente aber, wo dies geschah, traten die Dienerinnen der Frauen an die eine Seite der Tempelthür, Adrastos mit den Kindern an die andere Seite derselben vor.

Durch die linke Seitenthür, welche den Weg nach Theben anzeigt, kommt der Herold, der sich 584 eben dahin wieder entfernt; eben dahin geht ferner Theseus 597 (vergl. 634). Von daher kommt der Bote 634, ferner 794 die sieben Leichen\*) und alsbald auch Theseus (vergl. 838). Nachdem die linke Periakte gedreht worden ist, erscheint von dort 1034 Iphis; er geht 1113 eben dahin ab. — Durch die rechte Nebenthür kommt von Athen Theseus 86; durch sie geht Aithra mit Adrastos und Theseus ab 364 (vergl. 355); von dort kommen Theseus, Adrastos und der Herold 381 (in Bezug auf Adrastos vergl. 513). — Die rechte Nebenthür, die zu dem Orte führt, wo die sechs Leichen verbrannt werden, passiren Adrastos, Theseus und die Kinder (954, vergl. 940); sie kommen durch dieselbe Thür 1114 zurück. — In der Gegend der linken Nebenthür befindet sich der Scheiterhaufen des Kapaneus, auf den sich Euadne aus der Höhe herunterstürzt. — Athena ist von 1183 bis 1234 offenbar in der Höhe sichtbar; also wohl über dem Tempel. Die Art, wie sie zum Vorschein kommt, ist nur aus ihrem plötzlichen Erscheinen zu folgern. — Am Schlusse begiebt sich Adrastos mit Theseus und den Kindern nach Athen durch die rechte Seitenthür, um dort den Eid ewiger Freundschaft zu schwören. Eben dahin begiebt sich zu gleichem Zwecke der Chor durch die rechte Parodos, der also keinen Anlass hat, deshalb die Bühne zu besteigen.

Im Einzelnen ist noch Folgendes zu bemerken. Wenn von Euadne 987 gesagt wird: αἰθερίαν ἔστηκε πέτραν, ἣ τῶνδε δόμων ὑπερακρίζει, τήνδε ἐμβαίνουσα κέλευθον, so zeigt das ἔστηκε, dass sie plötzlich und mit einem Male auf dem über dem Scheiterhaufen des Kapaneus hervorragenden Felsen erscheint, und also von hinten her, auf einem durch die Scenerie zum Theil verdeckten Balcon vortritt, nicht aber von einer im Niveau

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\*) Geppert (pag. 155) nimmt freilich an, dass der Leichenzug durch die Parodos in die Orchestra komme, und von da aus mit den Worten (940) στεῖχέτω δ' ἄχθῃ νεκρῶν nach der Skene sich in Bewegung setze, wo die Leichen vor den Augen der Zuschauer verbrannt würden.

des Logeion liegenden Thür hinaufgestiegen ist. Der Fall ist analog dem in der Euripideischen Elektra vorkommenden. — Von oben her will sich Euadne in die Flammen des Scheiterhaufens stürzen 1017, und sie thut es auch 1071. Da der Scheiterhaufen vom Chore gesehen wird, muss er auch den Zuschauern sichtbar sein. Da aber selbst das Verbrennen einer Puppe in einem Haufen Holz nicht so schnell vor sich gehen kann, wie die Handlung des Stückes verlangt: so muss man wohl annehmen, dass vom Scheiterhaufen nur ein Theil neben dem Felsen sichtbar war, der grösste Theil desselben hingegen durch den Felsen verdeckt wurde. Das Herabstürzen der Euadne liess sich in dem Falle leicht darstellen; sie durfte nur auf dem Balcon etwas zur Seite treten, oder, da der Balcon selbst den Zuschauern nicht sichtbar war, sich schnell herunterbeugen, und sie war dadurch dem Anblicke der Zuschauer plötzlich entzogen. Das Brennen des Scheiterhaufens aber wurde wohl zumeist durch den Glanz der hinter dem Berge leuchtenden Fackeln dargestellt. An das Verbrennen einiger Holzblöcke, aus denen man vielleicht geneigt sein könnte den Scheiterhaufen bestehen zu lassen, kann eben so wenig wegen der Kürze der Zeit, in der alles geschehen sein muss, gedacht werden, als wegen der Nähe der feuerfänglichen Coulissen. Dazu kommt, dass auf Flammen und Rauch im Texte kein besonderer Accent gelegt wird, und man ist daher durchaus nicht befugt, ein grossartiges Schauspiel der Art hier vorauszusetzen.

Wo der Chor während des Stückes sich befindet, das hat bereits zu mancherlei Erörterungen Veranlassung gegeben. Namentlich hat Kock (l. l. p. 26—28) die Schwierigkeiten, welche das anfängliche Erscheinen desselben betreffen, sodann die, welche den Ort betreffen, an dem er sich im Verlaufe der Handlung befindet, offen und vorurtheilsfrei besprochen. Ueber das Erscheinen desselben im Beginn des Stückes ist bereits gehandelt worden; es liess sich nicht daran zweifeln, dass er sich auf dem Logeion befand, und dass namentlich die sieben Mütter die Aithra mit Oelzweigen in den Händen am Altare dicht umgaben (10, 44, 63, 93 ff. 359), und Kock hat vollkommen Recht, wenn er (p. 27) sagt: „es giebt kein Stück, in dem sich der Chor gleich von Anfang an in der Orchestra vorfände, ohne zugleich entweder beim Einzuge, oder doch nach seiner Ankunft auf seinem Standorte irgend ein Lied vorzutragen.“ Es bleibt übrig zu sehen, welche Stellung der Chor weiterhin



einnimmt. Bis 359, wo Theseus die greisen Frauen auffordert, mit den Zweigen vom Altare sich zu entfernen, kann in der Stellung des Chors keine Veränderung vorgegangen sein. Mit 364 hingegen, wo Theseus mit Aithra abgeht, müssen die Greisinnen ihren Platz am Altare aufgegeben haben, weil Aithra sonst sich nicht, ohne einer Schuld zu verfallen, vom Altare hätte entfernen können. Da aber die Greisinnen von nun an keinen Anlass haben, im Bereiche des Heiligthums zu verbleiben, so muss man geneigt sein anzunehmen, dass sie und der Chor überhaupt sich jetzt zu dem Orte hinbegeben, der dem Chore ordnungsmässig zukommt, in die Orchestra. Dass der Chor es wirklich thut, wird freilich nicht gesagt; aber es war unnöthig es zu sagen, weil die Zuschauer sahen, was er that; und das während des Herniedersteigens in die Orchestra gesungene Lied (365—380) ist die Parodos (nicht das mit 42 beginnende, welches Kock dafür erklärt). Die erste bestimmte Anzeige, dass sich der Chor in der Orchestra befindet, ist den Worten des Thebanischen Heroldes zu entnehmen. Er sagt (470), dass Theseus den Adrastos fortreiben solle, falls er mit *στέμματα* erscheine. So konnte er nur sprechen, wenn er die Greisinnen nicht neben sich oder auf dem Logeion erblickte. Wäre dies der Fall gewesen, so wäre es mehr gewesen, als der Herold selbst als möglich vorausgesetzt hatte. Daraus ergibt sich also, dass der Chor sich schon in der Orchestra befand. Eben darauf führt weiter das mit 778 beginnende Lied. 815 nämlich verlangen die Mütter die Leichen ihrer vor Theben gefallenen Söhne, die eben herzugetragen werden, zu umarmen. Die Antwort des Adrastos *ἔχεις* gestattet ihnen dies nicht; denn sonst könnten die Frauen nicht ergänzend hinzusetzen: *πημάτων γ' ἄλυσ βάρος*. Daran schliesst sich ferner nichts, was auf Umarmen, Küssen, was auf das Aussehen der Leichen Bezug hätte, sondern nur Aeusserungen allgemeinerer Art über die Grösse und Gewalt ihrer Leiden und Schmerzen. In keinem Falle sind also die Mütter in der Nähe der Leichen; sie sind nicht auf der Skene\*). — Zu demselben Resultate führt auch eine spätere Stelle. 941 sagt nämlich Adrastos zu den Frauen: *ἴτ', ὦ τάλαιναί μητέρες, τέκνων πέλας*, um die Kinder zu berühren (943). Wären die Frauen damals auf dem Logeion ge-

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\*) Die Leichen aber sind um 820 sicher schon da; denn eine spätere Ankunft derselben wird nirgends bemerklich gemacht (vergl. auch 838—841).



wesen, so wären sie gewiss schon vor der Aufforderung auf die Leichen zugeeilt, aber nichts der Art geschieht; sie sind also von den Leichen ferner, und zwar in der Orchestra, so dass sie die grässliche Verstümmelung, welche die Gefallenen erfahren haben, nicht sehen können. Damit stimmt auch überein, was aus dem letzten Chorliede 1114 zu ersehen ist, und der Chor bleibt demnach nur bis gegen 360 auf der Bühne; während des ganzen übrigen Stückes befindet er sich in der Orchestra.

Aus welchen Personen der Chor besteht, darüber kann kein Zweifel sein; es sind die sieben die Aithra am Altar umgebenden Frauen, und wie aus 71 zu ersehen ist (*ἄγων ὃδ' ἄλλος ἔρχεται, γόος γόνων διάδοχος· ἀχοῦσιν προσπόλων χέρας*), deren Dienerinnen, die 1115 *ἀμφίπολοι* genannt werden, die 71 mit Gesang in das Lied der Greisinnen einfallen. Nur darüber lässt sich also streiten, wie viel von den Liedern und Reden des Chores den Greisinnen, wie viel den Dienerinnen zuzutheilen ist; und es lohnt wohl, in dieser Beziehung die Chorgesänge zu durchmustern. Im ersten Chorgesange fallen die zwei ersten Strophen und Antistrophen entschieden den Greisinnen zu (45, 52, 54, 59, 69, 70), die dritte Strophe und Antistrophe den Dienerinnen (72, 73, 83, 84), der grösste Theil also den alten Frauen, weit Geringeres deren Begleiterinnen. Dies Verhältniss ist auch im weiteren Verfolge zu bemerken; ja das bei weitem Meiste kann nur von den Greisinnen ausgesprochen werden, oder ist doch für diese weit angemessener als für die Dienerinnen. So gehört den ersteren 193 u. 194, ferner 263 ff. (wie eine Vergleichung von 266 mit 268, falls diese Worte dem Chor zugehören, zeigt), 273, 274, 276, 279, 280, 283, 285, endlich 332 und 333 wegen der Anrede *φιλότῃ* den Müttern zu, und nur 250 und 251 haben einen etwas unentschiedeneren Charakter. — In dem 365 beginnenden Liede kann höchstens die Antistrophe von den Dienerinnen gesungen worden sein, das Andere (vergl. 370, 375, 376) fällt unzweifelhaft den greisen Frauen zu. Von den zunächst folgenden Worten des Chores (es sind nur 463 u. 464, 511 u. 512 und 564 u. 565), die nur gelegentliche unerhebliche Bemerkungen enthalten, lässt sich nur sagen, dass kein Grund da ist, sie den greisen Frauen abzusprechen. In dem nächstfolgenden Wechselgesange zwischen zwei Halbchören (598—633) ist es ganz natürlich an eine Theilung des Chores in Mütter und Dienerinnen zu denken; und in der That eignen sich auch die Verse 599, 606 u.

607, 613, 622 u. 623 nur für das erste Hemichorion, die Mütter; der Rest fällt den Dienerinnen zu. Die bis zum nächsten Stasimon vorkommenden Bemerkungen (es sind in fast 200 Versen nur 641—643, 647—649 und 731—733) sind abermals sehr untergeordneter Art, so dass sich aus ihnen nicht mit Bestimmtheit ersehen lässt, wem sie zufallen. Nach dem Verhältnisse aber, was sich bis dahin bemerken liess, werden auch diese Worte wohl den Müttern zuzutheilen sein. Das nächste beim Herannahen der Leichen gesungene Lied, in welches auch Adrastos ab und zu einfällt, lässt eine deutlichere Unterscheidung zu. Strophe und Antistrophe 1 gehören wegen 782, 786, 789, 791, 793 den greisen Frauen zu; eben so die zweite Strophe (798, 802—804, 807 u. 810) und Antistrophe (815 ff. 822, 825). Bis zu dem 955 beginnenden Stasimon kommt der Chor nur 918—924 zu Worte, und diese Verse fallen wegen 919, 920, 924 unzweifelhaft wieder den greisen Frauen zu. In dem mit 955 beginnenden Stasimon fällt die grössere erste Hälfte bis 979 wegen 956 ff. 963, 966 ff. 972 denselben Frauen zu, und erst die auf äusserliche Zwischenfälle aufmerksam machenden Verse, die zum Theil die bisherigen Klagen schnell abbrechen (vergl. 980—989, 1009—1011, 1031—1033), sind den Dienerinnen beizulegen. Welchem Theile des Chores 1072, 1074 und 1075 zufallen müssen, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; 1077—1079 (vergl. *πόλις ἐμὰ*) eignet sich nur für die Greisinnen. Wie das mit 778 beginnende Lied, so fällt das letzte mit 1114 beginnende so offenbar den Müttern zu, dass eine ins Einzelne gehende Untersuchung überflüssig wird; und Alles weist also darauf hin, dass die Dienerinnen nur selten und ausnahmsweise selbstthätig auftreten, die bei weitem meisten lyrischen Parthien und selbst ein Theil der vom Chor gesprochenen Trimeter entschieden den greisen Frauen zufallen.

### Die Perser des Aischylos.

Die Handlung geht vor dem königlichen goldgeschmückten Palaste (140, 158) in Susa (731, 762) vor sich; der Palast nimmt also die Mitte der Scenerie ein. Neben ihm befindet sich und zwar an der Seite der Heimath das Grabmal des Dareios in Gestalt eines Tumulus; endlich fehlte an der rechten Seite auch wohl nicht die Andeutung der nahen Hauptstadt 762. Weitere Andeutungen in Bezug auf die Scenerie bietet das Stück nicht dar, und eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt auch

nicht ein. Thüren werden nur drei gebraucht: die Mittelthür, welche in den Palast führt, die den Weg in die Fremde anzeigende linke Seitenthür, und endlich die rechte Nebenthür, vor welcher das Grabmal sich befindet. Doch wird, wie sich bald zeigen wird, nicht sowohl die Thür, als vielmehr der über der Thür befindliche Balcon gebraucht. Die rechte Seitenthür wird nicht benutzt. Da aber der Chor neben ihr erscheint, so war wohl ein Zugang in jener Gegend auch angedeutet. Der Chor nämlich, aus edlen Persern bestehend, tritt aus der Stadt kommend durch die rechte Parodos auf.

Ausserdem ist noch Folgendes zu bemerken: wenn Droysen annimmt, dass sich über dem Palaste die Aussicht auf die Persische Hauptstadt eröffnete, so geht er mit seinen Anforderungen an die Scenerie weit über das hinaus, was die Handlung oder das Stück erfordert. Ueberdies wenn der im Vordergrund befindliche Königspalast und nicht minder das Grabmal als ansehnliche, hohe Gebäude dargestellt gewesen sind: so muss schon dadurch den Zuschauern jede Aussicht auf das hinter ihnen Befindliche benommen worden sein. Da aber ausserdem der Chor der edlen Perser von der Stadt her kommend durch die rechte Parodos eintritt, so kann, was von Susa etwa dargestellt war, nur an oder neben der rechten Periakte gesehen worden sein. Dass man wirklich etwas von der Art dort gesehen hat, darauf deutet auch 762 hin. Unbegründet ist auch die Ansicht Droysen's, dass der übrige Raum ausser dem Palaste nach Art der hohen Pforte zu Persepolis mit Säulenreihen, an denen sich die reichen Sitze der Hofleute befunden hätten, verziert gewesen sei. Da der Chor erst am Schlusse des Stückes auf die Bühne kommt, und zwar nur um sich alsbald wieder von ihr zu entfernen: so würden die den Edlen bestimmten Sitze das ganze Stück hindurch leer geblieben, und also eine unangemessene Zugabe zur Scenerie gewesen sein. Dass Säulenreihen irgendwie im Stücke angedeutet worden, habe ich nicht bemerkt. Sind dergleichen da gewesen, so können sie nicht über die Vorderseite des Palastes hinausgegangen sein, weil sie sonst den Anblick von des Darios Grabmal wenigstens zum Theil den Zuschauern entzogen hätten.

Das Grabmal selbst erklärt Hermann (zu 650) mit Recht für einen Tumulus; wird es doch 661 geradezu *ὄχθος* genannt, was Choeph. 4 ff. und bei Sophokles für Grabhügel gebraucht wird. Als königliche Grabstätte war der Grabhügel sicher

von bedeutender Höhe, zumal da er neben dem grossartigen königlichen Palaste sich befand. Auch hebt der Dichter selbst an ihm *ἄκρον κόρυμβον* hervor. Das Vorbild zu demselben waren wohl die den Hellenen sehr wohl bekannten Tumuli der Lydischen Könige bei Sardes. Schon wegen der eben genannten Gestalt desselben kann es nicht durch die Thymele in der Orchestra, wie Genelli (p. 73) und Droysen für wahrscheinlich halten, dargestellt worden sein. Um über dessen Lage ins Klare zu kommen, ist zu beachten, dass der Schatten des Dareios auf ihm sichtbar wird, nicht aber sich erst zu ihm hinbegiebt. Der Wunsch des Chores 661: *ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου* schliesst zwar ein allmähliches Hinzutreten zu dem Grabmale nicht aus. Da aber der Chor vor dem Anfange der Rede des Dareios auf dessen Erscheinen nicht aufmerksam macht, so ist daraus mit Sicherheit zu entnehmen, dass weder er noch die Zuschauer den Dareios früher gewahr werden, als da wo er zu reden beginnt. Der Schatten muss demnach plötzlich, wie auch Hermann meint, erschienen sein, und zwar da, wo ihn der Chor zu sehen wünschte, auf der Spitze des Grabhügels, weil der Dichter ohnedies den Edlen nicht den Wunsch in der Weise in den Mund gelegt hätte. Ein solches Erscheinen des Geistes liess sich aber nur dann ohne grosse Schwierigkeiten bewerkstelligen, wenn der Grabhügel nicht frei auf der Bühne da stand, sondern neben dem Palaste, und zwar gemalt wie der Palast, dargestellt war. Auch wenn er hoch hinaufragte, war nichts für den Schauspieler, der zu erscheinen hatte, nöthig, als auf einen der Balcone in den höheren Stockwerken hinauszutreten, und falls es noch nöthig war, einige Stufen hinanzusteigen; er stand dann anscheinend auf der Spitze des Grabhügels, und konnte ebenso schnell, wenn es nöthig war, von dort wieder verschwinden. — Von einer stygischen Pforte, aus der Droysen, Genelli und Donner den Schatten kommen lassen, kann demgemäss hier keine Rede sein. Aber ebenso wenig kann auch das *ἀναπίεσμα* angewendet worden sein, wie Hermann meint; denn dieses, eine auf dem Boden des Logeion befindliche Fallthür, konnte nicht das plötzliche Erscheinen und Verschwinden des Geistes auf dem Tumulus bewirken. Haben dagegen die Hellenen eine dem ähnliche Hebemaschine gehabt, um auch ein schnelles gleichmässiges Erheben von den Balconen aus zu bewirken: so wird eine solche sicher hier angewendet worden sein. — Für die Lage des Tumulus an der rechten Seite des Palastes ist nur das

unsichere Anzeichen da, dass Xerxes bei seiner Rückkehr von Hellas, als er die Bühne betritt, auf das Grabmal keine Rücksicht nimmt; es scheint ihm demnach der Palast näher gelegen zu haben als das sonst hoch verehrte Grab. — Als Atossa am Grabe Trankopfer bringt (612), steigt sie natürlich nicht in die Orchestra, wie Donner und Droysen in Folge der von ihnen vorausgesetzten Scenerie annehmen müssen, hinab. Auch so steht der Chor, der in der Orchestra, dem Rande des Logeion nahe, sich befindet, ihr nahe (687 ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου), da dem Logeion eine eigentliche Tiefe abgeht. — Auf der Mitte der Skene eine Statue Apollon's zu denken, wie Droysen und Donner thun, dazu fehlt jeder Anlass. Nicht dem Apollon opfert Atossa, sondern am Grabe des Dareios; Apollon wird bei der Beschwörung des Dareios nicht angerufen, sondern die Unterirdischen. Mag also auch Pollux eine derartige Statue der Skene vindiciren, hier fehlte sie eben so gewiss, wie sie vor der Höhle Philoktet's, des Kyklopen oder bei der Ansicht von Heerlagern fehlte.

Dass Atossa 158 aus der Mittelthür kommt, dahin 526 (vergl. 610) zurückgeht, 601 wieder von dort herkommt und 853 von neuem dahin zurückgeht, 1048 auch Xerxes, dass von der linken Seite her 248 der Bote, 886 Xerxes auftritt, bedarf nach dem Gesagten kaum der Erwähnung; der Bote verliert sich um 526 von der Bühne. Ausserdem ist etwa noch Folgendes zu bemerken: Donner ist der Ansicht, dass die Persischen Greise sich vor Atossa, als sie vom Wagen steigt, niederwerfen. Nun zeigt 610 allerdings, dass die Königin da nicht zu Fuss ankommt; aber ὄχημα braucht keineswegs ein Wagen zu sein. Es bezeichnet hier vielmehr eine Art Thron (wie auch Droysen vermuthet), auf dem die Königin sitzt, als sie aus dem Palaste getragen wird. Ein mit Rossen bespannter Wagen ist auf der antiken Bühne nicht nachzuweisen; er konnte auf ihr weder aus der Mittelthür (hier dem Palaste), noch von der Seite her erscheinen; jenes nicht, weil das Niveau des Logeion nicht mit dem der Thür übereinkommt, letzteres nicht, weil Seitenthüren, namentlich grosse, fehlen. — Die Frage in Bezug auf den Wagen wiederholt sich auch in Bezug auf Xerxes, da nicht durchaus klar ist, ob er zu Fuss oder zu Wagen erscheint. Hermann bemerkt zu 971, dass der König auf einer ἀρμάμαξα, nicht zu Fuss, ankommt, setzt aber alsbald hinzu, dass er, *quum descendisset, in conspectum et ad alloquium chori prodierat*. Demnach scheint er den Wagen selbst den Zuschauern

nicht vorzuführen, sondern anzunehmen, dass der König zu Fuss auftritt. Gewiss verhält es sich auch so. Wäre der König im Wagen sitzend erschienen, so würde entweder sein Absteigen von ihm bemerklich gemacht werden, oder der Chor würde ihm dabei behülflich gewesen sein. Nichts von all dem ist hier der Fall, und also selbst dann, wenn die zu 971 von Hermann gegebene Erklärung die richtige ist, folgt daraus keineswegs, dass der Wagen gesehen worden ist. Ja, der Dichter scheint dies absichtlich vermieden zu haben. Das Auftreten des Xerxes zu Fuss steht in grellem Gegensatze zu der kurz vorher aus dem Palaste auf einem Thron hervorgetragenen Atossa, in grellem Gegensatze zu dem, wie sonst der König vor seinem Volke sich zeigte. — Was Hermann zu 886 in Betreff der Kleidung, in welcher der König erschien, sagt: *prodit Xerxes regio ornatu cum satellitibus, quorum unus vestem, quam in bello gestaverat, et arma tenet. Non enim squalidum et lacerum producere Aeschyleum est. Ideo monuerat Darius Atossam, ut filio dignum ornatum ferens obviam iret: quod factum esse extra scenam apparet. Aliter ista de veste Xerxis lacerata inepte dicta essent.* scheint mir nicht richtig. Da Xerxes auf seine schlechten, zerrissenen Kleider gerade so aufmerksam macht (999 πέπλον ἐπέροηξ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κακῶν), wie wenige Verse darauf auf die geringe Zahl seiner Begleiter (γυμνός εἰμι προπομπῶν): so muss man annehmen, dass, so wie nur Wenige ihn begleiteten, so auch der König noch in Lumpen gekleidet war, zumal da der Schatten des Dareios auf eine derartige Erscheinung schon im Voraus hingewiesen hatte\*). Ferner wenn Atossa dem Könige Kleider entgegen sendete, warum hat sie ihm nicht auch eine angemessene Begleitung, einen glänzenden Wagen gesendet? Und wo ist Atossa geblieben? hat sie, die dem Sohne die Rückkehr in seine Residenz hat erleichtern wollen, ihm nicht entgegenzueilen und ihn in die Stadt begleiten wollen oder können? — Hermann findet es dem Aischylos nicht angemessen, dass der König in zerrissenem Gewande erscheine. Ist es würdevoller, wenn ein König sich die Lumpen, die er abgelegt hat, nachtragen lässt, um sie zeigen zu können? wenn er mit seinen Lumpen kokettirt? Dass ein König nach unsäglichem Wehe, das ihn betroffen, nach eiliger Flucht, in zerrissenen Kleidern erscheint, thut der Würde des Aischylos keinen Eintrag. Aber

\*) πάντα κακῶν ὑπ' ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σώματι στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων. 837.



weiter: warum hat der König, nachdem er glänzende Kleider angelegt, noch die Lumpen bei sich behalten? wusste er etwa schon, dass die edlen Perser seiner harren, und er da eine passende Gelegenheit haben werde, die Lappen vorzuzeigen? So gut die Diener mit den neuen Kleidern zu ihm gelangt sind, ohne über die Bühne zu gehen, eben so gut hätten sie sich auf ungesesehenen Wegen mit den zerrissenen entfernen können. Dazu kommt: wo und wie hat Atossa den König vor seinem Erscheinen mit neuen Gewändern ausgestattet? Atossa war in ihren Palast gegangen, um dort neue Gewänder zu suchen und dem Sohne damit entgegen zu eilen. Ist sie nun auf einem andern Wege, als über die Bühne hin, ihm entgegen gefahren, oder hat sie einen Boten über die Bühne hin oder auf andern Wegen ihm entgegen gesandt? Aus dem Palaste her ist Niemand zum Vorschein gekommen, also nur auf andern Wegen kann es geschehen sein. Aber es ist gegen alle Analogie in der Tragödie (und selbst die Komödie hat sich nur äusserst selten Ausnahmen davon erlaubt), dass eine am Orte der Handlung befindliche Person den Zuschauern unsichtbar ihren Wohnort verlässt, und mit anderen von aussen nahenden Personen, die auf dem Wege der Fremde ankommen, sich in Verbindung setzt. Ja es gehört schon zu den grossen Seltenheiten, dass Schauspieler aus einer andern Thür auftreten, als aus der, in die sie von der Bühne her eingetreten sind; und selbst dann ist es nie unterblieben, diese kleine Abweichung von der Regel zu motiviren. Hier fehlt eine solche Motivirung, welche auf die Nothwendigkeit von der Regel abzuweichen hinwiese, ganz. Wenn Hermann meint, dass des Dareios Auftrag den Sohn vor seiner Ankunft mit Kleidern auszustatten auch in sich schliesse, dass ihm Folge gegeben werde, weil man sonst nicht einsehe, wozu er ertheilt worden sei: so scheint er zu übersehen, dass der Auftrag nicht um der Folgen willen, die er haben soll, gegeben ist. Des Dichters Zweck ist in dem Auftrage und in der alsbald folgenden Bereitwilligkeit der Atossa ihm zu genügen erreicht. Indem den Vater auch im Grabe das ungeheure Wehe, das den Sohn betroffen hat, jammert, und er den Sohn möglichst bald getröstet zu sehen wünscht in dem, wo es möglich ist; indem in Folge dessen die Bereitwilligkeit zu helfen und die Liebe der Mutter zu dem Sohne zu Tage tritt, wird das Mitgefühl für den im Uebrigen übermüthigen Xerxes, der trotz aller elterlichen Liebe dem tiefsten Elende und der grössten Schmach verfallen ist, in dem Zuschauer rege gemacht; und



dies gerade ist es, was der Dichter erreichen wollte. Warum die Hülfe dem Xerxes nicht wirklich zukommt, ist genugsam von dem Dichter motivirt, denn 33 Verse nach der Zusage der Atossa, dem Sohne helfend und tröstend zu nahen, ist Xerxes (886) schon da; und da er in ungemessenem Schmerz über seine Verluste auftritt, da er keine Spur von erfahrener Tröstung an sich trägt, da er nicht andeutet, dass er die Liebesgaben der Mutter erhalten habe, da er nicht sagt, dass er andere Kleider als Lumpen an sich trage: so kann auch die Hülfsendung der Atossa in keinem Falle erfolgt sein. Fragt man dagegen, warum Atossa nicht wenigstens da, wo des Xerxes Ankunft erfolgt ist, alsbald ihm entgeneilt, zumal da der Schatten des Dareios ihr empfohlen hat 839

*ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εὐφρόνως σὺ πρᾶῦνον λόγοις·  
μόνης γὰρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύων ἀνέξεται·*

so ist freilich nicht zu leugnen, dass das Nichterscheinen der Königin befremdet. Aber wenn die Situation, in der der tief gedemüthigte König den Edlen seines Reiches gegenübersteht, wenn der gewaltige Umschlag des Glückes, das sich an Xerxes gezeigt hatte, nicht ganz flüchtig vor den Augen der Zuschauer vorübergehen sollte: so konnte und durfte Atossa nicht alsbald erscheinen. Denn die Mutter hätte der von Dareios erhaltenen Weisung gemäss ihn alsbald einladen müssen, mit ihr in den Palast zu gehen. Ein so schnelles Hinwegeilen aber hätte der Wirkung von des Xerxes Erscheinung bedeutenden Eintrag gethan.

Wie die Schauspieler und der Chor am Schlusse des Stückes sich entfernen, lässt sich wegen des verderbten Textes nicht mit Sicherheit angeben. Hermann nimmt an, dass der Chor den König in den Palast begleite (vergl. 1047 u. ff.), und da Atossa schon 525 zum Chor gesagt hat: *προπέμπει' ἐς δόμους*: so ist ein solches Abziehen zu erwarten gewesen. Es beginnt dasselbe bei der siebenten Antistrophe, wo Xerxes sagt: *αἶακτὸς ἐς δόμους κίε*, welche Worte auch Donner als Einladung in den Palast zu gehen fasst.

### H e l e n e.

Die Handlung geht vor dem Palaste des Aegyptischen Königs auf der Insel Pharos vor sich. Die Bühnenwand zeigt den vor dem Palaste befindlichen Platz, und die Hauptgegenstände, welche die Scenerie zeigt, sind zwei Gebäude (nur so viele werden 466 unterschieden), der königliche Palast und das Grabmal des Proteus. Der erstere (144, 1170) ist ein grosses Haus,

mit dicken hohen Wänden, darum befestigt genannt und von prächtigem Aeussern, in der Höhe mit Gesimsen oder Zinnen verziert (68, 70), mit einem grossen hehren Thor (431, 438, 789, vergl. 858 ff.). Das Grabmal des Proteus (64) mit einer *κηπίς* (547) und dunkelrothen Säulen (*ἐμπύρους ὀρθοστάτας* 547) versehen, aus Stein und zwar geglättetem (962, 986) bestehend, liegt neben dem Ausgange aus dem Königspalaste (*ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι* 1165). Oben ist es flach, so dass Menelaos daran denken kann, hinauf zu steigen und dort sich mit Helene zu tödten (842, 984). An seinem Fusse befindet sich ein Sitz (315, 324, 528, 797, 1178). Dass beide Gebäude sich dicht neben einander befinden, geht aus 1165 mit Bestimmtheit hervor; ihre Lage auf der Skene, und welchem Styl sie angehören, ist sehr unsicher. Daraus dass der von links kommende Teukros nicht alsbald die am Grabmale sitzende Helene bemerkt, dass ihm ferner der Königspalast zunächst in die Augen fällt, welches letztere auch beim Auftreten des Menelaos stattfindet, indem dieser, ohne auf das Grabmal zu achten, zu dem Palaste tritt und dort anpocht, möchte man geneigt sein zu schliessen, dass der Palast weiter nach links hin gestanden habe als das Grabmal. Damit stimmt auch, dass der König bei seiner Rückkehr von der Jagd, wobei er durch eine an der Heimathsseite befindliche Thür eintritt, alsbald sieht, dass der Sitz am Grabmale, auf dem Helene zu weilen pflegte, leer ist. Aber beides ist wenig entscheidend. Denn das grössere Gebäude musste den Blick des Fremden zuerst auf sich lenken, und der in Helene verliebte König musste vor allem deren Abwesenheit bemerken. Dennoch scheint gerade die angegebene Stellung der Gebäude dem Gange der Handlung am angemessensten zu sein. — Ob das Grabmal eine Pyramide vorgestellt hat, oder nicht, lässt sich aus den im Stücke enthaltenen Andeutungen nicht sicher ersehen. Die *κηπίς*, die sich unten an ihm befand, wie die Plattform auf der Spitze stimmen dazu sehr wohl; und auch die *ὀρθοστάται* können dabei sehr gut eine Stelle am Eingange gehabt haben; aber alles das führt doch nur zu Vermuthungen, nicht zur Gewissheit. — Die *στέγαι*, in denen Helene lange bei und unter den Dienern des Königs gelebt hat, sind kein besonderes Gebäude, sondern die im königlichen Palaste für die Dienerschaft bestimmten Räume, da besondere Wohnungen der Diener für den Gang der Handlung nirgends erforderlich sind, und alle Diener nebst Helene entschieden aus dem königlichen Palaste hervortreten, oder in denselben sich zurückbegeben, wo

sie in ein dem Orte der Handlung nahes Gebäude einzutreten haben. Eben so wenig hat die heilige Jungfrau ihren besonderen Eingang zu einem nur für sie reservirten Theile des Palastes, und letzterer hat also nur éinen Eingang. An der linken Seite der Bühnenwand führt der Weg zur Küste. Der König, der von der Jagd, also einem Theile des heimathlichen Bodens herkommt, muss einen Eingang an der rechten Seiten- oder Nebenthür gehabt haben. Durch welchen der beiden Eingänge er sichtbar wurde, lässt sich nicht sicher angeben. Das vor der rechten Nebenthür (wie es scheint) befindliche Grabmal spricht mehr für die Seitenthür. Eine zum Grabmale selbst führende Thür kommt nicht in Anwendung. — Dass das Meer nahe ist, zeigt 179; sichtbar war es nicht. Helene sagt zwar im Anfange des Stückes *Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί*, aber jede weitere Andeutung dafür, dass es sichtbar gewesen ist, fehlt, und so mag es vielleicht der Helene von ihrem Standpunkte aus nach der Intention des Dichters sichtbar gewesen sein, den Zuschauern trat es nicht vor Augen, zumal da es an der linken Seite der Skene hätte müssen gesehen werden. — Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; Thüren werden nur drei gebraucht.

Durch die Mittelthür tritt aus dem Palaste im Anfange Helene, und geht (317) zur Theonoe mit dem Chore 385 in den Palast zurück. 515 tritt der Chor, 527 Helene, 865 Theonoe aus dem Palaste, und letztere geht 1029, Helene 1106 (vergl. 1369 ff.), das Gefolge des Königs 1170 in denselben hinein. Helene tritt daraus 1185 hervor, geht mit Menelaos und dem Könige 1300 hinein; Helene kommt 1369 heraus, 1385 der König und in seinem Gefolge Menelaos. Nachdem der König nochmals 1399 hineingegangen ist, erscheint er wieder 1513. — Aus der Fremde und zwar von der Küste her erscheint durch die linke Seitenthür Teukros 68, und geht dahin 163. 386 kommt von da Menelaos, und 597 der Bote, der dahin 757 zurückkehrt. Eben dahin gehen 1450 Menelaos, Helene und die Ruderer. Darauf erscheint, nachdem der König 1390 Diener mit Schmuck zur See gesandt hat, auch 1412 einen zweiten in Betreff eines Schiffes, 1512 von dort ein Bote. — Von der Jagd her erscheint mit seinem Gefolge der König durch die rechte Seitenthür 1165, wie es scheint. Der Chor, als am Orte der Handlung zur Zeit heimisch, tritt durch die rechte Parodos ein. — 1642 erscheinen die Dioskuren. Da sie 1662 die Helene, die zum Meere fortgegangen ist, so anreden, dass sie voraussetzen, sie werde

ihre Worte hören: so können sie nur in der Höhe sichtbar werden (vergl. den analogen Fall in der Taurischen Iphigeneia 1447). Eine Veranlassung für sie zur Erde herabzukommen ist nicht vorhanden; sie bleiben also in der Höhe. Ob sie auf dem *ἐπιπριον ἄρμα δι' αἰθέρος*, wie der Chor es 1495 wünscht, erscheinen, also hoch oben an der linken Seite der Bühne, der für Göttererscheinungen solennen Stelle, oder auf dem Palaste, ist nicht sicher anzugeben. Einfacher liess es sich auf die zweite Weise herstellen. Die in 1665 enthaltene Hindeutung auf Rosse führt zu keiner Sicherheit.

Am Schlusse geht der König, da er kein Motiv hat, anderwärts hin zu gehen, in seinen Palast, der Chor zieht durch die rechte Parodos ab.

Wie sehr es auch beim ersten Blick auffällt, dass der Chor nach 385 mit Helene die Skene verlässt, um sich zur Theonoe zu begeben, zumal da kein Scenenwechsel eintritt, und der Chor dabei mit Helene über die Bühne hin sich entfernen muss: so ist an der Sache doch nicht zu zweifeln. Ja, es lässt sich sogar auch der Grund, warum es geschieht, erkennen; es sollte dadurch die Erkennungsscene in der Weise, wie der Dichter sie zu zeigen wünschte, möglich gemacht werden. Blieb der Chor 385 in der Orchestra, so war es nicht zu vermeiden, dass Menelaos durch ihn von der Anwesenheit der Helene unterrichtet wurde. Der Chor musste also entfernt werden, und dazu gab es für den Dichter kein leichteres Mittel, als das welches er angewendet hat. Der Chor musste dabei freilich über die Bühne hin sich entfernen. Um ihm Zeit zum Besteigen des Logeion zu lassen, scheint zwischen dem Entschlusse zu gehen (327 und 330) und der Ausführung (385) das Gespräch zwischen Helene und dem Chore sich etwas lange hinzuziehen. — Die Rückkehr des Chores aus dem Palaste über die Bühne hin (515) unterliegt vollends keinem Zweifel, da der Chor nur aus dem Palaste wiedererscheinen, nur auf der Bühne auftreten konnte. Der Chor aber schreitet hierbei Helenen voran, damit das Erstaunen des Menelaos, wenn er den Chor von sich und seinen Schicksalen reden hörte, allgemach mehr sich steigern, und alles so weit vorbereitet werde, dass er 546 auf seine Gattin zueilen kann. — Auf der Bühne kann der Chor, ungeachtet seiner Anwesenheit auf derselben noch einmal unzweifelhaft eintritt, nach seiner Rückkehr aus dem Palaste nicht bleiben. Denn in den nächsten 1100 Versen spielt der Chor im Dialoge eine so untergeordnete Rolle, und lässt sich so selten vernehmen, dass

kaum ein zweites Beispiel der Art aufzufinden ist. In der nächsten Scene zwischen Menelaos und Helene spricht er gar nicht; in der folgenden, in welcher ein Schiffer des Menelaos herzutritt, spricht er trotz dem, dass das Gespräch sehr wechselnd ist, und selbst Stichomythien mehrmals eintreten, nur dreimal (698, 758 und 855). In der folgenden durch das Hinzutreten von Theonoe veranlassten Scene lässt er nur zweimal (944 und 996), in der nächsten nur einmal (1030) sich vernehmen. Nach dem von 1107—1164 gesungenen Stasimon kommt er in der nächsten Scene gar nicht zu Worte. Hierauf folgt ein Chorgesang (1301—1368), und in dem nächsten Dialoge schweigt er wiederum gänzlich. Es folgt das Chorlied 1451—1511, und erst als Theoklymenos 1512 die Bühne betreten, und den Verrath des Menelaos und der Helene erfahren hat, scheint der Chor zu erwachen, und greift von 1619 an in die Handlung ein. Nimmermehr kann also der Chor bis dahin auf der Bühne verblieben sein; seine gänzliche Unthätigkeit eben so sehr, wie die von ihm gesungenen Chorgesänge zeigen, dass er bald nach seinem Wiedererscheinen in die Orchestra hinabgestiegen ist. Was ihn vor dem Schlusse des Stückes zu neuer Thätigkeit und zugleich auf die Bühne ruft\*), ist der Entschluss des Theoklymenos, an Theonoe wegen ihres Stillschweigens rücksichtlich des Verrathes Rache zu nehmen. Da tritt der Chor, oder vielmehr, es treten ihm einzelne Choreuten in den Weg und halten ihn am Kleide fest. Dies konnte nur geschehen, wenn Choreuten auf die Bühne gestiegen waren, und so verlässt der Chor allerdings kurz vor dem Schlusse nochmals seinen gewöhnlichen Standort. Dass aber alle Choreuten die Bühne betreten haben, ist nicht wahrscheinlich; denn das alsbald eintretende Erscheinen der Dioskuren macht jede Bemühung von Seiten des Chores überflüssig; und die Choreuten, welche bereits auf der Bühne sich befanden, sahen sich dadurch sicher veranlasst, in die Orchestra zurückzukehren.

### Des Euripides Elektra.

Mittelstück der Scenerie ist das Haus der Elektra, ein ziemlich ärmlich aussehendes Gebäude (207, 251 ff., 305, 168, 1139), wie Ackersleute bewohnen mochten. Da es an Berghö-

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\*) Und zwar zwischen 1619—1642; denn mit dem Erscheinen der Dioskuren beginnt er von neuem zu schweigen, und singt dann nur noch die solennen Schlussverse, ehe er sich durch die Parodos entfernt.

hen gelegen war (210 οὐρείους ἀν' ἐρίπνας) und man zu demselben stark hinansteigen musste (489): so ist das Haus wohl halb von der Seite her dargestellt worden, so dass der Weg zu ihm nahe an der Coulissenwand hinaufführen konnte. Ohne diese Stellung hätte es wenigstens grösserer Vorrichtungen bedurft, um den Weg zu ihm hinanzuführen. — Neben dem Hause befinden sich Ställe oder wenigstens ein Stall. Denn mit Ochsen will der Mann Elektra's auf's Feld hinaus; zu den Krippen im Stalle lässt Klytaimnestra nach ihrer Ankunft die Rosse abführen. Wenn gleich das Haus nicht in grosser Entfernung von der Stadt liegt (denn Klytaimnestra kommt schnell genug aus der Stadt zu ihm hin): so befindet es sich doch in einer abgelegenen Gegend 246; und der Hintergrund der Scenerie hat wohl nur die Berge, an denen das Bauernhaus lag, gezeigt.

Von den Thüren der Skene stellt die Mittelthür den Eingang zu Elektra's Hause vor, die rechte Seitenthür bezeichnet den nach Argos führenden Weg. Auf ihm entfernt sich auch Elektra's Gatte, als er auf's Feld geht. Daher erscheint er mit den Ochsen nicht auf der Bühne, und die Pferde Klytaimnestra's scheinen, wenn sie durch die Parodos hinausgeleitet werden, auch den an der rechten Bühnenseite befindlichen Stallgebäuden zugeführt zu werden. Eine Andeutung dieser hat also an der rechten Periakte sicher nicht gefehlt. Die rechte Nebenthür eröffnet ohne Zweifel den Weg zu der Quelle, zu der Elektra sich begiebt; eine Hügelreihe oder ein Gebüsch scheint demnach dort an der Scenerie dargestellt gewesen zu sein. Die linke Seitenthür führt in die Fremde, die linke Nebenthür zu dem Landgute des Aigisthos hin. Zwischen beiden Wegen muss man sich das übrigens nicht sichtbare Grab Agamemnon's liegend denken. Dann ist es einerseits möglich, dass Orestes, der vom Grabe herkommt, auf dem Wege der Fremde erscheint, andererseits der Paidagogos, der auch von der linken Seite der Bühne her auftritt, nicht nur am Grabe kann gewesen, sondern auch in der Nähe von des Aigisthos Landgut vorbeigekommen sein kann. Die Thüren der Skene kommen also sämmtlich in Anwendung. Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nur durch Umdrehen der linken Periakte ein. Im Beginne des Stückes nämlich erscheinen von Delphoi herkommend Orestes und Pylades neben der linken Periakte. Da später der Gatte Elektra's nach derselben Seite hin sich entfernen muss, um nach Lakedaimon zu gehen: so muss hier eine Drehung der Periakte eintreten, und zwar ohne dass eine Person von aussen her auf die Bühne



tritt. Da nun aber ferner Orestes am Schlusse des Stückes auf demselben Wege nach Athen abgehen muss, so wiederholt sich der Fall; die Periakte muss nochmals gedreht werden. Gleiches findet am Schlusse der Trachinierinnen statt.

Durch die Mittelthür aus dem Hause tritt auf der Landmann 1, ferner Elektra 54; in dasselbe gehen 400 Orestes, Pylades und die Diener\*), demnächst Elektra 425. Aus dem Hause kommt Elektra 493, ferner Orestes und Pylades 549; dahin zurück geht Elektra 698, und erscheint wieder 751. 987 begeben sich Orestes und Pylades, 1141 Klytaimnestra und 1146 Elektra hinein. Endlich kommen Orestes, Pylades und Elektra mit den Leichen von da zurück.

Zur Quelle durch die rechte Nebenthür geht Elektra 81 (vergl. 56), und kommt von da 112 zurück. Durch die rechte Seitenthür geht der Landmann auf's Feld 81, und kommt von da 341 zurück. Durch die linke Seitenthür kommen 82 Orestes und Pylades, und zwar zunächst vom Grabe Agamemnon's 90, und setzen sich 103 neben dem Hause hin (*παρ' οἶκον εἰνὰς ἔχοντες* 217). Denselben Weg geht der Landmann nach dem Paidagogos 431. Durch die linke Nebenthür kommt, wie es scheint, 487 der Paidagogos, der auf seinem Wege bei Agamemnon's Grabe gewesen ist. Analogien dazu bildet der Oidipus Kol. dar, wo der Hirt des Laios, die Andromache, wo Peleus, die Taurische Iphigeneia, wo der König auch von auswärts herkommend nicht durch eine Seitenthür, sondern durch eine Nebenthür auftreten. Gleiches gilt für das Erscheinen des Polyneikes im Oidipus Kol. (durch die rechte Nebenthür), des Kreon in demselben Stücke (durch die linke Nebenthür), endlich auch wohl des Polymestor in der Hekabe. Inzwischen nirgends ist die Sache so evident als in der Elektra, wo der Paidagogos, obgleich aus der Fremde kommend, nicht aus einem Orte der Heimath, doch nicht der Seitenthür zu seinem Auftreten sich bedient. Dass es wirklich die Nebenthür, nicht die Seitenthür

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\*) Die *δπαδοί*, die 360 angewiesen werden, die *τεύχη* ins Haus zu tragen, sind nicht Knechte des Landmannes; sie sollen auch nicht, wie Donner meint, das Ackergeräth hineinschaffen, sondern die Reisesachen des Orestes und Pylades. Sie sind es auch, die 394 *δμῶες* genannt, 960 des Aigisthos Leiche ins Haus schaffen müssen. Wenn demungeachtet im Kampfe gegen Aigisthos und dessen Leute nur Orestes und Pylades diesen gegenüber stehen 845: so geschieht es, weil beide, um als einfache Wanderer gelten zu können, ohne Begleitung erscheinen mussten.



ist, durch die er erscheint, ist inzwischen nicht zweifelhaft. Das Landgut, auf dem sich Aigisthos befindet, ist nicht fern von der Wohnung Elektra's, und liegt so, dass der aus der Fremde kommende Paidagogos, wenn er das Grab Agamemnon's dabei besucht, in dessen Nähe gelangt. Wenn man nun nicht das ganz Unwahrscheinliche annehmen will, dass der von links her zum Grabe Agamemnon's gelangende Paidagogos weiter bis zu des Aigisthos Landgut hingeht, und dann umkehrt, um auf dem Wege aus der Fremde durch die linke Nebenthür her aufzutreten: so bleibt nichts übrig, als ihn von der Seite her, wo des Aigisthos Landgut liegen muss, d. h. durch die linke Nebenthür auftreten zu lassen. — Durch die linke Nebenthür tritt ferner 761 der Bote, endlich 880 Orestes und Pylades auf. — Der Chor erscheint durch die rechte Parodos eintretend; desselben Weges kommt auch von Argos her Klytaimnestra 998 und zwar ohne den Paidagogos, da der Schauspieler, der ihn dargestellt hatte, jetzt als Klytaimnestra zu erscheinen hat. Stände es nicht von anderweit her fest, dass Wagen auf der Bühne nicht erscheinen: so müsste man hier sehr geneigt sein, die Königin auf der Bühne ankommen zu lassen, weil ihr die Tochter, die doch nur auf der Bühne sich befinden kann, beim Absteigen behülflich sein will. Wenn man aber festhält, dass Klytaimnestra diese Hülfe entschieden zurückweist, Elektra also von der Bühne sich nicht zu entfernen braucht: so ist nichts da, was das Ankommen der Königin in der Orchestra irgend zweifelhaft machen könnte. Da aber überdies ein mit Pferden bespannter Wagen auf dem Logeion nicht erscheinen kann: so ist auch hier nicht daran zu zweifeln, dass Klytaimnestra in die Orchestra einfährt, dort das Gespann umgewendet wird und durch die rechte Parodos sich wieder entfernt, um zu den rechts von der Bühne gelegenen Ställen des Landmannes zu fahren 1136. Die Königin kommt übrigens auf einem prächtigen Wagen von Dienerinnen umgeben an (964). — Die Dioskuren werden 1233 *δόμων ὑπὲρ ἀκροτάτων* (vergl. 1235) sichtbar, und entschwinden ebenda kurz vor dem Schlusse. Ob sie auf einer Schwebemaschine sich befinden, oder auf einem der höhern Balcone oder auf dem Dache der Skene, ist nicht mit Sicherheit anzugeben. — Am Schlusse geht Pylades mit Elektra in das Haus, der Chor zieht wieder durch die Parodos ab, Orestes geht durch die linke Seitenthür ab, um sich nach Athen zu begeben 1343.

## Die Eumeniden.

Das Hauptstück der Scenerie ist der Tempel Apollon's zu Delphoi, und die Mittelthür der Skene bildet die Eingangsthür zu demselben. Bei dem Tempel hat sich eine Bildsäule oder ein Altar der Pallas (21) befunden, und dies wird auch wohl sichtbar gewesen sein. Ferner scheint neben dem Tempel, wahrscheinlich links von ihm, ein Hain, dergleichen öfters bei Tempeln sich befinden (vergl. die Scenerie im Ion und in den Thesmophoriazusen 1149), dargestellt worden zu sein, wie sich später zeigen wird. Rechts neben dem Tempel hat sich sicher ein zum Tempel gehöriges Gebäude, das die Pythia bewohnte, befunden; endlich hat auch ein Altar Apollon's, wie Geppert p. 146 annimmt, gewiss nicht gefehlt; und vielleicht war neben ihm auch ein Opfertisch da, falls nicht der Altar als solcher diene. Wenn aber ausserdem Droysen dem Tempel zu beiden Seiten Säulenhallen giebt, ihn mit Statuen und Laubgewinden geschmückt sein, über dem Tempel den zweigipfligen Parnassos und an dessen Fusse die Stadt und die Krissäischen Wiesen erscheinen lässt; wenn Donner voraussetzt, der Tempel habe Säulenhallen an beiden Seiten gehabt; wenn Genelli p. 214 zu beiden Seiten des Pronaos Mauern, wie die eines umgebenden Portikus, mit Mauern voraussetzt, dahinter die Bäume des heiligen Hains sichtbar werden lässt, durch die Katablemen rechts einen Theil der Stadt, weiterhin die beiden Gipfel des Parnassos, links am äussersten Horizont das Meer erscheinen lässt, und auf dem Proskenion rechts neben dem Tempel den skenischen Altar ansetzt: so sehe ich zu alle dem keinen Anlass, und Hermann scheint mir fast durchaus mit Recht (*de re scenica* p. 11) gegen derlei grundlose Annahmen zu eifern. Die Anrufung der Orakel- und Landesgötter durch die Pythia setzt weder voraus, dass man die bezeichneten Gegenden, noch dass man die Altäre oder die Statuen der angerufenen Götter sieht; nur die heilige Stätte der Pallas macht eine Ausnahme. Auch Geppert hat p. 146 versucht, auf Anlass der im Ion befindlichen Specialitäten Genaueres über die für den Anfang der Eumeniden erforderliche Scenerie anzugeben; aber es ist sehr zu bezweifeln, dass selbst das Princip, von dem er dabei ausgeht, richtig ist. Altäre werden freilich an und vor dem Tempel nicht gefehlt haben; aber welche es gewesen sind, und wo sie

gestanden haben, lässt sich aus dem Stücke schlechterdings nicht ersehen. Wenn Euripides wie Aischylos auf den Parnassos, auf die Korykische Grotte und die Quellen des Pleistos Rücksicht nimmt: so geschieht dies nicht, weil alles dies in der Scenerie sichtbar war, sondern weil diese Oertlichkeit, dem Orte der Handlung benachbart, mit ihr in enger Berührung steht. Ueberdies ist es eine durch Apollon's und anderer Götter Verehrung geheiligte Nachbarschaft; darum also gedenken derselben die Priesterin und andere am Tempel beschäftigte Personen, nicht darum, weil sie sichtbar ist. Von der realen Wirklichkeit bei der Anordnung der Scenerie auszugehen, ist überdies hier ganz unzulässig. Die Athener sahen in ihrem Theater den Tempel von NW her, und zwar die Hauptfront desselben mit dem zum Tempel führenden Eingange. In der Wirklichkeit befand sich der Eingang zum Tempel an der Südseite, und es musste mithin hier in der Scenerie eine gänzliche Verschiebung der Oertlichkeit eintreten. In der Wirklichkeit geht der Weg vom Tempel nach Südost hin, d. h. nach der rechten Seite vom Tempel für die, die dem Eingange des Tempels gegenüber sind; im Theater musste Orestes den Weg nach links einschlagen, da er den in die Fremde führenden Weg betreten musste. — Thüren oder Zugänge erfordert der erste Act vier; die erste, die rechte Nebenthür, benützt die Pythia, als sie zum Tempel gehen will; die zweite, die Mittelthür, ist die zum Tempel führende Thür; die dritte, an der linken Nebenthür befindliche führt in den Tempelhain; die vierte, die linke Seitenthür, führt in die Fremde. Ueber das Ende des ersten Actes und die weitere Scenerie später; demnächst möge folgen, was über das Auf- und Abtreten der Personen im ersten Acte zu sagen ist.

Genelli pag. 214 und Hermann (*de re scen.* pag. 11) lassen die Pythia von der Thür rechts neben dem Tempel erscheinen, und treffen damit gewiss das Richtige. Auch darin hat Genelli Recht, dass er meint, die Priesterin stürze wieder 34 voll Entsetzen aus dem Tempel zurück. Droysen's Ansicht hingegen, dass, sobald die Pythia in den Tempel geht, man bereits Orestes am Altare des Gottes und die Gestalten der Erinyen um ihn her gelagert sieht, scheint mir nicht haltbar zu sein. Wenn das Innere des Tempels sammt Orestes und den Erinyen alsbald den Zuschauern sichtbar wird, so ist die detaillierte Beschreibung, welche die Pythia von dem Anblicke, den sie drinnen im Tempel gehabt hat, giebt, zum grossen Theile überflüssig. Wie

es da aussah, erblickte der Zuschauer mit eignen Augen. Ferner da die Erinyen für's Erste nur durch die geöffnete Tempelthür sichtbar werden konnten, so liess sich der Zweck des Dichters, die unholden Göttinnen den Zuschauern zu zeigen, nur sehr unvollkommen erreichen. Denn wie hoch und breit man sich auch die Thür denken mag, so gross kann sie nicht gewesen sein, dass die Schaar der Erinyen auch nur zum grössten Theile den Zuschauern vor Augen kam. Letzteres konnte nur dann eintreten, wenn sie durch das Ekkyklema vor den Tempel wären hinausgeschoben worden; aber dass dies nicht geschah, daran lässt sich nicht zweifeln. In dem Falle nämlich konnte die voll Angst und Grausen aus dem Tempel stürzende Pythia nicht vor demselben stehen bleiben, nicht in einer längern Erzählung des Erfahrenen sich ergehen; sie hätte vor den Scheusalen, die durch keine Scheidewand von ihr getrennt waren, fliehen müssen. Da sie das nicht thut, da sie auf die Erinyen als sichtbar nicht hinweist, so können sie auch nicht ausserhalb des Tempels sich befunden haben. Ja, der Dichter hat es sichtlich und sehr weise vermieden, sie schon jetzt zu zeigen. Geschah es schon bei v. 35, so ist der ganze Eindruck, den ihr Erscheinen hervorbringen konnte und sollte, hier schon vorweg genommen; eine weitere Steigerung in der Beziehung war nicht möglich, während, wenn er das Grausige ihres Anblickes vorerst nur in den Wirkungen, die davon in der Pythia zurückgeblieben waren, in dem Grausen, das sie befallen hatte, zeigte, die Erwartung auf den Anblick der Göttinnen selbst unendlich erhöht werden musste; und da der Anblick derselben bei v. 35 noch nicht nöthig ist, so erfolgte er gewiss auch nicht hier, sondern erst später.

Nachdem die Pythia 65 auf dem Wege, auf dem sie anfangs erschienen war, sich entfernt hat, treten Apollon und Hermes mit Orestes in ihrer Mitte aus dem Tempel heraus. Orestes entfernt sich ferner in Begleitung des Hermes auf dem Wege der Fremde; wo Apollon hingegen bleibt, ist zweifelhaft. Droysen und Hermann (vergl. opusc. VI. 2 pag. 163. und Wiener Jahrb. 101 pag. 246 ff.) nämlich sind der Ansicht, dass er sich in den Tempel zurückbegiebt. Bei dem grossen Widerwillen aber, den Apollon gegen die Erinyen hat, kann er kein Verlangen haben, mit ihnen an demselben Orte zu verweilen, zumal nicht in seinem Tempel. Die Erinyen andererseits auf der Stelle aus seinem Tempel fortzuweisen, daran hinderte ihn die Rücksicht, die er auf den fliehenden Orestes zu nehmen hatte. Er musste diesem einen Vorsprung zu geben suchen, damit er

früher nach Athen gelangte, als die Erinyen ihn erreichten. Mithin durfte er sie in ihrem Schlafe nicht stören. Ueberdies kann Apollon, der hehre Gott, nicht durch die Schaar der Erinyen oder bei ihnen vorbei in seinen Tempel sich hineinschleichen; das verträgt sich nicht mit seiner göttlichen Würde, zumal hier nicht an und in seinem Tempel. Sicher also geht Apollon, so lange die Erinyen an ihrem Platze verbleiben, nicht in den Tempel hinein, sondern verliert sich ihm zur Seite, und das kann nicht einfacher und zweckmässiger geschehen, als wenn ein Hain neben dem Tempel in der Scenerie sichtbar war.

Wann aber werden die Erinyen sichtbar? geschieht es 66 oder 97, und auf welche Weise geschieht es? Mit 66 lassen sie erscheinen die Scholien, Müller (pag. 101), Droysen, Schömann, Kock; Hermann ist der Ansicht, dass dies erst 97 geschehe; Genelli dagegen meint, dass sie erst mit 143 aus dem Tempel hervorbrechen. Letzterer führt für seine Ansicht gar keinen Beweis; Hermann dagegen macht darauf aufmerksam, dass bei 66 ein Anlass zu deren Erscheinen nicht vorhanden sei, und dass, wenn sie da erschienen, ihr schrecklicher Anblick die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuschauer von der Unterredung Apollon's mit Orestes abziehen würde. Aber das Letztere wird immer, wann sie auch erscheinen, der Fall sein, und es wird also auch, wenn sie 97 erscheinen, die Aufmerksamkeit von der Rede Klytaimnestra's abgelenkt werden. Dazu kommt, dass Apollon mit *τάσδε τὰς μάργους ὁρᾷς* 69 auf sie als sichtbar hinzuweisen scheint, ferner dass der Hellene es liebt, ruhende Gruppen zur Ansicht zu bringen, die eine Weile in derselben Stellung verharrend dem Geiste des Zuschauers sich fest einprägen. Ausserdem aber fehlt, als der Schatten Klytaimnestra's sichtbar wird, ebenfalls jeder Anlass, die Erinyen erscheinen zu lassen; denn Niemand spricht das Verlangen sie zu sehen aus, Niemand tritt auf die Bühne vor, so dass auf diesen Anlass hin auch ein Hervorrollen der Erinyen eintreten könnte. Da hingegen 66 Orestes, Apollon und Hermes auf die Bühne treten, so ist dies allerdings ein Anlass auch den Anblick der Göttinnen dem Zuschauer zu zeigen. Dass Orestes keine Angst vor ihnen kund giebt, kann nicht auffallen; er hat sie öfter gesehen; er befindet sich jetzt gerade im Geleite zweier Götter. Etwas zu thun haben die Erinyen für jetzt freilich nicht; aber ihr Anblick veranschaulicht mehr, als Worte es thun können, warum Apollon den Orestes eiligst, warum er ihn im Geleite eines Gottes fortsendet, und welcher

Umgebung er ihn zu entreissen sucht. Wie musste die Erwartung der Zuschauer gespannt werden! Das Entrinnen des Orestes hängt lediglich von dem etwas früheren oder späteren Erwachen der Erinyen ab, und doch thut der alsbald erscheinende Schatten Klytaimnestra's alles, um die Erinyen aus ihrem Schlafe zu reissen. — Aber wie und wo erscheinen die Göttinnen? bleiben sie dabei im Tempel, wie Schömann und Droysen meinen, oder werden sie durch Aufziehen eines Vorhanges, wie Müller (Eum. pag. 105) und Kock (l. l. pag. 17) annehmen, sichtbar, oder geschieht es mit Hülfe des Ekkyklema, wie Geppert pag. 175 meint?\*) Schömann beruft sich für seine Ansicht auf den Scholiasten, der zu der Stelle bemerkt: *δευτέρα γίνεται φαντασία στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἐνδὲλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει*. Aber ein *στρέφειν* findet nur bei den Periakten statt, und diese zu ändern ist hier, wo der Tempel allein umgeformt werden soll, kein Anlass. Die Coulissee der Hinterwand ein *μηχάνημα* zu nennen, ist ebenfalls nicht passend. Zudem: was soll am Tempel geändert werden? soll die Thür desselben weit geöffnet werden? das wird nicht durch ein Fortschieben der Coulissenwand erreicht. Soll die Vorderwand des Tempels fortgenommen werden (Schömann sagt pag. 172, die Tempelwand thue sich aus einander)? Einen Tempel der Art, dem eine Wand fehlt, hat man den Zuschauern nicht vor Augen gebracht; denn sonst hätte man durch dasselbe leichte Auskunftsmittel Jegliches, was im Innern eines Palastes geschah, vor die Augen der Zuschauer bringen können, und hätte es gebracht; aber es geschah nicht, denn man bediente sich dazu des Ekkyklema. Eben darum weiss ich auch nicht, was das Aufziehen eines Vorhanges helfen soll. Es bleibt also nur die Anwendung des Ekkyklema übrig, und dies und nichts weiter meint auch der Scholiast. Das Ekkyklema ist ein *μηχάνημα*; das Hervorschieben der Maschine kann sehr wohl ein *στρέφειν* genannt werden, und wenn es geschieht, so entsteht dadurch, wie der Scholiast andeutet, eine neue Ansicht. Das Ekkyklema wird in allen ähnlichen Fällen angewendet; es ist auch hier gebraucht worden, und von einer Scenenänderung, die hier eingetreten wäre, kann also nicht die Rede sein. Den Pluralis *μηχανήματα* braucht der Scholiast darum, weil wegen der grossen Zahl der hervorzurollenden Personen zwei Ekky-

\*) O. Müller kleine Schriften I. pag. 532 will die Anwendbarkeit des Ekkyklema wenigstens nicht mit Entschiedenheit leugnen.



klema angewendet wurden, ein Fall, der sich freilich nicht weiter nachweisen lässt, aber auch nicht weiter vorkommen konnte, weil nirgends als hier ein ganzer Chor plötzlich aus der hintern Wand der Skene zu erscheinen hat. Wie das Herausdrehen des Chores erfolgte, muss dahin gestellt bleiben, weil die Construction des Ekkyklema nicht bekannt ist. Aber da eine Zahl von acht um einen Altar versammelten Personen in den Hiketiden des Euripides herausgerollt oder hervorgeschoben werden könnte, da ferner im Herakles main. Herakles mit den todtten Kindern so vor die Thür seines Palastes hinausgeschoben wird, dass dessen ungeachtet bald darauf Amphitryon 1042 durch eben diese Thür hervortreten kann: so hat es kein Bedenken anzunehmen, dass der ganze Chor der Erinyen nach zwei Seiten hin neben und vor die Tempelthür hinausgeschafft wurde. Denn der Zugang zum Tempel wird nicht weiter gebraucht; Apollon geht, wie angedeutet, nicht in denselben hinein, Klytaimnestra hat keinen Anlass von aussen in den Tempel einzutreten, indem sie die Erinyen unter der Vorhalle des Tempels trifft; und die Darstellung der Skene unterliegt mithin keinen Schwierigkeiten. — Inzwischen, der Ort, wo Klytaimnestra erscheint, steht nicht fest. Genelli (pag. 218) ist der Ansicht, dass sie von der Charonischen Stiege her aufsteige, bis auf das vorliegende Anapiesma sehr schnell vorschreite, um wie daherschwebend diese Stelle zu erreichen, und (pag. 220) auf demselben Wege wieder verschwinde. Hierbei verstehe ich nicht, was es heissen soll, dass sie bis auf das vorliegende Anapiesma heraufsteigt, und doch nicht dort verschwindet. Denn da das Anapiesma die zum Erscheinen und Verschwinden angebrachte Vorrichtung ist, so tritt der Schauspieler nur dann an diese Stelle, wenn er verschwinden soll. Hier geschieht es ohnedies. Die Ansichten Anderer differiren darin, dass nach den Einen (so Herm. zu 97) Klytaimnestra durch das Anapiesma erscheint und verschwindet, nach den Andern (so Droysen und Donner) aus der stygischen Pforte, und von da, nach Droysen's Ansicht, die Thymele in der Orchestra besteigt. Wenn nur eines von beiden möglich ist, so gebe ich der Ansicht Hermann's ohne Bedenken den Vorzug. Da die Erinyen sich jedenfalls auf der Bühne dicht bei dem Tempel befinden, so muss Klytaimnestra in deren Nähe sein, wenn sie sie aufwecken und zur Rache antreiben will. Eine gewaltsamere Bewegung ist einem Schatten nicht angemessen; er muss vielmehr zu schweben scheinen. Jeden-



falls muss demnach dem Schatten das Ersteigen einer Treppe erspart werden. Noch misslicher sieht es mit dem Verschwinden in dem Falle aus; es muss dies schnell und plötzlich geschehen, damit die sofort erwachenden Erinyen sie nicht mehr bemerken; dies lässt sich aber nicht bewirken, wenn der Schatten vor seinem Verschwinden noch einen ansehnlichen Raum bis zur Charonischen Pforte zu durchgehen hat. Erscheint hingegen der Schatten vermittels des auf dem Logeion befindlichen Anapiesma, so brauchte er nur wenig, vielleicht gar nicht von diesem Orte sich zu entfernen, und kann also schnell und leicht wieder verschwinden. Aber trotzdem meine ich nicht, dass das Anapiesma hierbei benutzt worden ist. Der Schatten wird jedenfalls im Tempel sichtbar, tritt aus dessen Innern seitwärts in die Nähe der Tempelthür vor, und verschwindet später in gleicher Weise, indem er sich in den Tempel zurückzieht. Er ist dabei den Erinyen ganz nahe, er hat keinen grossen Weg auf einem den Zuschauern sichtbaren Raume zu durchgehen, es bedarf keiner Kunst, das Schweben des Schattens, sein plötzliches und schnelles Verschwinden darzustellen. Da überdies Apollon nicht im Tempel anwesend ist, eben so wenig die Pythia, da das Innere des Delphischen Tempels mit dem Erdinnern, also auch dem Schattenreiche, nach dem Glauben der Hellenen in Verbindung steht, und demnach ein Weg aus der Tiefe für einen Schatten da ist, da endlich auch der Schatten des Dareios in den Persern auch nicht durch das Anapiesma, sondern auf dem Grabmale desselben erscheint, da das Schattenhafte als solches am besten sich darstellt, wenn es in möglichster Entfernung von den Zuschauern gesehen wird: so sehe ich keinen einfacheren und geeigneteren Weg als den angegebenen, auf dem Klytaimnestra erscheinen und verschwinden kann. Von wo Apollon 178 wieder erscheint, bestimmt sich danach, wohin er 98 sich entfernt hat. Diejenigen, welche ihn haben in den Tempel gehen lassen, wie Genelli (vergl. pag. 227) und Schömann, müssen ihn auch von dorthier auftreten lassen; ich bin natürlich gezwungen anzunehmen, dass er aus dem neben dem Tempel befindlichen Haine tritt.

In Bezug auf die Erinyen, die Genelli erst 143, nachdem der Schatten Klytaimnestra's verschwunden ist, erscheinen lässt, ist derselbe (pag. 226) der Ansicht, dass sie, sobald sie aus dem Tempel hervorgestürzt sind, sich in die Orchestra begeben. Droysen und Schömann glauben, dass wenigstens ein Theil der Erinyen 146 in die Orchestra hinab eile, während die andern

im Tempel verbleiben. Denn da Apollon 178 ihnen gebiete, sich alsbald aus seinem Tempel zu entfernen, so müssten da wenigstens einige noch in oder bei dem Tempel sein. Donner sagt einfach, dass sie aus dem Tempel hervorstürzen. Die Sache scheint sich aber doch anders zu verhalten. Da Apollon die Erinyen später aus dem Tempel oder aus dessen Nähe fortweist, so müssen sie sämmtlich oder wenigstens zum Theil sich in oder an dem Tempel befinden. Da aber ferner die Eumeniden bei ihrem Erwachen alsbald bemerken, dass Apollon sie überlistet hat, und dass da, wo sie sind, für sie nichts zu suchen ist, indem Orestes nicht mehr zur Stelle ist: so ist für sie kein Anlass da, den Ort, wo sie sich befinden, zu verlassen, falls sie nicht dem Entflohenen alsbald nachsetzen wollen. Da sie dies nicht thun, so ist nicht einzusehen, warum die Erinyen 146 ihren Platz verlassen sollen. Der mit 146 beginnende Gesang der Erinyen, der nur Klagen, dass Apollon sie übervorthelt hat, enthält, bietet auch kein Motiv dar, von dem Orte, an dem sie sich befinden, aufzubrechen; und es kann daher nicht bezweifelt werden, dass sie vorläufig noch bei dem Tempel unter dessen Säulenhalle nahe bei der Tempelthür verbleiben. Auch 200 sind sie noch da, wie die Worte Apollon's zeigen, die Donner richtig deutet, wenn er übersetzt: „so viel zu sagen, sei dir noch vergönnt.“ (vergl. auch 204). Von da ab aber ist gar kein Anlass für die Erinyen da, ihren Platz zu verlassen, da Apollon seinen Befehl zu gehen nicht wiederholt, und die Erinyen in einem Streite über die Rechtmässigkeit ihrer That begriffen sind. Sie können sich demnach nicht eher als 229 oder 230 aufmachen, wo sie selbst sagen, dass sie forteilen wollen. Und hier thun sie es, indem sie auf dem Wege der Fremde sich entfernen; denn als Rächerinnen des Blutes müssen sie genau der Fährte des Mörders folgen (so auch Kock p. 17 u. 18); und sie betreten also die Orchestra gar nicht. Diejenigen Erklärer dagegen, welche die Eumeniden in Folge des Apollinischen Befehls sich alsbald in die Orchestra begeben lassen (wie Genelli, Schömann und Hermann; vergl. letztern zu 194), müssen natürlich annehmen, dass sie am Ende des ersten Actes durch die Parodos fortgehen. — Apollon begiebt sich am Schlusse des ersten Actes in seinen Tempel zurück. \*)

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\*) Wenn Schömann pag. 171 gegen Hermann ankämpft, so hat er Unrecht; vergl. dessen Note zu 194. Im Uebrigen stimme ich Schö-

## Zweiter Act.

Dass mit 234 eine neue Scenerie eintreten muss, darüber sind Alle einverstanden, und in der That steht dem Eintritte derselben nichts im Wege, da nach der Entfernung Apollon's Logeion und Orchestra leer geworden sind. Dagegen ist sehr streitig, welche Oertlichkeit die neue Scenerie bezeichnet hat. Droysen, Donner, Genelli, Müller (Eum. p. 106), Schömann und Hermann\*) sind der Ansicht, dass die Handlung nach dem Tempel der Pallas in Athen, nach dem Parthenon auf der Akropolis hin verlegt werde; Geppert hingegen verlegt sie nach dem Areopagos. Die Entscheidung darüber, welche von beiden Ansichten die richtige ist, hängt vorzugsweise, ja lediglich davon ab, ob bei 555 (vergl. auch 685) eine Aenderung der Scenerie möglich ist oder nicht. Denn da die Handlung von 555 an unzweifelhaft (und darin stimmen Alle überein) auf dem Areopagos vor sich geht, so muss, wenn eine Scenenänderung 555 nicht eintreten kann, die Handlung schon von 234 an dort vor sich gehen. Nun ist zwar vor 555 das Logeion nach dem Abtreten aller Schauspieler leer geworden; aber der Chor trifft weder Anstalten sich zu entfernen, noch kann er da fortgegangen sein, da er sich bereits 564 wieder in das Gespräch mischt. Ueberdies wird das Auftreten aller anderen Personen sehr deutlich bezeichnet; dagegen fehlt jede Spur, dass Gleiches in Bezug auf den Chor statffinde. Er hat also seine Stellung und seinen Standort nicht verlassen, und folglich kann auch bei 555 eine Verwandlung der Scenerie nicht eingetreten sein; denn dass der Ort der Handlung während der Anwesenheit des Chores im Theater in irgend einer Tragödie gewechselt wird, dazu fehlt alle Analogie. Auch wäre, wenn es geschehen, dadurch den Zuschauern sehr viel zugemuthet worden. Während nämlich die verschiedenen in die Fremde führenden Wege durch Wendung der Periakte jedesmal kenntlich gemacht, und deren Verschiedenheit zur Anschauung gebracht wird, müssten sich die Zuschauer hier gefallen lassen, den Chor, den sie an

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mann vollständig bei, wenn eine Ansicht der Art, wie er bekämpft, von einem Anderen aufgestellt worden ist.

\*) Zu 234 bemerkt Hermann: *postquam chorus ex orchestra abiit, et Apollo in templum se recepit, mutatur scena. Conspicitur templum Minervae Poliadis in arce Athenarum.*

einem und demselben Orte verbleiben sehen, in dem Momente, wo die Scenerie wechselt, mit ihren Gedanken in eine andere Localität zu versetzen. Man muss sich daher in der That wundern, dass man den Ort der Handlung nicht sofort von 234 auf den Areopagos hin verlegt hat; denn die Gründe, in Folge deren man die Akropolis als Schauplatz bis 554 angenommen hat, sind keineswegs stichhaltig. Der Hauptgrund wird den Worten entnommen, mit denen Apollon den Orestes nach Athen weist v. 82: *μολὼν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πόλιν ἔξου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας*, wie denen der Athena 466, wo sie zum Orestes sagt: *ἐκέτης προσῆλθες καθαρὸς ἀβλαβῆς δόμοις*. Die *δόμοι* nämlich in der letzten Stelle scheinen das Dasein des Parthenon vorauszusetzen, und das *παλαιὸν βρέτας*, dem keine nähere Bezeichnung beigegeben ist, meint man daher als das auf der Burg befindliche, mithin den Schauplatz als den vor dem Athenentempel auf der Burg befindlichen Platz fassen zu müssen. Aber *δόμος* bezeichnet keineswegs immer ein Haus, sondern oft auch das, was aus Holz aufgeschichtet und errichtet oder aus Stein aufgemauert ist (vergl. Eurip. Alk. 161), und es hindert demnach nichts, bei *δόμοι* hier auch an einen Altar oder ein kleineres Heiligthum der Göttin zu denken. Das *παλαιὸν βρέτας* aber der anderen Stelle wird man schon darum nicht für das auf der Akropolis befindliche halten dürfen, weil die Sage von der Einsetzung des Areopagos nicht an dieses, sondern an ein anderes in der Nähe des Areopagos befindliches sich anschliesst\*). Hierzu kommt, dass die Entfernung der Athena 482, die zu dem auf dem Areopagos abzuhaltenden Gerichte zurückkommen will, sich sehr wohl motiviren lässt, auch wenn der Ort, von dem sie sich entfernt, schon der Areopagos ist, dass ferner Apollon's Weisung an Orestes vollständig beobachtet ist, wenn der Ort, an dem Orestes Zuflucht sucht, nur überhaupt in Athen ist, dass keine Andeutung sich vorfindet, welche die Anwesenheit des Parthenon am Orte der Handlung nothwendig fordert. Und da die Handlung bei 555 wegen Verbleiben des Chores in der Orchestra nicht auf einen anderen Ort übergehen kann,

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\*) Paus. I. 28, 5: *ἔστι δὲ Ἄρεος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη — κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην; ferner vergl. Hermann zu 841 dafür, dass die Erinyen ausser in dem Haine zu Kolonos auch in Athen nahe bei dem Areopagos verehrt wurden.*

später aber der Areopagos unbestritten Ort der Handlung ist: so muss die Handlung auch schon von 234 an auf dem Areopagos vor sich gehen. Giebt es doch auch keine Tragödie, in der die Scenerie mehr als einmal gewechselt worden wäre; und auch dies hätte behutsam machen sollen, eine neue Scenerie in den Eumeniden da, wo es mit nichts durch die Nothwendigkeit geboten ist, anzunehmen. — Mit der von Droysen, Donner und Genelli (p. 227) für den zweiten Act angegebenen Scenerie, die sich auf die Akropolis bezieht, kann ich mich demzufolge natürlich nicht einverstanden erklären, zumal nicht mit der von Genelli angegebenen. Denn Genelli ist der Ansicht, dass der frühere Delphische Tempel verbleibt, und (p. 65) nur die Statuen, Akroterien, das Giebelfeld und etwa die Verzierungen des Frieses nebst den Plutei verändert werden\*). In Bezug auf die neue den Areopagos darstellende Decoration macht Geppert (p. 147) die gewiss richtige Bemerkung, dass, wenn irgend ein Berg sichtbar wurde, dies die Akropolis gewesen sei. Sonstige Besonderheiten der Localität treten in dem Stücke nicht hervor; und da nur die auf dem Areopagos befindliche Fläche, an deren Rande sich vielleicht eine Steinbank hinzog, für die Handlung erforderlich ist: so scheint die Decoration sehr einfach gewesen zu sein. Nur das Bild der Athena, zu dem Orestes geflohen ist, ist der einzige den Ort auszeichnende Gegenstand; und ich kann darum Geppert (l. l.) nicht beistimmen, wenn er anderes den Antiquitäten Angehörige lediglich darum, weil es später gezeigt wurde, auch auf die Scenerie übertragen will. Das Bild der Pallas, an dem die Handlung sich konzentriert, dürfte wohl gerade in der Mitte der Skene, also vor der Hauptthür derselben, sich befunden haben. Die dahinter liegende Thür selbst wird im Verlaufe der Handlung nicht gebraucht; dagegen kommt eine zweite Thür, welche den nach Athen hin führenden Weg anzeigt, sei es nun die rechte Seitenthür, oder die rechte Nebenthür, mehrmals in Anwendung. Eine Aenderung der Scenerie im Verlaufe des zweiten Actes tritt nicht ein.

Was das Auftreten der Personen anlangt, so lassen Genelli (p. 227), Droysen, Donner, Hermann und Schömann den Ore-

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\*) Auch Kock's (p. 17) Ausdruck ist befremdend, wenn er von einer vollständigen Veränderung der Decoration auf den Periakten spricht. Durch die Drehung der Periakten allein wird keine Verlegung des Schauspielplatzes bewirkt; werden sie gedreht, so muss auch zugleich alle Mal ein Wechsel in der Decoration der Bühnenwand eintreten.

stes von der Seite der Fremde her zum Bilde der Pallas kommen; und zwar geschieht dies nach Schömann durch die Orchestra hin. Aber durch die Orchestra kommend treten die Schauspieler nicht auf, und auch Schömann bringt für seine Bestimmung keinen Beweis bei. Aber auch auf dem aus der Fremde herkommenden Wege kann Orestes nicht erscheinen. Denn erstlich stimmt dies nicht mit den Worten des Textes. Orestes beginnt seine Rede mit ἤνω; er befindet sich also bereits bei dem Bilde der Pallas; und von einem Herankommen ist keine Rede. Sodann müsste Orestes, wenn er vor den Augen der Zuschauer ankäme, im Geleite von Hermes erscheinen. Letzterer aber wird nicht sichtbar. Es ist also wohl nicht zu bezweifeln, dass Orestes, sobald die alte Couliissenwand sich entfernt, schon an dem Bilde der Pallas, zu dem er durch die Mittelthür vorgetreten ist, verweilend erblickt wird, gerade wie Aias beim Beginn des zweiten Actes des gleichnamigen Sophokleischen Stückes auch an seinem Platze stehend gesehen wird. Der Grund, warum der Dichter es so eingerichtet hat, ist nicht schwer einzusehen. Da der Chor der Erinyen genau der Spur des Orestes folgen muss (denn es ist die von jenem zurückgelassene Blutspur, der er folgt), so mussten beide, Orestes wie der Chor, durch die Orchestra oder auf dem Logeion erscheinen. Das Erstere war nicht thunlich, weil ein Schauspieler nicht durch die Orchestra her erscheinen darf; wurde das letztere Mittel ergriffen, so gelangte der Chor auf die Bühne, wo er nicht bleiben sollte und die Parodos nicht recitiren konnte. Nur dadurch also, dass Orestes beim Beginne des Actes schon am Bilde der Göttin sich befindet, nicht erst herzukommt, liess sich die Schwierigkeit heben. Auf welchem Wege Orestes mit Hermes zum Bilde gelangt und von dem Gotte daselbst zurückgelassen worden ist, wurde dem Zuschauer nicht vor Augen gebracht; mithin stand es dem Dichter frei, den Chor in der Orchestra erscheinen zu lassen. Dass er aber da wirklich erscheint, ergiebt sich aus der anapästischen Parodos, die mit 304 beginnt. — Einen Anlass auf die Bühne zu steigen hat der Chor nicht. Der von ihm Verfolgte ist in seiner Nähe, kann dem Chor nicht entrinnen, wird durch das Lied des Chores gebannt. Da also ein weiteres Suchen und Festhalten nicht erforderlich ist, so bleibt er auch in der Orchestra.

285 ruft Orestes die Athena und bittet sie, ihm zu Hülfe zu eilen. Sie erscheint auch 389, und zwar, wie fast Alle an-



nehmen, aus der Höhe her. Nur Schömann ist (p. 178) der Ansicht, dass sie aus dem Hintergrunde der Bühne hervortrete. Aber da die Göttin vom Skamander herkommt, da der Dichter das Herabkommen derselben aus der Höhe so deutlich bemerklich macht, was zu wissen ganz überflüssig wäre, wenn die Göttin zu Fusse einträte: so kann man nicht zweifeln, dass sie vor den Augen der Zuschauer sich herabsenkt; und da sie aus der Fremde her kommt, muss es an der linken Seite der Bühne geschehen. Streitig ist nur, ob sie auf einem mit Rossen bespannten Wagen, wie Genelli (p. 230), Donner, Droysen, und Geppert\*) meinen, erscheint, oder ob sie, und das ist Hermann's Ansicht (zu 397), *per auras advenit, Aegide tanquam alis utens eaque pedum gressum accelerans*. Die Entscheidung hierüber hängt von der Erklärung der Worte 395 ἤλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα, πτερῶν ἄτερ φοιβοδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος, κώλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδε ἐπιζείξασ' ὄχον ab. Uebersetzt man dieselben: ich bin hierher gekommen, nachdem ich diesen Wagen mit kraftvollen Rossen bespannt habe, so dass bei der schnellen Fahrt sich die Aegis aufbauchte: so ist freilich offenbar, dass die Göttin zu Wagen ankommt. Aber die Uebersetzung ist falsch. Um diesen Sinn zu haben, hätte der letzte Vers jedenfalls voranstehen müssen. Er enthält die Hauptsache, und das die Aegis Betreffende, wodurch die Schnelligkeit der Reise veranschaulicht werden soll, hätte nachstehen müssen. Aber auch copulativ darf man die Participia nicht verbinden (ich bin gekommen, indem .... und nachdem ....). Denn wozu hätte Athena sich einer doppelten Kraft bedienen sollen, wo eine einzige zulangte, die schwellende Aegis oder die muthigen Rosse? Die Mehrheit der Mittel würde nur das Wunderbare in ihrer Fahrt schwächen oder zerstören, nicht erhöhen. Es bleibt also nur übrig, den letzten Vers als erläuternden Zusatz zu dem vorausgehenden Participium anzusetzen. Die Worte heissen alsdann: ich bin gekommen, und zwar ἄτρυτον πόδα (also so dass ihre Füße dabei thätig waren), indem ich ohne Fittige die Aegis anschwellte, so dass diese mich durch die Luft getragen hat. Dann kann freilich von dem Dasein eines Wagens nicht mehr die Rede sein. Die Göttin schreitet durch die Wolken, und die ihren Unterkörper umgebenden Wolken sind der Wagen, der sie trägt, und auf den sie demnach sehr wohl hinweisen kann. Unter den mächtigen Rossen ist die unausgesetzt schnelle

\*) Pag. 182; er meint, dass sie auf der μηχανή steht.



durch die schwellende Aegis hervorgerufene Bewegung personificirt; die Kraft, welche den Wagen fortreisst, wird bezeichnet als die dem Wagen vorgelegten Rosse. Die Göttin kommt also schreitend durch die Luft (aber so dass das Schreiten wegen der die Göttin umgebenden Luft nicht wahrnehmbar ist) ohne Wagen und Rosse in derselben Stellung an, wie sie auf den Panathenäischen Preisvasen so oft dargestellt ist. Von steifbeinigen Rossen kann nicht weiter die Rede sein, und auch die Schwierigkeit, was aus dem Wagen wird, nachdem ihn die Göttin verlassen hat, hebt sich von selbst. Denn da er unbespannt ist, also einer Leitung durch Menschenhände nicht bedarf, so entschwebt er wieder nach der Höhe hin zurück, von woher er gekommen ist. Der zuletzt angeführten Schwierigkeit entgeht freilich auch Genelli; aber durch welche Voraussetzungen! Er meint (p. 230), dass Athena, nachdem sie erschienen ist, in der Luft mitten vor der Skene anhält, und mitten über dem Dromos (p. 231) vor dem Giebel ihres Tempels in schwebender Haltung verbleibt, danach aber endlich (p. 232) über die Eisodos der Heimath zufährt. Das scheint mir etwas zu sein, was bei dem antiken Theater, wo ein Dach über der Bühne fehlte, und damit jedes Schweben in bedeutender Entfernung von der Bühnenwand mit unsäglichen Schwierigkeiten verbunden gewesen wäre, sich nicht ausführen liess. — In anderer Weise suchen Geppert (p. 182), Droysen und Donner der kurz vorher beregten Schwierigkeit auszuweichen. Sie lassen die Göttin schwebend verweilen und später mit dem Wagen wieder nach der Höhe entschwinden. Aber die Göttin, die eben vom Skamander hergekommen und in Athen angelangt ist, sie sollte noch einmal in die Lüfte sich erheben haben, um — in Athen Richter für den Areopagos zu bestellen, und dann mit ihnen zu Fusse (wie Alle einräumen) zurückkommen? Dazu sollte die Göttin, die leicht zu Fusse ist, eine zweite Luftreise unternommen haben? Gewiss wäre Niemand auf den Gedanken verfallen, wenn nicht der Rossewagen gewesen wäre. — Für Hermann, der wohl eingesehen hat, dass die Göttin durch die Luft einherschreitet, existirt diese Schwierigkeit nicht; er hat darum auch keinen Anstand genommen, die Göttin ohne Weiteres auf der Erde verbleiben zu lassen. Aber darin kann ich ihm nicht beistimmen, dass er zu 482 sagt: *haec locuta Minerva in interiora templi se recipit*, als sie sich entfernt um Richter zum Gerichte zu holen. Hermann setzt hierbei die Existenz des Athenentempels voraus; dieser

aber existirt nicht auf der Bühne. Wäre der Tempel sichtbar, so wäre es ferner sonderbar, dass die Göttin das Botenamt selbst übernimmt, und nicht vielmehr einen ihrer Tempeldiener hinsendet. Die Athena konnte der Dichter demnach nur dann in die Stadt sich begeben lassen, wenn ihr Tempel nicht in der Nähe war; und dahin geht sie (und dies ist auch Müller's Ansicht) zu Fusse ab, und adelt damit das alsbald zusammentretende Gericht in ganz besonderer Weise.

Zu der auf dem Areopagos abzuhaltenden Gerichtssitzung erscheinen die Richter mit Athena, und zwar von dieser geführt, von rechts her auf dem Logeion, nicht im Dromos, wie Genelli p. 232 angiebt, nicht in der Orchestra, wie Müller (Eum. p. 107) annimmt; und zwar ohne dass, wie bereits bemerkt, eine Aenderung in der Scenerie eintritt. Von woher Apollon auftritt, ist ziemlich gleichgültig; er kann selbst mit der Athena aus Athen her kommen. Wenn Genelli (p. 234) ihn als Gast der Athena aus der Gastthür der Skene eintreten lässt, so beruht dies, wie die Ansicht von Droysen und Genelli (p. 233), dass Athena aus dem Tempel her auftrete, auf der grundlosen Voraussetzung, dass ein Tempel Apollon's das Mittelstück der Scenerie bilde.

Die zum Gericht erschienenen Richter lassen sich längs der Skenenwand nieder\*); denn Athena fordert sie 700 mit ὁρθοῦσθαι auf, sich zum Abstimmen zu erheben (vergl. auch 619). Athena steht als Vorsteherin des Gerichtes wohl an der Spitze der Richter; am entgegengesetzten Ende der Richter Orestes mit Apollon. Diesen allen gegenüber befinden sich die Erinyen in der Orchestra, nur nicht so fern, wie Droysen und Genelli (die sie an der Thymele aufgestellt sein lassen) annehmen. Ob ein besonderer Tisch mit den Stimmgefäßen auf dem Logeion sich befand, ist nicht sicher. Da entbehrliche Geräthe auf der antiken Bühne nicht vorgebracht werden, und der Altar der Athena im gegenwärtigen Falle auch zum Abstimmen benutzt werden konnte, so möchte man an dem Dasein eines Tisches zweifeln.

Nachdem Orestes freigesprochen ist, und seinen Dank gegen Athena und Athen ausgesprochen hat, entfernt er sich.\*\*);

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\*) Nach Donner und Schömann auf Sitzen längs der Skenenwand, nach Genelli p. 233 und Droysen auf den Stufen des Tempels.

\*\*) 756 sagt Orestes: νῦν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους, und Athena spricht 788 von ihm als einem Abwesenden.

er will zu seinem Vaterlande, und geht also auf dem Wege zur Fremde 769 (vergl. 767) ab. Da er in seiner Rede keine Beziehung auf Apollon nimmt, ihm für seinen Beistand nicht dankt: so muss dieser bald bei Beginn von des Orestes Rede, vielleicht schon vor derselben, sich entfernen\*). Dass dagegen die Areopagiten bleiben, schliesst Hermann mit Recht aus 936; denn sie sind es, die Athena mit *πόλεως προύριον* anredet\*\*). Sobald Athena die über den Ausgang des Prozesses erbitterten Erinyen besänftigt hat, tritt der Schluss des Stückes ein, und zwar zunächst die Abführung des Chores nach dem von Athena für ihn bestimmten Orte der Verehrung, wozu die Vorbereitungen mit 985 beginnen. Dass Athena selbst die Göttinnen nicht begleitet, erinnert schon Genelli (p. 241). Auch Hermann (zu 987) ist derselben Ansicht. Aber Müller, Droysen, Donner und Schömann stimmen ihnen nicht bei; sie lassen den Festzug durch die Göttin selbst anführen. Mit Recht aber macht Hermann darauf aufmerksam, dass sie mit *χαίρετε χῦμεις* sich den Erinyen empfiehlt; ferner darauf, dass das *προτέραν στείχειν* 985 sich darauf bezieht, dass sie alsbald die Bühne verlassen will, um die Erinyen später am Orte ihres Heiligthums zu empfangen. Der Dichter hat es so eingerichtet, weil die Göttin als eine der handelnden Personen nicht durch die Orchestra abgehen durfte, und er den Chor nicht auf die Bühne bringen wollte. Er trifft den Ausweg, die Göttin dem Zuge vorausseilen zu lassen, und zwar geht sie nach rechts hin, nach welcher Seite auch der Festzug sich in Bewegung setzen muss. Da ein Tempel der Athena in der Scenerie nicht sichtbar ist, so kann die Göttin nicht, wie Genelli p. 243 meint, in ihren Tempel gehen; eben so wenig können die Areopagiten durch die Gastthüren, die auch nicht vorhanden sind, sich entfernen.

Die Personen, welche den Zug bilden, sind nach Genelli (p. 241), Donner, Schömann und Müller (Eum. p. 99) die Priesterinnen; sie sollen in Folge der Aufforderung Athena's mit brennenden Fackeln nach Genelli (p. 242) aus den Seitenthüren,

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\*) Und zwar, wenn die sonstigen Theatergesetze auch hier gelten, auf dem in die Fremde führenden Wege; aber leicht möglich, dass noch eine andere Thür da war, durch die er sich entfernen konnte.

\*\*) Genelli lässt freilich (p. 243) Apollon erst mit Athena in deren Tempel, und den Orestes gar erst am Schlusse des Stückes mit den Areopagiten in die Gastthüren hin abgehen. Aber da sind sie längst fort. Orestes muss, nachdem er das *χαῖρε* 767 ausgesprochen, sich alsbald entfernen.

wo sonst die Gesindewohnung sei, nach Droysen aus dem Tempel kommen und mit den Erinyen auf dem Wege zur Heimath abziehen. Nach dem, was sich bis jetzt herausgestellt hat, ist diese Annahme unbegründet. Tempel und Gebäude fehlen in der die nächste Umgebung darstellenden Scenerie, also können auch keine Priesterinnen vorhanden sein, und die die Göttinnen Geleitenden können demnach nur die Richter und die sonstigen des Schauens wegen herbeigeeilten Frauen, Kinder, Greisinnen und Männer aus Athen sein (1009, 840 ff.), die Athena beim Beginne des Prozesses (555, 560) von der Gerichtssitzung fern halten lässt. Da aber die Eumeniden in der Orchestra sich befinden, so steigt sicher wenigstens ein Theil der auf der Bühne befindlichen Statisten in die Orchestra hinab, um die Eumeniden nach rechts hin durch die Parodos fortzuleiten; es sind dies Statisten, keine Schauspieler; das in Bezug auf letztere bestehende Herkommen wird also nicht alterirt.

Gegen brennende Fackeln, welche Genelli, Donner, Schömann, Droysen und Müller voraussetzen, erklärt sich, und wie mir scheint mit Recht, Hermann. Da Athena 1004 sagt: *πέμψω φέγγη λαμπάδων σελασφόρων εἰς τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους*, da sie hier, wo eben der Zug beginnen soll, das Futurum braucht: so können sie jetzt noch nicht brennen. Ferner ist aber auch nicht abzusehen, woher die Geleitenden die Fackeln plötzlich herbekommen sollen. Mit Fackeln sollen nach Athena's Willen die Priesterinnen, die sie dazu entbieten will, nachdem sie selbst von der Bühne sich entfernt hat (1006), am geweihten Orte sie empfangen; im Theater wird davon noch nichts sichtbar. Danach ist zu erklären, wenn Athena 1011 gebietet, dass der Glanz der Fackeln leuchten soll; es geschieht dies erst später. Die 1024 erwähnten Feste aber gehören den in der Zukunft den Eumeniden zu feiernden an. Gegen diese Ansicht scheint nur 987 zu streiten. Dort heisst es, dass Athena *πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπόμπων*, also der gegenwärtigen, den Eumeniden ihren künftigen Wohnsitz anweisen will. Aber wer den Worten diese Deutung unterschieben wollte, müsste auch einräumen, dass (nach 988 *ἴτε καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι*) die Geleitenden mit Opferthieren abziehen. Aber diese wie die Fackeln sind nicht sichtbar, nicht im Theater vorhanden. V. 1021 *ἴτε ... σὺν πυριδάπτῳ λάμπα τερόπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν* ist weniger anstössig, da der Zug erst beginnt, und somit Fackeln bei weiterer Fortsetzung des Zuges noch immer erscheinen können. Wie dies aber in Bezug auf

die Fackeln später geschieht, nämlich dann, wenn Athena unterwegs mit ihren Priesterinnen zum Zuge stösst, so bringen die Priesterinnen alsdann auch die Opferthiere mit. Das Pronomen *τῶνδε* in 987 ist also, auch ohne dass die Fackeln im Theater gesehen werden, in Ordnung, indem die Geleiterinnen der Erinyen den Zuschauern vor Augen sind; das andere *τῶνδε* in 988 ist von *σπαγίων* abhängig und bezieht sich wie das unmittelbar vorausgehende auf *προπόμπων*. Ich halte daher Hermann's Ansicht für die richtige.

### Ch o ë p h o r o i.

Genelli (l. l. p. 186) ist der Ansicht, dass die in den Choephoren gebrauchte Scenerie sich von der im Agamemnon angewendeten nicht unterschieden habe. Er lässt daher die Thymele das Grab Agamemnon's vorstellen, und zu ihm den Orestes und Pylades von links herzukommen. Gleicher Ansicht sind auch Droysen, Donner und Franz. Mit Recht aber erklärt sich Hermann (*de re scen.* p. 8) dagegen, dass das Grab in der Orchestra sein könne; denn Schauspieler treten der gewöhnlichen Ordnung nach in der Orchestra nicht auf, gehen nicht in sie hinab. Wenn er dagegen die Scene in den Choephoren ebenfalls für gleich mit der im Agamemnon schon angewendeten erklärt, und das Grab *in margine proscenii* ansetzt: so ist dadurch nicht viel gewonnen. Denn welche Unwahrscheinlichkeiten und Schwierigkeiten entstehen nicht, wenn das Grab in der Nähe des Herrscherpalastes sich befindet! Ich will nicht besonders hervorheben, dass, wenn das Grab an der linken-Periakte lag (denn unmittelbar neben dem Palaste lässt es sich doch nicht denken), die Handlung in den ersten Scenen ganz an die Seite des Logeion hin gedrängt wird. Ist es aber glaublich, dass Klytaimnestra das Grab des von ihr ermordeten Gatten in die Nähe ihrer Wohnung, wo sie es täglich vor Augen haben und täglich an ihre That erinnert werden musste, werde verlegt haben? Wenn Hermann das Grab des Dareios neben dem Palaste des Xerxes als Analogon nennt (er hätte auch das des Proteus in der Helene nennen können): so ist das Persische, nicht Hellenische Sitte. Ausserdem galt es da, den Todten zu ehren; man wollte ihm nahe bleiben. Das konnte Klytaimnestra um ihrer selbst willen nicht wünschen; sie konnte auch nicht wünschen, es denen vor Augen zu rücken, die in ihrem Palaste verkehrten. Sodann, wenn das Grab neben dem

Palaste lag, wie kommt es, dass Orestes und Pylades keine Besorgniss äussern, am Grabe gesehen, belauscht zu werden? dass sie nicht fürchten, ihre Zusammenkunft werde im Palaste bemerkt werden? Ferner fällt es auf, dass in den ersten Scenen nirgends eine Andeutung davon da ist, dass man den Palast sah, und doch lag es sehr nahe, auf die Wohnung der Frevler (10) hinzudeuten, wenn sie sichtbar war. Ja der Chor nimmt 262 offenbar nicht einmal die Möglichkeit an, dass er und die Geschwister vom Palaste aus könnten beobachtet werden; nur erfahren (*πείσεται*) könne man dort, was am Grabe vorgegangen sei. Alles dies macht es höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass das Grab neben dem Palaste sich befunden hat, und dass die Scenerie aus dem Agamemnon auch in den Choephoren beibehalten worden ist. Dazu kommt: so wie in den ersten Scenen jede Hinweisung auf den Palast als sichtbaren fehlt, so fehlt in den letzten jede auf das Grab als ein nahes, den Zuschauern vor Augen liegendes. Berücksichtigt man endlich, dass der Chor dem Orestes 575 empfiehlt: *ὑμῖν δ' ἐπαινῶ γλῶσσαν εὐφημον φέρειν, σιγᾶν θ' ὅποι· δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια*, bei der alsbald erfolgenden Rückkehr zum Königspalaste ein Lied anstimmt, in dem er, trotz dem dass er dem Orestes wohl will, offen seinen Hass gegen die Frevelthat der Klytaimnestra ausspricht und die Hoffnung laut werden lässt, dass die Rache alsbald durch Orestes eintreten werde, und zwar gerade am Ende des Liedes, wo man voraussetzen muss, er sei dem Palaste ganz nahe: so kann der Chor bei der für gewöhnlich angenommenen Scenerie durch nichts mehr dem Wunsche des Orestes zuwider handeln, nichts Einfältigeres thun, als ein derartiges Lied singen. Die für gewöhnlich angenommene Scenerie ist also keines Falles haltbar. Weil aber überdies die Scenerie in der zweiten Hälfte des Stückes durchaus keine Beziehung auf die der ersten Hälfte nimmt: so scheint wohl evident, dass eine doppelte Scenerie in dem Stücke angewendet worden ist. Der Grund, warum man es nicht bemerkt hat, ist der, dass man nicht erkannt hat, wo der Anfang des zweiten Actes ist. Es ist derselbe aber bei 638; und verlegt man die Handlung des ersten Actes in eine dem Palaste fernere Gegend, dann hindert nichts, dass der Chor dort seinen Abscheu vor der Greuelthat ausspreche; die Scenen am Grabe erwecken keinerlei Beanstandung, und die Lage des Grabes ist so, wie man erwarten muss, dass sie durch Klytaimnestra werde bestimmt worden sein; dann kann es auch nicht auffallen, dass die Hand-



lung des zweiten Actes die Scenerie des ersten gänzlich ignorirt.

Was nun die Scenerie des ersten Actes anlangt, so ist deren Mittelpunkt der Grabhügel Agamemnon's; denn an ihm konzentriert sich die Handlung. Es liegt derselbe in einer öden, vielleicht hügelichten Gegend, fern von dem königlichen Palaste; und wenn er nicht vor der Mittelthür der Skene sich befand, lag er etwas mehr der linken Nebenthür zu. Von der Stadt oder dem Königspalaste war höchstens, falls es überhaupt der Fall war, nur wenig in der Ferne, und zwar nach der rechten Seite hin, von woher der Chor und Elektra erscheinen, angedeutet. Auch Bäume und Gebüsche, welche das Grab umgaben, mögen nicht gefehlt haben; sie boten am einfachsten ein Versteck für Orestes und seinen Freund dar. Doch dies ist nur möglich; das einzig sicher durch die Handlung Angedeutete ist, dass das Grab der Stadt fern liegt. Thüren sind im ersten Acte nur zwei an der rechten und linken Seite der Skene erforderlich; vielleicht befand sich aber noch eine dritte durch Gebüsch verdeckte in der Nähe des Grabes. — Die Scenerie wird im ersten Acte nicht geändert. Da mit 638 ein neuer Act und demnach eine neue Scenerie eintritt, so muss vor allem die Bühne alsdann leer sein. Dies ist auch der Fall; Orestes und Pylades haben eben so wie Elektra die Bühne verlassen. Aber auch der Chor zieht mit dem Liede, welches 579 beginnt, der Heimath zu, und verschwindet 638 durch die rechte Parodos, wie sich besonders daraus ergibt, dass er 705—715 abermals mit Anapästen von neuem einzieht. Also auch die Orchestra wird leer, und nichts hindert den Eintritt der neuen Scenerie.

Die zweite Scenerie zeigt den Königspalast in der Mitte der Bühne; ihm zur Linken liegt die Gastwohnung; rechts dagegen an der Seite der Heimath, von woher der Chor kommt, war entweder eine Andeutung der nahegelegenen Stadt, oder es befanden sich dort die Wohnungen der Sklaven; denn von rechts her tritt der Chor durch die Parodos ein. Da der aus der Gastwohnung 862 kommende Sklave, welcher der Klytaimnestra im Palaste von dem Vorgefallenen Nachricht geben soll, zu dem Behufe über die Skene kommt: so muss die Gastwohnung ein vom Palaste getrenntes Gebäude sein. Ihre Stellung zur Linken des Palastes ist ihr nur auf Grund davon, dass Pollux es so bestimmt, angewiesen worden. Zu einer in der Skenenfront liegenden Gesindewohnung bietet das Stück, wie



ich später zeigen wird, keinen Anlass dar. Thüren werden folgende gebraucht: die zwei an den Seiten befindlichen, welche nach der Fremde und der Stadt führen, und die zwei zum Palaste und der Gastwohnung führenden. Eine Veränderung der Scenerie innerhalb des zweiten Actes tritt nicht ein.

Ich gehe zu dem Auf- und Abtreten der Personen und war zunächst im ersten Acte über. Diejenigen, welche nur die Scenerie durch das ganze Stück hindurch annehmen und das Grab Agamemnon's in die Orchestra verlegen, sind genöthigt, den Chor auf der Bühne auftreten, und von dort alsbald in die Orchestra hinabsteigen zu lassen; so Genelli (p. 190, 92), Droysen und Donner. Aber auch Hermann (*de re scen.* v. 9) ist gleicher Ansicht, weil er nicht wagt, den Chor ohne zwingenden Anlass auf der Bühne verbleiben zu lassen. Da aber der Chor, der von der Königin ausgesendet worden war, aus dem Palaste, der sichtbar sein sollte, ausgegangen war: so blieb kaum etwas Anderes übrig, als dass er auf der Bühne erschien. Ist dagegen der Palast im ersten Acte nicht sichtbar, also auch nicht sichtbar, aus welchem Gebäude der Chor seinen Auszug beginnt: so wird wohl Niemand geneigt sein, den Chor auf diese Weise auftreten zu lassen. Der Chor kommt durch die Parodos\*) und zwar aus der Heimath, also durch die rechte Parodos. Dies ist auch die Ansicht Kock's (p. 20). Wenn letzterer dagegen etwa auch Elektra in Begleitung des Chores auf demselben Wege will erscheinen lassen, so kann ich nicht umhin ihm hierin zu widersprechen, weil ein Schauspieler nicht auf diesem Wege auftreten kann. Elektra muss auf der Bühne auftreten, und erscheint selbst nicht in der Begleitung des Chores. Orestes glaubt allerdings (v. 16) sie unter den Frauen zu sehen. Aber es ist ein Irrthum und eine Täuschung, in die ihn der Dichter verfallen lässt. Spricht sich doch in der Täuschung seine gewaltige Sehnsucht nach der Schwester und der Heimath so schön aus. Denn kaum hat er die zum Grabe kommenden Frauen bemerkt, so kann er nicht anders als vermuthen, dass auch die Schwester unter ihnen sich befinde. Dem ist aber nicht so. Elektra ist v. 16 noch gar nicht sichtbar, da sie unmöglich von da ab während der langen Parodos stumm und unthätig auf der Bühne verweilen kann; und Hermann hat also sicher Recht, wenn er sie erst gegen Ende des Eintritts-

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\*) Es fällt damit auch zugleich die Frage weg, ob er aus der Gesindewohnung oder, wie Andere wollen, aus der Frauenwohnung herkommt.

des (vor 75) erscheinen lässt. Elektra kommt übrigens natürlich von demselben Orte her, von dem der Chor ausgegangen ist, und auch desselben Weges, den der Chor gegangen ist; aber auf der Bühne erscheint sie durch die rechte Seitenthür. Sie trifft am Grabe mit den Frauen zusammen, welche Klytaimnestra als Begleiterinnen der Tochter eben dahin (22) gesendet hat, und deren einige wohl die zum Opfer nöthigen Dinge tragen. Da nur Elektra allein opfert, nicht der Chor mit ihr (121), so bleibt derselbe in der Orchestra. Nach dem Opfer aber verlässt der Chor die Orchestra, Elektra das Logeion, indem beide den Weg nach der Heimath nehmen, jedoch durch die verschiedenen Zugänge hin, durch welche sie erschienen sind. Um die Verschiedenheit der Thüren, deren beide sich dabei bedienen, zu verdecken, entfernt sich Elektra zuerst, der Chor geht später ab. — Dass Orestes und Pylades im ersten Acte nicht hinter einem Vorsprunge des Logeion, wie Genelli vermuthet, sondern in der Nähe des Grabes hinter Gebüsch auf dem Logeion sich verbergen, bedarf kaum der Erwähnung.

Im zweiten Acte treten Orestes und Pylades von der Seite der Fremde her auf. Dies geschieht nach Droysen's und Donner's Ansicht durch die Orchestra, um an die Thür der Gastwohnung zu gelangen. Sie setzen demnach auch voraus, dass Klytaimnestra aus der Gastwohnung erscheine; und eben daher lässt sie auch wohl Genelli (p. 203) auftreten, wenn er bemerkt, dass sie aus der Thür der Gesindewohnung trete. Aber fürs Erste können die Fremden nicht vermuthen, dass die Herren des Hauses in dem Fremdenhause seien; sie können daher nicht an dieser Thür um Aufnahme bitten. Sodann kann aber auch Klytaimnestra weder in der Gastwohnung noch in der Gesindewohnung sich befinden. Sie bewohnt als Königin den Palast\*), kommt von daher; dort pochen Orestes und Pylades an; und nachdem Klytaimnestra beide in die Gastwohnung hat abführen lassen, geht sie in den Palast zurück. Dass Elektra es nicht ist, welche die Fremden in das Gasthaus führt (Genelli ist dieser Ansicht pag. 203), ist zweifellos. Elektra spricht im zweiten Acte kein Wort; und sie, die so lebhaft bei allem, was vorgeht, betheiligt ist, hätte hier ein fortdauerndes Schweigen nicht

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\*) Eine Gesindewohnung ist hier eben so übel angebracht, wie im ersten Acte, wo sie der Ausgangspunkt des Chores sein sollte; sie wird auch weiterhin nirgends gebraucht, und war daher gewiss nicht als ein Haupttheil der Scenerie dargestellt.

bewahren können und dürfen; sie wird also hier nicht sichtbar. Sobald die Königin 704 in den Palast zurückgekehrt ist, erscheint der Chor, und zwar natürlich durch die Thür, durch welche er abgegangen war, durch die rechte Parodos in der Orchestra. Dass er wirklich erst jetzt kommt, zeigen die Anapäst, mit denen er einzieht. So klar und verständlich auf diese Weise das Erscheinen des Chores ist, so unbegreiflich sind die Anapäst und das ihnen vorausgehende Chorlied, wenn man bei 638 keinen Wechsel der Scenerie voraussetzt. Denn der Chor müsste nun abermals auf der Bühne erscheinen, und es bliebe räthselhaft, warum Orestes bei seinem Annähen zum Palaste sich nicht wenn auch nur zum Schein an den Chor mit Fragen wendete. Dass die Geilissa nicht aus der Gesindewohnung tritt, wie Genelli 205 meint, nicht durch die Orchestra zu Aigisthos geht, sondern aus dem Palast her, (in den Klytāimnestra 704 eingetreten ist) um sich nach der Seite der Stadt hin, wo Aigisthos als Herrscher beschäftigt zu denken ist, zu begeben, dass sie mit ihm von daher zurückkommt, und Aigisthos sich in die Gastwohnung begiebt, versteht sich nun von selbst. — Als Aigisthos im Innern der Gastwohnung getödtet wird, da verbirgt sich der Chor mit den Worten 859 ἀποσταθῶμεν, ὅπως δοκῶμεν τῶνδ' ἀναίτιαι κακῶν εἶναι, an den Parodois, wie Hermann richtig bemerkt hat, nicht aber auf den der Bühne abgewandten Stufen des Grabes, wie Droysen meint, oder hinter dem Grabe Agamemnon's, wie Donner glaubt. Der Sklave aber, der aus der Gastwohnung stürzt, um Klytāimnestra von dem Vorgefallenen zu benachrichtigen, klopft (864 ἀνοίξατε καὶ γυναιχείους πύλας μοχλοῖς χαλᾶτε) an den Königspalast an, in den Klytāimnestra 704 sich begeben hat. — Das Nächstfolgende bedarf keiner Erläuterung. Nachdem aber Orestes auch die Mutter getödtet hat, erscheint er von neuem, und zwar nach Genelli (p. 208) durch die königliche Thür, also aus dem Palaste, obgleich auch Genelli annimmt, dass der Mord in der Gastwohnung geschehen ist. Als Grund dafür führt er an, weil er sich durch den Mord in den Besitz des Palastes gesetzt habe. Aber darin irrt Genelli sicher; denn eine Verbindung zwischen der Gast- und Gesindewohnung wird nirgends bemerklich gemacht. Ueberdies ist Klytāimnestra, wie bereits angegeben worden ist, nicht in der Gesindewohnung, sondern im Palaste. So wie aber der Sklave aus der Gastwohnung über die Skene gehen musste, um zum Palaste zu gelangen, so musste auch Orestes diesen und keinen andern Weg ein-

schlagen, wenn er zum Palaste kommen wollte. — Als Orestes den Aigisthos getödtet hat und aus der Gastwohnung gekommen ist, um die auf der Skene befindliche Klytaimnestra ebenfalls in die Gastwohnung zu bringen und dort neben Aigisthos zu tödten (882 u. 892), kann es fraglich sein, ob die Leiche des Aigisthos bereits sichtbar geworden ist. Orestes nämlich scheint auf sie 880 mit *τῷδε δ' ἀρχοίντως ἔχεις* und 892 mit *πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδε σὲ σφάξαι θέλω*, endlich auch 895 (*τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον*) hinzuweisen; dennoch hat kein Erklärer daran gedacht, dies schon jetzt eintreten zu lassen. Dass hingegen nach geschehener Ermordung der Klytaimnestra deren Leiche und die des Aigisthos bei dem Wiedererscheinen des Orestes sichtbar werden, daran lassen die ersten Worte, die Orestes spricht (967 *ἴδεσθε χώρας τὴν διπλὴν τυραννίδα*), nicht zweifeln. Zweifelhaft ist nur, wie Orestes und die Leichen sichtbar werden. Der Scholiast (zu 967), O. Müller kleine Schriften I. p. 532 und Geppert (p. 175) lassen es mit Hülfe des Ekkyklema geschehen; Hermann dagegen lässt nur den Orestes, nicht die Leichen, erscheinen; Donner und Droysen endlich meinen, dass die zwei Leichen halbverhüllt auf einer Bahre den aus dem Palaste tretenden Orestes und Pylades nachgetragen werden. Gleicher Ansicht ist auch Genelli (p. 209), nur lässt er dies von der Gastwohnung her geschehen. So viel ist sicher, dass die Leichen nur da erscheinen können, wo Orestes erscheint; hier also muss es an der Gastwohnung geschehen. Für das Erscheinen der Leichen zeugen die angeführten Worte (967) und der solenne Gebrauch der antiken Tragödie, die Getödteten oder Gestorbenen den Zuschauern vor Augen zu stellen, und es ist nicht einzusehen, warum hier eine Abweichung von der Regel stattfinden sollte. Ferner ist nicht einzusehen, warum Diener dazu sollten gebraucht worden sein, wobei das Ekkyklema sonst regelmässig in Anwendung kommt. Orestes aber erscheint sicher nicht auf dem Ekkyklema. Wo Lebende in der Weise sichtbar werden, bleiben sie an dem Orte, wo sie erschienen sind, und müssen später auch schnell verschwinden. Beides ist bei Orestes nicht der Fall. Der den Orestes bald befallende Wahnsinn treibt ihn fort; also wird er auch nicht auf dem Ekkyklema stehend zum Vorschein gekommen sein. Elektra ist in der letzten Scene, wie selbst Genelli p. 213 zugeibt, nicht gegenwärtig; wäre sie es, so würde sie ein Wort der Klage über das den Bruder betreffende Leid sagen müssen. — Fraglich ist endlich, ob die Erinyen, die Orestes kurz vor dem Schlusse des Stückes sieht, wirklich erscheinen, oder nur

in der Einbildung des Orestes existiren. Für Ersteres erklären sich Geppert (p. 117 Anm. 2), Müller und Genelli, aber sicher mit Unrecht. Denn erstlich betheuert der Chor dem Orestes zwei Mal, dass es nur Einbildung seines Geistes sei, was ihn quäle. Es ist aber auf dies Zeugniß des Chores um so mehr zu bauen, weil es nur schwache, der Furcht leicht zugängliche Frauen sind, die es aussprechen. Wären auch ihnen die Eumeniden in ihrer Nähe sichtbar geworden, so hätte Aischylos nimmer ihnen das Zeugniß des Gegentheils in den Mund legen können. Sodann würde aber auch durch das Erscheinen der Erinyen am Schlusse der Choephoren der Eindruck ihres Erscheinens in den Eumeniden sehr abgeschwächt worden sein, und zwar ohne dass am Schlusse der Choephoren etwas Wichtiges durch ihren Anblick erreicht worden wäre. Grausen musste die Zuschauer ohnedies befallen, wenn sie den Orestes, mit dessen Handlungsweise als einer durch die Noth gebotenen sie noch eben mehr oder weniger sich zufrieden fühlten, plötzlich wahnsinnig und in der höchsten Angst forteilen sehen; was bedurfte es hier noch die Erinyen selbst zu erblicken?

Am Schlusse entfernt sich Orestes auf dem Wege zur Fremde, um nach Delphoi zu gehen, natürlich nicht durch die Orchestra (vergl. Hermann zu 1059). Pylades kehrt in die Gastwohnung zurück, und die Leichen verschwinden; der Chor geht durch die rechte Parodos ab. Wenn Droysen ihn über die Bühne in den Palast, Genelli (p. 213) auf gleichem Wege in die Gesindewohnung abgehen lässt: so wirken hier frühere Missverständnisse nach; beide sehen sich genöthigt, ihn nach dem Orte zurück zu bringen, von wo sie ihn hatten sichtbar werden lassen.

### • Iphigeneia in Aulis.

Die Handlung geht am Strande von Aulis vor sich (81, 804, 807 ff., 165) und die Scenerie stellt den Theil des Hellenischen Lagers dar, in dem Agamemnon sich befindet; nicht Zelte, sondern Baracken oder Hütten\*). Zwei derselben nehmen die Mitte der Skene ein, und zwar befindet sich die Hütte Agamemnon's an der Mittelthür der Skene, die seiner Diener daneben zur Linken (854, 855, 863); denn die rechte Seite der

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\*) Ausser *δόμοι* (1) und *δῶματα* (440, 1110) werden sie *στέγαι* (1099) und namentlich öfters *μέλαθρα* (612, 678, 685, 1340) genannt, an denen sich *πύλαι* (317, 857, 862, 803), ja *κλῆθρα* (149) befinden.

Bühne wird anderweitig in Anspruch genommen. Eine Andeutung, dass das Meer sichtbar gewesen ist, kommt nicht vor. Nirgends weist der Chor in der das Lager und die Umgegend beschreibenden Parodos auf dasselbe als etwas sichtbares hin. Noch weniger ist aus den Worten 813 *ἐπὶ λεπταῖς ταισίδ' Εὐρύπλου πνοαῖς* zu folgern; und die rechte Seite der Bühne, nach welcher hin das Meer dargestellt sein müsste, kann eine Andeutung des dahinwärts sich ausdehnenden Lagers nicht entbehren. Letzteres dehnt sich nämlich über die ganze Skene hin aus. Durch die rechte Nebenthür geht die Strasse, die nach der Mitte des Lagers führend zugleich dem Orte zugeht, wo Iphigeneia geopfert wird; und auf ihr liegt der Hain der Artemis in blumiger Au 185, 1544 ff. 1555. Der von rechts her eintretende Chor macht nöthig, dass das Lager bis an die rechte Seitenthür fortgehe. Dass Hütten Hellenischer Krieger auch an der linken Seitenthür zu sehen sind, zeigen wohl die Verse 425 ff. — Was die von Geppert p. 148 angegebenen Einzelheiten anlangt, von denen er meint, dass sie auf und durch die Coulissen seien dargestellt gewesen: so scheinen dieselben wenig geeignet, zur Belebung und Veranschaulichung der Handlung beizutragen, nirgends wird auf sie im Stücke Rücksicht genommen; da sie mithin ohne Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Handlung sind, so sind sie wohl überhaupt nicht dargestellt gewesen.

• Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; Thüren sind, wie es scheint, fünf erforderlich.

Durch die Mittelthür tritt aus Agamemnon's Hütte 1 Agamemnon; er geht dahin 163 zurück, und kommt 317 abermals von dort heraus. 685 geht Iphigeneia, 741 Klytaimnestra in sie hinein, kommt 819 von da, geht 1035 dahin zurück, kommt 1098 von da, ferner Iphigeneia mit Orestes 1120; endlich geht Klytaimnestra nach 1467 wieder in sie hinein [wie 1532 voraussetzt; und sie kommt von da 1534 heraus].\*)

• Aus der Hütte daneben durch die linke Nebenthür kommt 1 der Greis, der sich nach 316 wieder dahin zurückschleicht, 855 von neuem von daher kommt, und sich dahin nach 895 fortschleicht. In diese Thür geht wohl auch der 414 erschienene Bote 440. In die Fremde durch die linke Seitenthür geht 160 der Greis; von daher kommt er mit Menelaos 303. — Nach

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\*) Die Klammern beziehen sich auf den später dem Stücke angefügten Schluss.



dem Heerlager, und zwar der Gegend desselben, wo die Opferung Iphigeneia's stattfinden soll, tritt durch die rechte Nebenthür ab Menelaos 542; dahinwärts geht Agamemnon zu Kalchas 750 (vergl. 746); von da kommt er um 1106 zurück, und geht abermals hin 1275. Eben dahin geht Achilleus zum Orte der Opferung 1433, ferner Iphigeneia [1531, und von da erscheint der Bote 1532 und Agamemnon 1621]. Durch die rechte Seitenthür, die zum Meere hinführt, erscheint Achilleus; denn am Euripos hatte er sein Lager bezogen; er geht 1035 dahin zurück, und kommt von da abermals 1345. Der Chor, der aus dem dem Schauplatze benachbarten Chalkis herkommt, überdies auch nicht unmittelbar von der Reise her auftritt, sondern nachdem er schon das ganze Lager durchwandert ist, kommt durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra 164. — Klytaimnestra kommt aus der Fremde, also von links, und zwar auf einem mit Rossen bespannten Wagen 619. Sie fährt also in die Orchestra ein, nicht auf die Bühne. Denn selbst wenn die Verse 598—606 unächt sind (und äusserst verdächtig sind sie schon darum, weil das auf sie Folgende sich nicht an sie, sondern an das ihnen Vorangehende anschliesst), so bezieht sich doch das *σόν* in den Worten *τὸ σόν τε χρηστὸν καὶ λόγων εὐφημίαν* (608) jedenfalls auf den Chor. Und wenn Klytaimnestra 610 weiter fortfährt: *ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων ἔξω πορεύεθ' ὅς φέρω φερνὰς κόρη*: so kann hier die zweite Person des Pluralis auch nur auf den Chor gehen, weil ein Gegensatz gegen das frühere Subject, etwa durch ein *ὑμεῖς δέ*, nicht angedeutet ist. Ein Gegensatz tritt in der That 615 ein, nachdem Klytaimnestra zur Iphigeneia gesagt hat: *σὺ λείπε πωλικούς ὄχους*; denn hier sagt Klytaimnestra weiter: *ὑμεῖς δὲ νεάνιδές νιν* (die Iphigeneia) *ἀγκάλαις ἔπι δέξασθε καὶ πορεύσασ' ἐξ ὀχημάτων*. Aber die *ὑμεῖς* sind hier wieder der Chor, nicht eigne Dienerinnen der Klytaimnestra. Letztere redet sie, obgleich sie Frauen sind (vergl. 469 und besonders 176)\*), schmeichelnd, und da sie ohnehin nicht über deren Stand unterrichtet sein kann, mit *νεάνιδες* an, heisst offenbar einige aus ihrer Zahl 619 vor die Pferde treten, damit diese nicht scheu werden, übergiebt einer andern aus dieser Schaar 621 den kleinen Orestes; und die Königin ist also nicht von eignen Dienerinnen, sondern vom Chore um-

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\*) Kock sagt p. 24 freilich: Der Chor besteht aus chalkidischen Mädchen. Worauf er aber diese Behauptung gründet, weiss ich nicht; denn 187: *φρονίσσουσα παρῇδ' ἐμὴν αἰσχύναν νεοθαλεῖ* beweist es nicht.



geben, also in der Orchestra. Wäre sie auf der Bühne angekommen, so würde Agamemnon oder wenigstens dessen Diener der Königin beim Absteigen vom Wagen behülflich gewesen sein.

Der Schluss des Stückes giebt in Bezug auf das Abtreten der Personen zu keinen Zweifeln Anlass. Endet das Stück mit 1509, so geht Iphigeneia zum Orte der Opferung von einem Diener Agamemnon's geführt 1463 ab, Klytaimnestra geht ins Zelt Agamemnon's, der Chor entfernt sich durch die Parodos; denn das *ἄγερé με*, was Klytaimnestra 1475 sagt, geht nicht auf den Chor, sondern auf andere im Heere befindliche Diener. 1468 hat sie allerdings den Chor angeredet, aber 1471 hat sie sich bereits an Andere als an den Chor gewendet. Erst mit 1491 wird der Chor nochmals angeredet, und zwar von Iphigeneia; diese bittet ihn aber nicht um seine Begleitung, sondern dass er zur Artemis um Sieg beten solle. So macht denn auch der Chor in der That keine Anstalten, die Iphigeneia zu begleiten, sondern spricht nur 1500 und 1504 seine Bewunderung über deren Entschluss aus. — Nach dem späteren Ende des Stückes geht Agamemnon ins Heer ab, der Chor wünscht ihm zum Zuge Glück, und geht dahin, woher er gekommen ist, Klytaimnestra geht mit Orestes ins Zelt Agamemnon's, um später nach Hause zu fahren. Ein augenblickliches Aufbrechen ist schon darum nicht thunlich, weil der Wagen der Königin nicht zur Stelle ist.

Ueber den nach 316 und 895 sich fortschleichenden Greis vergl. das zu Soph. Elektra 1383 Gesagte.

### H e k a b e.

Der Schauplatz ist die Küste des Thrakischen Chersonesos 8, 33, und die Scenerie stellt von den Zelten der Achäer speciell diejenigen dar, in denen die gefangenen Troerinnen untergebracht sind. Es sind deren mehrere (880, 980, 1014 ff.). Das Zelt Agamemnon's aber (53), in dem Hekabe sich aufhält, nimmt die Mitte der Skene an der Mittelthür ein; ihm zur Seite stehen andere, deren Zahl sich nicht angeben lässt, weil Schauspieler aus ihnen nicht auftreten. — An der linken Seitenthür führt ein Weg zu dem öden Meergestade. Da das Meer selbst nicht sichtbar ist, so verstösst diese Anordnung nicht gegen das alte Gesetz, dass man das Meer an der rechten Seite der Bühne darstellen soll. Da der Chor von rechts herkommen muss, so wird in der Nähe der rechten Periakte das dahinwärts

fortgehende Schiffslager durch weitere Zelte angedeutet worden sein, während sie nach links von der Mittelthür aus nicht erforderlich sind. Nächst dem ist noch eine Thür nöthig, die zu dem Theile des Hellenischen Lagers hinführt, wo die Fürsten den Tod der Polyxene beschlossen haben; es ist der Ort, mit dem die lebhafteste Communication im Stücke stattfindet. Der Ort muss der Heimath zuliegen; es ist also wohl die rechte Nebenthür, die den dorthin führenden Weg, zu beiden Seiten von Zelten oder Anfängen von Zeltreihen eingefasst, bezeichnet. Endlich da Polymestor durch das Heer zur Hekabe kommt, aber doch zugleich von auswärts her erscheint, so tritt er wohl nicht durch die linke Seitenthür, sondern durch die linke Nebenthür auf, analog dem Hirten im Oidipus R. — Fraglich ist endlich noch, von wo der Schatten des Polydoros erscheint, und wohin er sich 58 entfernt. Genelli (p. 73) lässt ihn aus dem Zelte der Mutter, wo er diese im Schläfe erschreckt hat, auftreten und durch die Orchestra hin zur Charonischen Stiege entweichen. Da aber diese Stiegen jedenfalls einem Ende des Logeions benachbart liegen, so sind sie vom Zelte der Hekabe zu weit ab, als dass Polydoros vor dem Auftreten der Mutter schon verschwunden sein kann. Ferner deuten auch die Worte, die er beim Scheiden spricht: *ἐκποδὼν χωρήσομαι*, nur darauf hin, dass er fort, nicht dass er unter die Erde gehen wolle. Dazu kommt: er schwebt (32) schon seit drei Tagen über und auf der Erde herum; er kann also auch sehr wohl noch länger auf ihr bleiben, wenn man nicht etwa darauf besonderes Gewicht legen will, dass er seinen Zweck auf Erden erreicht hat, und also keinen Grund hat, länger auf ihr zu verweilen. Aber stehe es auch um das Letztere wie es wolle, so viel scheint sicher, dass es einer Versenkung unter die Erde behufs seines Verschwindens nicht bedarf, und ich bin daher überzeugt, dass er durch die zum Meere führende linke Seitenthür, der Stelle zu, wo sein Leichnam sich befindet, sich entfernt. In Bezug auf sein Erscheinen sind seine Worte v. 30: *νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ μητρὸς φίλης Ἐκάβης αἰσσω*, u. v. 54, wo er sagt, dass Hekabe erscheine *φάντασμα δειμαίνουσ' ἐμὸν*, zu beachten; ferner die Worte der Hekabe 69, 72, endlich 702—707, was alles darauf hinweist, dass der Beginn der Handlung am frühen Morgen gedacht wird; und unter solchen Umständen muss der Geist aus dem Zelte der Hekabe her erscheinen. Wenn dagegen der Scholiast zu v. 1 aus den Worten des Geistes (30) *νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ μητρὸς φίλης Ἐκάβης αἰσσω, σῶμ' ἐρημώσας ἐμὸν, τριταῖον*

ἤδη φέγγος αἰωρούμενος folgert, dass Polymestor nicht auf dem Logeion sich befindet, sondern von oben, aus der Höhe her, zur Mutter spricht: so irrt er sicher. Wenn der Geist eines Ausdrucks sich bedient, der auf ein Schweben hindeutet, so thut er es, weil er für einen Geist gelten will. Das ἐκποδῶν χωρήσουμαι in 52 weist entschieden auf das Gegentheil hin. Da aber Euripides ausserdem in den Prologen oft Götter gerade so, wie die Menschen erscheinen, zum Vorschein kommen lässt, so ist nicht abzusehen, warum er hier für den Geist des Polydoros unter ähnlichen Umständen eine jedenfalls durchaus entbehrliche Maschinerie sollte angewendet haben. — Dass an eine zweifache Scenerie, deren eine eine Thrakische Gegend, eine zweite einen Punkt an der Küste von Troas darstellt, wie Musgrave in der That angenommen hat, nicht zu denken ist, hat Hermann in seiner Ausgabe der Hekabe zu 33 erschöpfend dargethan.

Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; Thüren werden vier gebraucht; doch muss an der fünften, der rechten Seitenthür, ein Weg angedeutet gewesen sein, da der Chor, der nicht aus der Fremde herkommen kann, durch die rechte Parodos eintritt 98, und auf demselben Wege sich in Folge des von Agamemnon erhaltenen Befehls 1289 auch entfernt.

Durch die Mittelthür aus dem Zelte der Hekabe tritt 1 der Geist des Polydoros, demnächst Hekabe, die schon von 53 an sichtbar ist, auf, von eben daher auch Polyxene. In das Zelt geht Hekabe 628, und kommt von da 668 zurück; in dasselbe geht auch Polymestor mit seinen Söhnen und mit Hekabe 1022, von wo Polymestor 1056, Hekabe 1043 wieder herauskommen. — Von dem Heer der Achaier durch die rechte Nebenthür kommt Odysseus 218 (vergl. 287); dahin geht er 437 mit Polyxene; von daher kommt und zwar von Agamemnon gesendet Talthybios 484, und geht dahinwärts 608. Von da kommt ferner Agamemnon 726, und kehrt dahin zurück 904, kommt wieder 1109, und lässt am Schlusse 1284 dahin den Polymestor abführen, wie er denn auch selbst 1292 durch diese Thür sich entfernt. — Die von Hekabe zum Polymestor entsandte Dienerin 890 (vergl. 889) geht durch die linke Nebenthür fort; durch diese Thür tritt der Thrakerfürst mit seinen Söhnen 952 auf. — Durch die linke Seitenthür zum Meere hin entweicht der Geist des Polydoros 58; eben dahin entfernt sich die zum Meere entsandte Dienerin um 609, die 657 (vergl. 780) von da mit der Leiche des Polydoros zurückkehrt. — Am

Schlusse des Stücks zieht sich Hekabe, die von Agamemnon die Aufforderung erhalten hat, ihre todtten Kinder zu beerdigen 1287, in das Zelt durch die Mittelthür zurück, da sie mancherlei, was zur Bestattung der Polyxene namentlich erforderlich ist, erst noch zu besorgen hat.

Dem Chor verspricht Hekabe, dass er die Leichen von Polymestor's Kindern sehen solle 1051. Diesem Versprechen wird, wie sich aus 1118 ersehen lässt, Genüge geleistet, und zwar geschieht es mit Hülfe des Ekkyklema; die Leichen sind offenbar schon vor 1083 zum Vorschein gekommen. — 1042 endlich will der Chor auf's Logeion steigen; es wird dies aber durch die 1044 auftretende Hekabe gehindert.

### T r o a d e s.

Ort der Handlung ist ein Theil von dem Zeltlager der Hellenen vor Troja, und zwar insbesondere die Abtheilung und Gegend des Lagers, in der die gefangenen Troerinnen einstweilen untergebracht sind. Von den Zelten am Orte der Handlung sind besonders zwei bezeichnet, eines, in dem Hekabe mit **Kassandra** wohnt, und ein zweites in dessen Nähe, in dem **Helene** untergebracht ist. Das erstere, vor dem die Handlung sich entwickelt, muss vor der Mittelthür der Skene sich befinden, das zweite neben ihm an der rechten Nebenthür stehen; denn der nach links hin liegende Theil der Skene wird anderweitig in Anspruch genommen. Der Chor, aus Troerinnen bestehend, kommt von der Seite der Heimath aus Zelten her, die nicht mehr sichtbar sind, oder nur zum Theil an der rechten Periakte angedeutet sein können. An der linken Seite der Bühne führt die Seitenthür zum Meere hin, oder vielmehr in den Theil des Hellenischen Lagers, der an das Meer anstößt. Nach diesem Theile des Lagers hin führt auch der Weg durch die linke Nebenthür; und es sind demnach fünf Zugänge erforderlich. Die Stadt Troja bildet den Hintergrund der Hauptwand. Die Stadt liegt aber fern, daher sind gewiss nur einzelne Theile der Stadt, etwa einige Theile der Mauern, Tempel und die Burg etwas deutlicher an den Stellen der Hinterwand, wo die Zelte des Vordergrundes nicht die Aussicht in die Ferne hemmten, angegeben gewesen. Erwähnenswerth ist es, dass die Scenerie, wie eben angedeutet, hier einen Hintergrund darbietet, aber doch in grellem Gegensatze zu dem, was wir unter Fernsichten verstehen. Da eine künstliche Beleuchtung

fehlte, das fern Liegende nur klein dargestellt werden konnte, so ist diese und auch andere ihr ähnliche Fernsichten gewiss nur als Nebensache in dem Bilde behandelt gewesen, wie sich schon daraus ergibt, dass dergleichen überhaupt nur selten durch die Handlung gefordert werden. Analog der hier genannten Fernsicht scheint die von Athen im Oidipus Kol., die des Parnassos im Ion zu sein; auch der Mosychlos im Philoktetes ist vielleicht in der Fernè sichtbar gewesen. Weitere Fernsichten in der Scenerie der antiken Tragödie werden sich nicht leicht nachweisen lassen; denn der Aetna, der vielleicht im Kyklops sichtbar war, gehört nicht dem Hintergrunde an. — Wenn die für die Scenerie in den Troaden angegebene Anordnung die richtige ist (und es scheint mir kein Grund vorhanden zu sein, daran zu zweifeln), so tritt sie mit der Wirklichkeit in grellen Contrast. Denn während die Seite der Heimath im Athenischen Theater gegen West hin, die Seite der Fremde nach Ost hin liegt, ist in der Wirklichkeit die Heimathsseite im Gegensatz zur Küste gegen Ost, die Seite der Fremde im Westen zu suchen, d. h. gerade nach den entgegengesetzten Seiten hin.

Veränderungen der Scenerie treten im ganzen Stücke nicht ein.

Im Beginn des Stückes tritt Poseidon offenbar von der Seite her, wo das Meer zu denken ist, also durch die linke Seitenthür auf. Da das Meer und die Küste nicht sichtbar sind, so kann man hierin keinen Verstoss gegen die alten Theatergesetze finden. Zu ihm gesellt sich plötzlich Athena, wie aus 48 zu entnehmen ist; aber aus der Höhe kommt sie sicher nicht. Denn für's Erste ist es der Prolog, in dem sie erscheint, und in den Prologen erscheinen die Götter nie auf der *μυχανή*. Ferner weist das *βαίνουεν* in 57 mehr auf ein Fortgehen als ein Fortschweben hin. Wenn aber beide Götter fortgehen, nicht fortchweben, so sind sie, namentlich also auch Athena, nicht in anderer Weise erschienen. Endlich weist eben darauf auch das längere Gespräch hin, welches Pallas mit Poseidon führt. Schwebend, also von Poseidon weiter entfernt, kann sie dabei nicht verharren, sie muss sich neben ihm befinden; und ist dies der Fall, so kann sie nicht aus der Höhe herabgekommen sein, weil sie sonst nicht so unversehends dem Poseidon ins Wort fallen könnte. Ueberdies fehlt jede Andeutung von einem Herab- oder Hinaufschweben; sie ist also auch von links her, und zwar durch die Nebenthür, erschienen. Sie wie Poseidon

treten übrigens nicht weit auf dem Logeion vor, da während ihres Gesprächs (36) Hekabe vor dem Zelte in der Mitte der Bühne in Schmerz und Betäubung versunken da liegt, und nichts von der Anwesenheit der Götter merken darf. — Beide Götter verschwinden durch die Thüren, durch welche sie aufgetreten sind, und zwar durch verschiedene darum, weil Pallas einen anderen Weg vor hat als Poseidon; denn sie will und soll (92) in den Olympos zu Zeus gehen, während Poseidon seinem Elemente zueilt.

Schon während des Prologes und zwar vom Anfang desselben an liegt Hekabe vor dem Zelte 37 in Thränen gebadet wegen des Unglückes, welches Troja betroffen hat, ohne etwas von der Anwesenheit der Götter zu bemerken. Dieser Zustand stummer Betäubung, in dem sie sich befindet, schliesst die Möglichkeit, dass sie vor den Augen der Zuschauer sich an ihren Platz begeben hat, aus, sie muss also dahin herausgerollt oder hervorgeschoben worden sein; ein Fall, der nicht gerade selten ist. — Das Auf- und Abtreten der übrigen Personen unterliegt im Ganzen keinen bedeutenden Zweifeln. Aus dem Zelte der Hekabe in der Mitte tritt Cassandra 308, aus dem Zelte zur Rechten Helene 895. Ferner Talthybios durch die linke Seitenthür 235, und er geht 461 mit Cassandra zur linken Seitenthür, wie man aus 420 und 455 schliessen muss. Von eben daher (oder allenfalls von der linken Nebenthür, zu der er dann ausserhalb der Skene gelangt ist) kommt er 707, und geht abermals dahin zurück 789. Von eben jener Thür kommt 860 Menelaos, und geht aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dahin 1059 zurück, während Helene zu gleicher Zeit nach dem Meere durch die linke Seitenthür abgeführt wird\*). Von der linken Seiten- (oder Neben-) Thür kommt abermals Talthybios 1123, geht 1156 durch die rechte Seitenthür, wohin auch 1246 Dienerinnen der Hekabe den todten Astyanax tragen, kommt von daher 1260, und geht 1286, wie am Schlusse des Stückes die Anderen, (und zwar der Chor durch die Parodos) durch die linke Seitenthür zum Meere und zu den Schiffen hin. —

Dass Andromache auf einem Wagen mit Astyanax im Arme 569 erscheint, ist einleuchtend, auch der Scholiast zu 569 bemerkt es noch ausdrücklich. Da sie auf Anordnung der Achai-

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\*) Möglich allerdings auch, dass Helene und Menelaos durch eine von beiden Thüren zusammen abgehen; 1047 und 1053 scheinen indessen mehr darauf hinzuweisen, dass es durch zwei Thüren geschieht.



ischen Heerführer 577 gebracht wird, und 1130 bereits abgese-  
 gelt ist, so ist klar, dass sie von rechts her der Küste zufährt,  
 und sie muss, da sie 860 sicher nicht mehr auf der Skene ist,  
 bereits 789 weiter nach der Küste zu gefahren sein, als Talthy-  
 bios mit Astyanax sich entfernt; sie kann, eben weil sie nicht  
 frei ist, nicht in einem der Zelte bei den gefangenen Troerinnen  
 sich verborgen haben. Durch alles dies ist nun auch die Rich-  
 tung ihres Weges bestimmt; sie erscheint von rechts her, ent-  
 fernt sich nach links hin. — Da Andromache über 200 Verse  
 hindurch im Theater anwesend bleibt, so ist es sehr natürlich,  
 dass sie Donner, sobald sie erschienen ist, vom Wagen steigen  
 lässt; und da sie selbst sagt, dass sie schon einmal herunter-  
 gestiegen ist 626, ihr also nicht gewehrt worden ist den Wagen  
 zu verlassen, so kann es scheinen, als ob es auch hier sich  
 sicher damit eben so verhalte. Und doch ist es hier anders.  
 Denn wäre Andromache in der That vom Wagen gestiegen, wie  
 will man erklären, dass Andromache und Hekabe nur in Weh-  
 klagen über ihr und der Ihrigen Schicksal sich ergehen, An-  
 dromache eine lange Declamation darüber hält, ob todt sein  
 oder ein trauriges Leben führen wünschenswerther für sie sei,  
 aber bei alle dem der Hekabe nicht nahe kommt, von einem  
 Berühren, Umarmen derselben nirgends die Rede ist, obgleich  
 sonst dergleichen fast regelmässig in ähnlichen Situationen ge-  
 schieht? Dass hier nicht davon die Rede ist, wird nur erklär-  
 lich, wenn man annimmt, dass Andromache nicht vom Wagen  
 abgestiegen ist. Ueberdies findet sich auch weder irgend ein  
 directes Anzeichen, dass es geschehen, noch auch irgend eine  
 Aeusserung, welche darauf hinweist, dass sie den Wagen wie-  
 der besteigt und abfährt; sie verschwindet vielmehr, man weiss  
 nicht, wie. Alles dies weist entschieden darauf hin, dass An-  
 dromache den Wagen, auf dem sie sich befindet, nicht verlässt.  
 — Aber selbst dann, wenn Andromache auf dem Wagen ver-  
 bleibt, ist noch nicht jede Schwierigkeit gehoben. Denn warum,  
 muss man fragen, lässt sich Hekabe nicht zum Wagen führen?  
 warum lässt sie sich nicht den Astyanax reichen? Und gar,  
 als Astyanax vom Wagen genommen und dem Talthybios über-  
 geben wird, wird es da der Herold hindern, dass sie ihr En-  
 kelkind noch einmal umarme und an sich drücke, wie An-  
 dromache es ja noch eben mit dem Kinde gethan hat? Was  
 hindert also die Hekabe daran? Sehen wir doch, dass sie, als  
 Talthybios ihr das todtte Kind später zurückbringt, dasselbe  
 befühlt, schmückt, umarmt; warum nicht auch vorher? Sicher-



lich nur darum nicht, weil Andromache nicht auf der Bühne ist, sondern auf ihrem Wagen verbleibt, der Wagen von der rechten Parodos her vor das Logeion fährt, dort anhält, und dann weiter durch die linke Parodos sich entfernt, Hekabe aber, auf der Bühne befindlich, altem Herkommen gemäss, nicht in die Orchestra hinabsteigen darf. Ist aber der Wagen in der Orchestra, so kann an ein Absteigen der Andromache vom Wagen vollends nicht gedacht werden; sie bleibt also auf demselben, und es wird daraus erklärlich, warum der Dichter unter solchen Umständen ihr und der Hekabe Benehmen zu einander nicht anders einrichten konnte, als er gethan hat. Dass aber der Wagen darum in der Orchestra erscheint, weil er auf andere Weise nicht im Theater vorgeführt werden konnte, ist schon anderwärts bemerkt worden. Das gegenwärtige Stück liefert nur einen recht augenscheinlichen Beweis dafür, dass es so und nicht anders gewesen ist. Mit dem Astyanax aber befasst sich Hekabe darum nicht, weil sie durch neue Leiden, die in Menge über sie gekommen sind, ganz danieder gebeugt, und mit dem Geiste auf Grösseres gerichtet, zunächst bemüht Andromache zu trösten, nicht zu so viel Besinnung gelangt, dass sie den Astyanax, der ohnedies schnell aus den Armen der Mutter fortgetragen wird, sich noch einmal reichen lässt. Nachdem die Götter, welche den Prolog gesprochen haben, abgetreten sind, erhebt sich Hekabe, klagt über Troja's Geschick und das eigene, und fordert dann von 143 an die mitgefangenen Troerinnen auch zur Klage auf. Dass die letzteren während Hekabe's Klage nicht anwesend gewesen sind, ergiebt sich aus ihrer Frage 153: *Ἐκάβη, τί θροεῖς; τί δὲ θωύσσεις;* sie wissen nicht, worüber sie geklagt hat, sondern nur *διὰ μελάθρων*, wie es weiter heisst, *ἄιον οἴκτους οὓς οἰκτιρίζει;* bis dahin haben sie selbst (157) in den Zelten über ihr Loos gejammert. Nun aber beginnen sie ein Gespräch mit Hekabe, und rufen noch mehrere aus den Zelten heraus 166. Da treten denn auch im Beginne der Antistrophe 176 andere aus den Zelten, welche sagen: *τρομερὰ σκηρὰς ἔλιπον τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος*, um zu hören, welches Unheil es gebe; und nachdem auch sie mit Hekabe gesprochen haben, beginnt mit 197 ein anapästisches längeres Lied, welches Kock in Verbindung mit dem Wechselgesange zwischen Hekabe und den beiden Halbchören (p. 32) mit Recht für die Parodos erklärt. Als solches sollte das Lied vom Chor in der Orchestra vorgetragen werden, und doch sieht man nicht, was den Chor veranlassen könnte, sich dorthin zu begeben und die Hekabe

auf dem Logeion allein zu lassen. Andererseits aber, wenn der Chor auf der Bühne verbleibt, fällt es auf, dass er in völlige Apathie versinkt. Ausser 292 und 293, 341 und 342, 406 und 407 spricht er bis zum nächsten 511 beginnenden Stasimon nur noch die vier Verse 462—465. Dasselbe Verhältniss des Chores zur Handlung dauert auch weiterhin fort. Bis zu dem 799 beginnenden Chorliede spricht er nur dreimal (608 und 609, 684 und 685, 780 und 781) und bis zu dem 1060 beginnenden gar nur zweimal (966—969, 1033—1035). Die Parodos, die mehrfachen Stasima, die Unthätigkeit des Chores während mehrerer Epeisodien — alles scheint darauf hinzuweisen, dass der Chor in der Orchestra ist; und doch ersieht man nicht, wie er dahin gekommen ist. Man muss aber, wie ich meine, in der Beziehung auf die vom Chore 462 und 1207 gesprochenen Worte achten. An der ersten Stelle heisst es:

*Ἐκάβης γεραιᾶς φύλακες, οὐ δεδόγκατε  
δέσποιναν ὡς ἄναυδος εἰς πέδον πίτνει;  
οὐκ ἀντιλήψεσθ' ; ἥ μεθήσεται, ὦ κακαί,  
γραιῖαν πεσοῦσαν; αἴρετ' εἰς ὄρθον δέμας·*

Wäre hier der Chor auf der Bühne, so müsste er selbst zugreifen, nicht Andere auffordern, die zusammensinkende Hekabe zu stützen und aufzurichten. Indem er es nicht thut, sondern dazu Andere, und zwar bestimmt die *φύλακες* der Hekabe, die demnach in deren Nähe sein müssen, auffordert: so folgt daraus ebenso, dass der Chor nicht auf der Bühne ist, wie auch dass ausser ihm andere Frauen auf der Bühne in der Nähe der Hekabe sich befinden. Dasselbe ergibt sich aus der zweiten Stelle. Nachdem nämlich Hekabe 1200 gesagt hat: *φέρετε, κομίζετ' ἀθλίῳ κόσμον νεκρῷ* (nämlich dem todten Astyanax) *ἐκ τῶν παρόντων*, fällt der Chor am Ende von Hekabe's Rede mit den Worten ein:

*καὶ μὴν πρὸ χειρῶν αἶδε σοι σκυλευμάτων  
Φρυγίων φέρουσι κόσμον ἐξάπτειν νεκρῷ.*

Auch hier sind also ausser dem in der Orchestra befindlichen Chore noch andere neben der Hekabe auf der Bühne, die dem Befehle genügt haben. Da aber ferner der in der Orchestra befindliche Chor vor der Parodos keinerlei Anlass hat, vom Logeion in die Orchestra hinabzusteigen: so kann er überhaupt nicht auf der Bühne sich befunden haben. Er ist vielmehr durch die Parodos und zwar die rechte eingezogen, und betritt die Bühne im ganzen Stücke nicht. Von ihm aber sind die Frauen

zu unterscheiden, die aus den auf der Skene befindlichen Zelten zur Hekabe herauseilen und bei ihr auf der Bühne verbleiben; sie stehen an Zahl gewiss weit hinter dem Chore zurück. Sie sind es aber, denen Hekabe 1246 das Kind zur Beerdigung übergiebt.

Talthybios heisst bei seinem letzten Erscheinen 1260 Troja in Brand stecken, da die Hellenen abfahren, zum Theil schon abgefahren sind; und alsbald geht Troja in Feuer auf. Auf ein grossartiges Feuerwerk war es dabei gewiss nicht abgesehen. Was von Troja gesehen wird, ist wenig, ist fern; auch die Zeit fehlt zu einem grossen Feuer; denn die Handlung eilt schnell dem Schlusse zu. Dass also Häuser oder Mauern, massenhaft aufgerichtet, verbrannt werden, daran ist nicht zu denken; die leicht Feuer fangenden Coulissen wären auch nicht leicht gegen die nahe Flamme zu schützen gewesen. Aber auch ein Erleuchten der Coulissen von hinten her, während die Vorderseiten vom hellen Tageslichte erleuchtet waren, wäre wenig zweckdienlich gewesen. Daher sind gewiss Fackeln, die schnell viel Rauch über den Hintergrund verbreiteten, das einzige oder doch das Hauptmittel gewesen, durch welches man die Feuersbrunst veranschaulichte; und beim Abzuge des Chores wird wohl alsbald die hintere Coulissee entfernt, und damit der Anblick Troja's den Zuschauern entzogen worden sein. — Ebenso werden die Zuschauer auch von dem in Hekabe's Zelte 298 sich verbreitenden Fackelglanze nichts gesehen haben; Kassandra wird freilich wohl bald darauf (308) aus diesem Zelte mit brennenden Fackeln erschienen sein.

### R h e s o s.

Der Schauplatz der Handlung ist das Heerlager der Troer, und die Mitte der Bühnenwand nimmt Hektor's Zelt (7, 87) ein, in dem er auf dem Boden (9) sein Lager hat; andere Zelte umgeben dasselbe. Nach links hin, wo der Zelte weniger werden, sie vielleicht ganz fehlen, wird Feld mit Gebüsch (da die Nachtwachen dort die Nachtigall schlagen hören) sichtbar. Die linke Seitenthür führt nach dem Lager der Hellenen, die rechte nach Troja. Die Thraker, deren Lager zwar nicht erblickt wird, die aber hinter dem Heere der Troer (844 ff., besonders 846) ihren Lagerplatz angewiesen erhalten, werden durch die rechte Nebenthür erreicht, indem ihr Heer nur so während der Handlung diesen Platz, ohne auf der Bühne sichtbar zu wer-

den, einnehmen kann. Für das übrige Troische Lager bleibt demnach nur die Gegend links von der Mittelthür um die linke Nebenthür übrig. Nach dieser Richtung lagen die in der Scenerie nicht sichtbaren Zelte des Paris und Aineias. Es werden demnach sämtliche Thüren der Skene gebraucht; eine Cou-lissenänderung findet nicht statt.

In seinem Zelte vor der Mittelthür wird Hektor im Anfange des Stückes sichtbar; in ihm oder in einem zweiten nebenbei gelegenen hält sich auch Dolon auf\*). Nach der rechten Seite geht Dolon ab 223 (vergl. 201 ἐλθὼν ἐς δόμους ἐφ' ἑστίος). Von der rechten Seite her tritt dagegen 264 ein Hirt auf (der sich um 339 von der Bühne verliert), ferner Rhesos; dahinwärts geht der Wagenlenker des Rhesos 881 und Hektor's Bote zu Priamos 879. — Von der linken Seite her kommen Odysseus und Diomedes 565, ferner Athena 595 und vielleicht\*\*) Hektor 808; ferner Odysseus 683 oder 685, der aber schon 688 nach jener Seite sich wieder entfernt. — Nach der rechten Nebenthür gehen Hektor und Rhesos 526 (vergl. 519), ferner Odysseus und Diomedes 641; von daher kommt der Wagenlenker des Rhesos 728. — Durch die linke Nebenthür kommt 87 Aineias, und geht dahin zurück 148; in gleicher Weise tritt auf Paris 642, und entfernt sich 674. — Die Muse, welche der Chor 886, mit Rhesos im Arme ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς erblickt, verschwindet 982 in der Höhe; sie kommt also gar nicht zum Erdboden hernieder. — Der Chor tritt am Anfange wohl von links her in die Orchestra (so auch Kock p. 30) ein. Zwar ist dies nicht die Seite der Heimath, und doch besteht der Chor aus Troischen Soldaten. Aber da dieselben (18) gerade von den φυλακαί her, also von der Seite des Hellenischen Lagers, kommen: so ist ihr Auftreten von links her in diesem Falle vollständig motivirt. Nach derselben Seite geht er auch 564, und erscheint von daher wieder 675.

Am Schlusse des Stückes geht der Chor ab, sich zur Schlacht zu rüsten, nicht minder Hektor, der einen Sturm auf's Hellenische Lager beabsichtigt. Durch welche Thüren beide abgehen, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit angeben, ist aber auch ziemlich gleichgültig, da das Lager der Troer drei Viertheile der Bühne er-

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\*) Hektor geht 194 nicht von seinem Zelte fort; denn 265 ist er wieder im Zelte.

\*\*) Denn es ist ziemlich gleichgültig für die Handlung, durch welche Thür er eintritt.

füllt. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist es, dass der Chor durch die rechte Parodos, Hektor zunächst in sein Zelt geht.

Eine besondere Erwähnung erfordern endlich noch zwei Szenen; ich beginne mit der dem Chore allein zugehörigen. Ehe nämlich Hektor mit Rhesos fortgeht, um letzterem seinen Lagerplatz anzuweisen (vergl. 613), sagt er zum Chore: *ὑμᾶς βάρτας χρὴ προταίνῃ τάξεων προῦρεῖν ἔγχεσσι*, und aufpassen auf den in's Lager der Hellenen gezogenen Dolon. Dadurch beabsichtigt der Dichter, den Chor aus der Orchestra zu bringen, weil, so lange dieser anwesend war, die um 674 beginnende Verfolgungsscene nicht eintreten konnte. Die Weisung Hektor's nöthigte den Chor nach links durch die Orchestra abzuziehen; es findet aber der Chor nicht für gut dem erhaltenen Befehle alsbald nachzukommen. Da ihn das auf der Skene geführte Gespräch (von 533 an) nicht besonders interessirt hat, so haben sich mehrere von den Choreuten auf dem Boden gelagert, und es fragt nun eine der Wachen, wer ihm demnächst im Wacht-dienste zu folgen habe, da die Zeit der Ablösung da sei. Er weckt Andere auf, und man rechnet aus, dass die Lykier (542) jetzt auf Wache zu ziehen haben. Während sie sich anschicken, die Lykier zu wecken, und dazu ihre Waffen aufnehmen, hören sie 546 die Nachtigall, ferner das Getön oder Geräusch der auf die Weide ziehenden Heerden und den Ton der Hirtenflöte, lauter Zeichen des herannahenden Morgens. Andere äussern ihre Verwunderung (557) darüber, dass Dolon noch immer ausbleibt; und nachdem sie unter solchen Betrachtungen und Wahrnehmungen sich zum Abziehen fertig gemacht haben, brechen sie 564 auf, um die Lykier zu wecken. Es ist dies eine Scene, die vollständig und lediglich in der Orchestra vor sich geht, aber eben so viel Abwechslung und Leben in sich hat, wie viele andere auf der Skene sich entwickelnde Ereignisse; die Handlung ist von der Skene, die von Schauspielern leer ist, in die Orchestra übergegangen. Dennoch sind die antiken Theatergesetze auch hier beobachtet worden. Denn erstlich sind alle, die in der Scene handelnd auftreten, nicht Schauspieler, sondern nur Choreuten; ihr Spiel gehört der Orchestra zu, und da finden wir sie auch hier thätig. Sodann aber steht die Scene auch rücksichtlich dessen, was sie enthält, nicht so vereinzelt da, als es auf den ersten Blick scheint. Unterredungen unter einzelnen Abtheilungen des Chors, besonders wenn Verschiedenheit in den Ansichten und Entschlüssen im Chor sich geltend macht, fehlen auch sonst nicht, und man ist also keineswegs berech-

tigt, auf Grund dieser Scene auch andere Theile der Handlung, an denen Schauspieler sich betheiligen, in die Orchestra zu verlegen. Was die vorliegende Scene von andern ähnlichen unterscheidet, ist einerseits dies, dass einzelne Persönlichkeiten des Chores sich stärker bemerklich machen, und sich aus der Zahl der übrigen leichter aussondern lassen, als sonst der Fall ist, andererseits der Grad von Lebendigkeit und der fast romantische Hauch, der über das Ganze ausgegossen ist. Grosse Aehnlichkeit mit unserer Scene ist namentlich nicht in der Scene des Ion zu verkennen, wo einzelne Theile des Chores sich über die Bildwerke des Delphischen Tempels mit einander unterhalten.

Die Chorscene ist aber in unserem Stücke eingeschoben, um durch das längere Verweilen des Chors in der Orchestra die nächste Scene, die es vornehmlich mit Odysseus und Diomedes zu thun hat, etwas weiter hinauszurücken. Hätten beide Hellenen sich gleich nach Hektor's Abgange, und nachdem auch der Chor erst so eben nach der Vorpostenreihe gegen das Hellenische Lager hin abgezogen war, gezeigt: so erschien es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass die Hellenen unbemerkt den Vorposten bis zu Hektor's Zelt sich durchschleichen konnten; es hätte auffallen müssen, dass der nur eben erst abgegangene Hektor nichts von der Annäherung der beiden Feinde an sein Lager gemerkt hätte, während nach der unter dem Chore vorgehenden Scene Hektor fern von seinem Zelte seiend zu denken ist, und die Vorpostenreihe durch den Abzug der Wache zu den Lykiern nicht mehr vollständig geschlossen ist.

Nachdem die Bühne und die Orchestra leer geworden sind, treten 565 Odysseus und Diomedes von der linken Seitenthür auf. Sie haben Dolon bereits getödtet, haben mancherlei, was ihnen zu wissen wichtig ist, von ihm erfahren; und als sie unvermuthet Hektor's Zelt leer finden 580, räth Odysseus zum Hellenischen Lager zurückzukehren. Wiewohl Diomedes vom Umkehren nichts wissen will, so haben sie sich doch schon gegen links hin gewendet, als ihnen 595 von der linken Seitenthür her Athena entgegentritt, und ihnen räth den Rhesos zu tödten. In dem Augenblicke, wo sie nach dessen Lager hin aufbrechen (641 und zwar durch die rechte Nebenthür), tritt Paris aus dem Lager der Troer kommend durch die linke Nebenthür auf, entfernt sich aber schon 664 auf demselben Wege, wie Athena durch die linke Seitenthür; und es folgt nun die Scene, in der Odysseus und Diomedes von dem Troischen Wachtposten verfolgt werden. Zunächst tritt 674 der Chor von



links her, nach welcher Seite er sich früher entfernt hatte, unter Geschrei auf; er meint Dieben auf der Spur zu sein; und einer (oder einige Leute) des Wachtpostens ruft: *τούσδε ἔχω*, redet aber alsbald nur einen, den Odysseus, mit *πόθεν ἔβας*; an. Hier erscheint nun Odysseus auf dem Logeion, während Diomedes sich inzwischen mit dem Gespanne des Rhesos aus dem Staube gemacht hat. Der Chor ist, wie man aus dem weiteren Verfolg der Handlung ersieht, aufgelöst und zerstreut erschienen, und zwar vornehmlich in zwei Haufen getheilt, deren einer, der grössere, in der Orchestra, der kleinere auf der Bühne auftritt. Einer von dem zuletzt genannten Haufen auf der Bühne ist es, der den von der linken Seitenthür her erscheinenden Odysseus (683 oder 685) anredet. Das Auftreten des letzteren durch die linke Seitenthür hat durchaus nichts Befremdliches\*). Er hat sich nämlich bereits mit Diomedes auf dem Rückwege in's Hellenische Lager befunden, hat glücklich mit ihm das Troische Lager umgangen und theilweise sich durchgeschlichen, als ihm und dem Diomedes der Troische Wachtposten entgegen tritt. Da weicht Odysseus vor der überlegenen Macht zurück, und kommt so von links her allmählich bis auf die Bühne. Dass der Dichter die Hellenen nicht früher ertappt werden lässt, ist wohl berechnet; er hätte sonst entweder den Diomedes ohne die Rosse auf die Bühne bringen müssen, oder es dahin gestellt sein lassen, ob und wie Diomedes entkommen war. Alles dies hat der Dichter überaus glücklich vermieden. — Als bald ertönt mehrfach der Ruf, man solle den Odysseus tödten. Da aber einige der Verfolgenden der Ansicht sind, der ganze Lärm rühre von Dieben her, so verlangt ein anderer oder vielleicht mehrere von denen, welche sich in der Orchestra befinden, Odysseus solle die Parole sagen, während die ersteren dabei bleiben ihn tödten zu wollen 685. Die Antwort des Odysseus, er habe nicht den Rhesos, sondern Feinde der Troer getödtet (womit er sich demnach für einen Troer ausgiebt), veranlasst die einen, von weiteren feindlichen Schritten gegen Odysseus abzulassen. Zwar theilen die auf der Bühne befindlichen Chorenuten diese Ansicht nicht; aber da sie die Minderzahl sind, so bequemen sie sich der in der Orchestra befindlichen Mehrzahl; und als endlich Odysseus 688 auf nochmaliges Befragen

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\*) Analoge Fälle finden sich in den Bakchen 642 (vergl. 518), in der Eirene 824, vielleicht auch in Troades 707 (vergl. 461).



die von Rhesos erkundete Parole sagt, hört der Kampf gegen ihn auf; Odysseus weist die Wachen auf eine falsche Fährte 689, und entschlüpft hierauf seinen Verfolgern, die unschlüssig sind, ob sie die Mörder auf dem ihnen gewiesenen Wege verfolgen, oder sich ruhig verhalten sollen. Da bemerken sie 692, dass Odysseus inzwischen entflohen ist, errathen bald, dass er es ist, der ihnen den listigen Streich gespielt hat 704, und gerathen zugleich in Furcht darüber, wie sie sich vor Hektor deshalb verantworten sollen 723. Hier überrascht sie die Klage des verwundeten Wagenlenkers. — Eine Schwierigkeit bei der Darstellung dieser Scene liegt also nicht vor; die Hellenen langten mit den Mitteln, die ihnen auch sonst zu Gebote standen, vollkommen aus. Die Nacht wurde freilich so wenig als in des Aristophanes *Batrachoi* sinnlich dargestellt. Warum der Dichter aber in der überaus kunstvoll angelegten Scene einen Theil des Chores auf der Bühne erscheinen liess, darüber klärt die Folge auf. Hektor braucht Leute, die den Wagenlenker nach seinem Hause führen, andere, die zu Priamos gehen müssen, und dazu werden offenbar die verwendet, die vom Chore auf der Bühne erschienen waren.

### A i a s.

In der ersten Hälfte bis 813 stellt die Skene einen Theil des Hellenischen Lagers vor Troja vor, und zwar denjenigen Theil desselben, in dem das Zelt des Aias mit dessen nächster Umgebung sich befindet. Das genannte Zelt, bei dem die Handlung vorgeht, nimmt die Mitte der Skenenwand ein (so auch Piderit *scenische Analyse des Soph. Aias* p. 18), muss aber von einigen anderen Zelten umgeben sein. Die Handlung fordert namentlich ein zweites neben dem ersten für die Diener und zu Zeiten für die Frau und das Kind des Aias; und an dieses werden wohl andere Zelte sich angeschlossen haben, welche die Krieger des Aias beherbergten. Die Lage dieser Zelte kann wohl nicht nach dem, was Homeros, Sophokles oder andere über die Ordnung des Hellenischen Heerlagers melden, oder was die wirkliche Beschaffenheit der Troischen Küste zu fordern scheint, bestimmt werden, wie Piderit p. 18 und O. Müller\*) thun, sondern nach dem, was die für die an-

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\*) Müller schliesst nämlich so (vergl. seine Worte bei Piderit l. l.): weil nach Sophokles und Homeros das Zelt des Aias das äusserste des

tike Bühne bestehenden Gesetze und die Handlung erfordern. Da die rechte Seite der Bühne die Heimath bezeichnet, so werden die zum Lager des Aias gehörigen Zelte und namentlich das ihm zunächst stehende nach rechts von der Mittelthür liegen. Andere Zelte werden sich weiter bis an die rechte Periakte hin ausdehnen; denn durch die rechte Parodos kommen die Salaminier, der Chor des Stückes, und ihre Zelte müssen also der Parodos benachbart sein. An der linken Seitenthür führt der Weg in die Fremde; er führt in das den Zuschauern nicht sichtbare Hellenische Lager, von dem die Zelte des Aias getrennt liegen. Vom Zelte des Aias werden daher links nur wenige Zelte noch sichtbar sein; der übrige Raum bis zur linken Periakte wird die freie Natur, eine vielleicht theilweise mit Gebüsch bedeckte Gegend oder auch zum Theil Hügel und Sanddünen gezeigt haben. Eine weite Aussicht in die Ferne ist aber nichts desto weniger auch an dieser Seite durch nichts motivirt. Das Meer ist nicht sichtbar geworden. Zwar liegt das Lager der Küste ganz nahe; denn Aias befindet sich (192) in *ἐφ' ἁλοῖς κλισίαις*; er kann deshalb 654 *πρὸς λουτρὰ καὶ παρακτίους λειμῶνας* gehen wollen, und 412 die rauschenden Pfade des Meeres, die Höhlen am Gestade und das Gebüsch am Strande anrufen. Aber der Anblick des Meeres war den Zuschauern entzogen. An der rechten Seite der Bühne, wo es hätte sichtbar werden müssen, konnte die Periakte nicht dieses, sondern nur etwas, was auf die dortige Heimath der Salaminier hinwies, darstellen. — Genelli construirt sich die Scenerie des ersten Actes in ganz anderer Weise. Er lässt (p. 67) die Behausung des Aias aus drei gezimmerten Hütten bestehen, die überdies von einem umpfählten Hofe umgeben

Lagers ist, das Zelt des Aias selbst aber die Mitte der Skene einnehmen muss, so muss das Hellenische Lager die eine Seite des Proskenion einnehmen, die andere Seite die freie Natur, Gebüsch, Wald und vielleicht eine Durchsicht auf das Meer darstellen. Da aber (874) die Schiffe im Westen liegen, so wird auch im Athenischen Theater, in dem die Zuschauer nach Süden hin sehen, das Zeltlager auf der rechten Seite der Bühne im Westen, die freie Natur an der Ostseite auf der linken Hälfte der Bühne dargestellt worden sein. — Ich halte die angedeutete Ordnung für richtig; aber nicht wegen der angeführten Gründe, sondern weil die für die Handlung des Stückes in Anwendung kommenden Localitäten zufällig mit denen der Wirklichkeit übereinstimmen, und die Lage des Athenischen Theaters keine Abweichung nöthig macht. Sehr oft ist aber eines oder beides nicht der Fall, und es ist daher auf die angeführten Gründe kein Verlass.

sind; und er ist demzufolge genöthigt, über die Art der Verpfählung sich auszusprechen, ferner darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass der Giebel der vorderen Hütte den Zuschauern habe müssen zugekehrt sein, weil die Thür sich an dieser Seite befunden habe, dass es schwierig gewesen sei, die geringe Tiefe der Hütte zu verdecken, und Anderes der Art mehr. Aber wozu hätten die Hellenen das alles anordnen und aufbauen, die Bretter und das Gebälk, aus denen die Hütten bestanden, auf die Bühne schleppen und daraus kleine Häuser erbauen sollen, da ein Vorhang, an dem die Zelte und deren Umgebung durch Malerei dargestellt waren, ganz dieselben Dienste leistete? und es ist um so wunderbarer, dass Genelli von seiner Lieblingsidee, die Scenerie aus soliden Dingen zu bilden, auch hier sich nicht losmachen kann, wo er auf derselben Seite von Agatharchos und der schon früh von den Hellenen wissenschaftlich betriebenen Perspective spricht.

Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt im ersten Acte nicht ein; Thüren werden in ihm fünf gebraucht, wie die nächstfolgenden Erörterungen zeigen werden.

In Bezug auf das Auf- und Abtreten der Schauspieler ist keineswegs alles klar und sicher, selbst nicht im Beginne des Stückes. Zwar, dass Odysseus von dem Lager der Hellenen her durch die linke Seitenthür auftritt, das unterliegt keinem Zweifel; aber wo und wie Athena sich zeigt, ist desto streitiger (vergl. Piderit l. l. p. 51 u. ff.). Welcher ist der Ansicht, dass die Göttin den Schauspielern und Zuschauern ganz unsichtbar gewesen sei; O. Müller, Geppert (p. 182 u. 183) und Schneidewin lassen ihren Anblick wenigstens den Schauspielern, namentlich dem Odysseus entzogen sein (Piderit p. 52). Während ferner Geppert meint, dass die Göttin auf der Skene aufgetreten sei, lassen Müller und Schneidewin dieselbe in der Höhe, etwa auf dem Theologeion, sichtbar werden. Dem, dass man die Göttin nicht gesehen hat, widerstreitet entschieden 91, ferner die Stichomythien von 35 u. 96 an, die gar nicht zu denken sind, wenn nicht die Göttin, gerade wie jede andere tragische Person, dem Odysseus und Aias gegenübersteht (G. Hermann bei Piderit p. 53). Aber auch auf dem Theologeion kann die Göttin nicht erscheinen, und den Schauspielern namentlich dem Odysseus dabei unsichtbar bleiben. Dem das aus Euripides' Hippolytos beigebrachte Analogon beweist dieses keineswegs (vergl. die das genannte Stück betreffenden Erörterungen); und wenn Odysseus im Rhesos die Göttin nicht

sieht, so ist es dort Nacht, und diese hindert ihn sie zu sehen, nicht aber ihr Erscheinen in der Höhe. Ferner da jede Andeutung fehlt, dass die Göttin aus der Höhe sich zur Erde herabsenkt, wie soll sie 71 Aias aus seinem Zelte rufen? Aber auch Odysseus, der ohnedies in Angst ist, Aias möge durch Athena aus seiner Ruhe aufgestört werden, kann nicht laut der entfernt weilenden zurufen (74) *τί δρᾷς*; die Göttin muss also auf der Bühne selbst d. h. auf dem Erdboden erscheinen, wie auch die mit 35 und 96 beginnenden Stichomythien durchaus erfordern. Redet doch Aias die Göttin nicht nur 91 mit *ὦ χαῖρ' Ἀθήνα* an, sondern er will sie auch mit den Trophäen seines Sieges schmücken, was beides nicht gesagt werden könnte, wenn er die Göttin nicht in grösster Nähe vor sich hätte und sie mit seinen Augen sähe. Auf ein Heranschreiten weisen endlich auch Ausdrücke, wie sie in 72 (*προσμολεῖν*), 36 (*ἔβην*) und anderwärts sich finden, hin; gleicher Ansicht ist der Scholiast zu 14, indem er sagt, dass die Göttin *ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς* sei. Ist aber die Göttin, so wie sie in der That sein muss, unten auf dem Logeion, nicht in der Höhe, so sieht man nicht ein, warum sie dem Aias und den Zuschauern sichtbar, dem Odysseus verborgen sein soll. Die Götter erscheinen den Menschen gar oft und werden von ihnen gesehen; namentlich ist Athena als die den Odysseus schützende Göttin bekannt. Die Parallele, welche Welcker aus Shakespeare beibringt (vergl. Piderit p. 52), langt nicht zu; denn da Athena 85 sagt: *σκωπώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα* (nämlich die Augen des Aias), so würde, wenn es sich wirklich so verhielte, wie Welcker meint, Aias zwar die Göttin, aber nicht den Odysseus, Odysseus hingegen zwar den Aias, aber nicht die Göttin sehen, d. h. es wären von den drei auf der Bühne befindlichen Personen zwei, jede einer andern Person, unsichtbar, etwas was selbst Shakespeare sich nicht erlaubt hat. Ueberdies ist das Nichtsehen des Aias durch die Exstase, in der er sich befindet, vollkommen gerechtfertigt. Warum hingegen Odysseus, der seine gesunden Sinne hat, die Göttin nicht sehen soll, dafür ist kein Grund vorhanden. Denn 14 ff. und 301 ff. beweisen nichts. In v. 14 (*ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθήνας, φιλάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν, ὥς εὐμαθὲς σου, καὶν ἄποπτος ἧς ὅμως, φώνημ' ἀκούω*) macht der seiner Schlaueit sich bewusste Odysseus bemerklich, dass er, obgleich eifrig mit dem Aufspüren des Aias beschäftigt, die Göttin alsbald, noch ehe er ihre Gestalt deutlich gesehen (vergl. Lobeck über *ἄποπτος*), an ihrer Stimme erkannt habe. Dass er, als er dies sagt, die Göttin sieht, er-

giebt sich aus dem Coniunctiv (*κὰν ἄποπτος ἦς*); wäre dem nicht so, müsste man den Indicativ erwarten. Der Coniunctiv bezeichnet den Fall, der eben nicht mehr da ist, aber als ein so eben dagewesener augenscheinlich im Bereiche der Möglichkeit liegt. — Noch weniger lässt sich aus 301 folgern, dass Athena unsichtbar ist, obgleich Tekmessa sagt, dass Aias *οὐκ ἔτι λόγους ἀνέσπα*. Tekmessa befand sich, während Aias sich mit Athena unterhielt, im Zelte des Aias, nicht vor demselben; sie kann also nur ihre Vermuthung über das, was draussen vorging, mittheilen, wie schon der Scholiast andeutet. Nun war es aber früher Morgen, als Aias sein Zelt verliess; Tekmessa konnte nicht erwarten, dass zu der Zeit schon Fremde bei Aias sich würden eingefunden haben; dennoch hört sie, dass Aias wie mit einer Gottheit sich unterhält — was konnte sie demnach Anderes denken, als das was sie sagt, dass er mit einem Traumbilde sich müsse unterhalten haben? sie wähnt, die Einbildung seines Wahnsinnes habe ihm eine Gottheit vorgezaubert\*). — Die Thür, durch welche die Göttin eintritt, kann, da sie dem Odysseus gefolgt ist, und letzterer von links her aus dem Lager der Hellenen kommt, nur die linke Nebenthür oder Seitenthür sein. Durch welche von beiden es aber geschehen ist, lässt sich nicht sicher angeben. Vers 1 ff. und 36 ff. sprechen dafür, dass sie dem Odysseus unmittelbar auf dem Fusse nachfolgt. Zieht man hingegen in Betracht, dass Odysseus sich etwas darauf zu gute thut, die Nähe der Göttin alsbald aus ihrer Stimme erkannt zu haben, so scheint dies vorauszusetzen, dass er sich erst etwas umgesehen hat, ehe er die Göttin wirklich zu Gesicht bekam, dass sie also wohl vielmehr an der linken Nebenthür, die auch den Weg vom Hellenischen Lager bezeichnete, hinter einem Baume oder hinter Gebüsch verborgen, die ersten Verse gesprochen hat, ehe sie frei auf die Bühne vortrat. —

Vor dem Eintreten des Chores entfernt sich Odysseus und Athena, letztere, nachdem sie ihrem Schützlinge noch gute Lehren auf den Weg gegeben hat. Odysseus geht dem Hellenischen Lager durch die Seitenthür zu; Athena dagegen? einerseits kann es scheinen, sie trenne sich jetzt von ihm, nachdem

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\*) Eben darum halte ich es auch nicht für richtig, die Göttin auf Anlass der eben besprochenen Worte als eine *ἡέρα ἐσσαμένη* erscheinen zu lassen, wie Geppert p. 185 thut, und auch Donner, der die Göttin „aus der schwebenden Wolke“ her reden lässt.

sie ihre Belehrungen beendet hat, andererseits kann sie den Odysseus weiter begleiten und schützen, da keine Andeutung, dass sie sich alsbald von ihm trenne, vorhanden ist. Für den weiteren Verlauf der Handlung ist es unwichtig, welches von beiden man annimmt; jedenfalls entfernt sie sich durch die Thür, durch welche sie erschienen ist.

Der hierauf eintretende Chor der Salaminier, an dessen Aufenthaltsort die Handlung vorgeht, tritt von rechts her durch die Parodos ein. Bei 201 tritt Tekmessa aus dem Zelte des Aias, und von eben daher erscheint Aias 346 selbst, und zwar mit Hülfe des Ekkyklema, wie schon Müller (kleine Schriften I. p. 534), Geppert (p. 175) und Piderit (p. 21 ff.) gesehen haben, und vor ihnen der Scholiast. Denn aus 364 und ff. ersieht man deutlich, dass man den Aias inmitten der von ihm angerichteten Metzelei erblickt (vergl. Piderit l. l.). Dies kann aber nur dann der Fall sein, wenn man den Aias im Innern seines Zeltes vor Augen bekommt, nachdem die Zeltvorhänge aus einander geschlagen sind, oder wenn das Innere des Zeltes durch das Ekkyklema auf's Proskenion gebracht worden ist. Da das zuerst genannte Mittel sonstiger Analogie widerstreitet, dabei auch die Spuren von des Aias Raserei weniger deutlich als bei der anderen Weise zur Anschauung gebracht werden, so ist in vorliegendem Fall jedenfalls das Ekkyklema angewendet worden\*).

Als Aias nach Eurysakes (vergl. Piderit p. 28) verlangt, wird das Kind von einem Diener aus dem vor der rechten Nebenthür befindlichen Zelte gebracht, wo dasselbe 539 *προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται*, und darum sagt Tekmessa 544 *κομίζει προσπόλων ὅδ' ἐγγύθεν*.

579 (vergl. 581, 593) verlangt Aias, dass sein Zelt geschlossen werde, und dies geschieht 595, nachdem er selbst durch's Ek- (oder Eis-)kyklema hinein geschoben worden ist. Das Kind hat Aias bereits 578 an Tekmessa zurückgegeben. Dazu hat ihn theils die Furcht vor einem neuen Wuthanfälle veranlasst, theils hat er sich von ihm bereits losgesagt. Denn es steht bei ihm schon fest, was er zu thun hat. Darum hat er auch seinen letzten Willen in Bezug auf das Kind 568 mitgetheilt, darum

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\*) Dass Lobeck's Ansicht, Aias schreite aus dem Zelte hervor, unstatthaft ist, darüber vergl. Piderit p. 21 ff. Piderit meint, dass die Hammel und Kälber, die dem Anblicke der Zuschauer ausgestellt waren, aus Gyps oder Wachs geformt waren; aber warum dies? gemalte langten vollständig aus.



Abschied von ihm genommen. Da aber Tekmessa den Aias in sein Zelt begleiten muss (denn von daher kommt sie nach dem Chorgesange; vergl. 685 und 652 nebst Piderit p. 26), so muss der Diener, der das Kind gebracht hat, dasselbe auch in das Zelt der Diener zurückbringen\*).

692 (vergl. 654 und 690) geht Aias *πρὸς λουτρὰ καὶ παρακτίους λειμῶνας*, also durch das Lager seiner Krieger vermittels der rechten Seitenthür ab, Tekmessa hingegen, die mit dem Kinde abermals auf der Bühne erschienen ist, begiebt sich in das Zelt der Diener durch die rechte Nebenthür. Denn nachdem Aias sich entfernt hat, kann sie kein Verlangen haben, in dessen Zelt allein unter den zerstückten Thieren zu bleiben. Ganz anders denkt sich freilich Piderit die Sache; er lässt (p. 29) den Aias nach links hin in eine auf der Skene dargestellte Buschgegend abgehen und dort verschwinden. Dazu veranlasst ihn ohne Zweifel (denn Beweise, die einzelnen Stellen entnommen wären, bringt er nicht bei) die Ansicht, dass die Skene 814 nicht wechselt. Wenn dies aber nicht geschah, und Aias demnach an irgend einem Theile der alten Scenerie wieder erscheinen musste, so eignete sich dazu kein Punkt mehr, als der an der linken Seite bemerklich gemachte; dahin musste sich Aias also auch beim Verlassen der Bühne begeben. Wird aber ohne Rücksicht auf einen etwaigen Scenenwechsel einfach die Frage aufgeworfen, ob es wahrscheinlich sei, dass Aias sich nach links hin gewendet habe, so wird Jeder dies verneinen müssen. Bei dem grossen Hasse, den Aias gegen Odysseus und andere Heerführer der Hellenen hegt, kann man nicht erwarten, dass er sich dem Orte, wo sie sind, nähern und sich dort das Leben nehmen wird. Musste er doch fürchten, dort von seinen Feinden aufgefunden und (was den Alten keine Kleinigkeit war) von ihnen beschimpft zu werden. Ferner, wenn auch nach links hin kein Zelt auf der Skene sichtbar war, so war doch diese im Hellenischen Lager gelegene Gegend keine öde und abgelegene, wie sie zu der That, die Aias im Sinne hatte, sich eignete. Da es aber gar keinem Zweifel unterliegt, dass die Scenerie mit 814 gewechselt wird, so ist um so weniger irgend ein Anlass da, Aias 692 nach links hin abgehen zu lassen. —

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\*) Dass Welcker's Ansicht, der zufolge Aias mit seiner Umgebung auch während des folgenden Chorgesanges stumm auf der Bühne bleiben soll, unhaltbar ist, zeigt Piderit p. 27 u. ff.



Der aus dem Hellenischen Lager kommende Bote tritt 719 durch die linke Seitenthür ein; zu ihm kommt Tekmessa mit dem Kinde aus dem Zelte der Diener 787, und lässt, als sie aufbricht, Aias zu suchen, das Kind auf der Bühne zurück, um nicht durch dasselbe beim Aufsuchen des Aias gehindert zu werden. Das zurückgebliebene Kind entfernt sich natürlich zu dem Zelte, aus dem es gekommen ist. Tekmessa dagegen eilt nach der Seite, nach der hin Aias sich entfernt hat, von der Bühne fort, und der Chor, der den Aias fortgehen gesehen hat und von Tekmessa aufgefordert wird ebenfalls zu suchen, kann sich füglich auch nach keiner anderen Seite hin begeben, als nach der, nach welcher Aias sich entfernt hat, d. h. nach rechts hin durch die Parodos. — Ganz anderer Ansicht ist freilich Piderit; er sagt (p. 31): „die Choreuten gehen in zwei Halbchöre getheilt die östliche und westliche Seite zu durchsuchen ab, die *πάροδοι* der Orchestra entlang;“ und zwar wird Piderit zu dieser Ansicht veranlasst durch 805, wo Tekmessa die eine Hälfte des Chores anweist *ἐσπέρους ἀγκῶνας*, die andere die *ἀντηλίους* zu durchsuchen. Da aber der Chor gesehen hat, nach welcher Seite hin Aias sich entfernt hat, so sieht man in der That nicht ein, warum der eine Theil des Chores sich darein ergiebt, gerade entgegengesetzt der Seite, nach welcher Aias abgegangen ist, zu laufen. Der Chor kann doch nur da nachsuchen sollen und wollen, wohin Aias sich begeben hat. Sicherlich kann daher der Chor nicht in der von Piderit angenommenen Weise sich theilen und zerstreuen; aus dem Theater kann er nur nach der Seite hin abgehen, nach der Aias gegangen ist; aber draussen, d. h. wenn er das Theater nach rechts hin verlassen hat und in die öde Gegend gelangt ist, in der er den Aias vermuthen muss, dann muss er, um Alles gründlich zu durchsuchen, sich zerstreuen und nach rechts und links, also nach den entgegengesetzten Seiten, oder, wie Tekmessa sagt, nach Morgen und Abend (wobei vorausgesetzt ist, dass die rechte Parodos gegen Süden hin liegt) sich wenden. Piderit sieht sich zu seiner Deutung nur darum veranlasst, weil er keinen Scenenwechsel annimmt, und daher den Aias wie auch nach ihm die Tekmessa an der Bühnenwand nach links (der linken Nebenthür) hin verschwinden lässt (p. 31). Denn es wird dadurch sehr schwer anzugeben, durch welche Parodos der Chor abgehen soll. Eigentlich eignet sich keine dazu, sondern der Chor müsste dem Aias nach über die Bühne forteilen. Da aber Piderit Bedenken trug auf diese Weise den Chor aus der Orchestra sich entfernen zu

lassen, so blieb ihm nichts übrig, als das Auskunftsmittel zu ergreifen, was er gewählt hat, nämlich den Chor durch beide Parodoi abziehen zu lassen. — Was mich dagegen veranlasst, den Chor durch die Parodos, nicht über die Bühne hin sich entfernen zu lassen, ist dies, dass ich meine, das Abziehen des Chores erfolgte so schneller, als wenn er erst noch die Bühne besteigen musste; und doch war ein schneller Abzug hier, wo es galt keinen Augenblick zu verlieren, geboten. Ausserdem ist aber auch der durch die rechte Parodos gehende Weg nach altem Herkommen gleich dem durch die rechte Seitenthür führenden; der Chor entfernt sich also, indem er durch die Parodos abzieht, genau nach derselben Seite und auf dem Wege, den Aias, den Tekmessa eingeschlagen hat (vergl. die analogen Fälle im Oidipus Kol., Rhesos, den Schluss von des Euripides Hiketiden).

### Zweiter Act.

Nachdem die Schauspieler und der Chor sich entfernt haben, also das ganze Theater leer geworden ist, tritt vor 814 eine Veränderung der Scenerie ein; denn es wird ein anderer Schauplatz für die weitere Handlung nöthig, wie auch Klausen und Lobeck bemerkt haben. Piderit (p. 33 ff.) dagegen will die bisherige Scenerie bis an das Ende des Stückes beibehalten wissen. Nun muss man freilich mit Scenenveränderungen in der Tragödie äusserst sparsam sein; denn abgesehen von unserem Stücke kommen dergleichen nur in den Choephoren (638) und den Eumeniden (234) vor; aber auch im Aias lässt sich einer Veränderung nicht ausweichen. Den Hauptgrund, der Piderit bestimmt, die alte Scenerie beizubehalten, findet er (p. 35) darin, dass es nöthig sei, das Zelt des Aias bis an's Ende des Stückes zu sehen. Erscheine aber bei 814 eine öde Waldgegend, so fehle später das nöthige Zelt, oder, was gegen alle Analogie sei, es müsse die erste Scenerie eintreten. Hier ist das letzte Raisonnement ganz richtig; wie steht es aber mit dem Beweise für die Prämisse? Ich muss gestehen, dass ich keinen gefunden habe, wenn man nicht die Bemerkung auf v. 449 dafür will gelten lassen: „dies (die Zubereitung der für das bestimmten Gruft) geschieht (wie aus 1403 zu schliessen scheint ist) während der folgenden Entscheidungsscene, die den Kampf mit Agamemnon und des Odysseus Vermittelung enthält, und zwar denk' ich, in der Mitte der Bühne dicht an Aias

Zelt. Denn es musste in der That von sehr bedeutender Wirkung sein, wenn Sophokles das Denkmal geretteter Heldenehre, das Kenotaphion des Ajas, ein Abbild des berühmten Aianteon am Rhöteischen Gestade, Ajas Erhöhung, ganz nahe an die Stelle verlegte, wo kurz zuvor das Ekkyklema denselben Heros in seiner tiefsten Erniedrigung gezeigt hatte.“ Das heisst: Piderit findet es schön und bedeutungsvoll, wenn alles so gewesen ist. Aber einen Beweis dafür, dass es so gewesen ist, geschweige denn dass es so hat gewesen sein müssen, bringt er nicht vor. Weder citirt er Stellen aus dem Stücke, die zeigen, dass das Zelt den Zuschauern vor Augen geblieben ist, noch hebt er Momente aus der Handlung hervor, die eine solche Voraussetzung nöthig machen. — Gegen Lobeck, der darauf aufmerksam gemacht hatte, dass, im Falle die alte Scenerie bleibe, Aias dahin zurückkehre, von wo er ausgegangen sei (Piderit pag. 34), und wo er Tekmessa nebst dem Chore treffen würde, wenn nicht die durch den Boten gebrachte Nachricht sie bestimmt hätte dem Aias nachzueilen, macht Piderit die ideale Raumerweiterung geltend, welche das alte Drama sich gern und leicht gestatte. Demzufolge könne man sich auf dem lang ausgedehnten Proskenion die Gegend, in der Aias von neuem auftrete, in ziemlicher Entfernung von seinem Zelte denken. Aber auch diese Bemerkung ist nicht stichhaltig. Denn 1) ist nicht zu leugnen, dass Aias in diesem Falle doch zu demselben Orte zurückkehrt, wo die Handlung bisher stattgefunden hatte; 2) wird die Unwahrscheinlichkeit, dass er dabei den Seinigen doch aus dem Wege geht, nicht gehoben; und 3) schreibt Piderit dem alten Drama mit Unrecht eine ideale Raumerweiterung zu. In Bezug auf die Zeit, während welcher Räume durch-eilt werden, verfährt das antike Drama allerdings sehr frei, in Bezug auf den Ort nicht. Vielmehr ist das, was die Skene im Vordergrunde zeigt, durchgehends in allen Tragödien und Komödien stets ganz in der Nähe des Schauplatzes der Handlung, und die Frösche des Aristophanes höchstens zeigen da, wo der Uebergang aus der Oberwelt in die Unterwelt dargestellt werden sollte, etwas, was dem nahe kommt, was Piderit für die Darstellung des Aias verlangt; aber unter welch andern Umständen! Die von Lobeck für die Verwandlung der Scenerie geltend gemachten Gründe sind also von Piderit keineswegs widerlegt worden. Eben so begründet ist es aber auch, wenn Lobeck darauf hinweist, dass, wenn Chor und Schauspieler vor derselben Scenerie sich befinden, Eurysakes (985) nicht

einsam und verlassen bei den Zelten sein kann. Dazu kommt: eine einsame Waldparthie, wie sie für die Selbstentleibung des Aias nöthig ist, hat die erste Scenerie nicht gezeigt, und doch ist es nöthig, eine solche fortan zu schauen. Ferner: wenn das Zelt des Aias dem Orte seines Todes so nahe ist, woher kommt es, dass Tekmessa, die ausgeschickt wird, „schleunigst den Knaben (Eurysakes) an die Stätte des Leichnams zu bringen,“ wie Piderit p. 38 sagt, doch, obgleich sie 989 dahin abgegangen ist, erst 1168, also nach fast 200 Versen, zurückkehrt? Alles dies widerstreitet der Ansicht Piderit's, wodurch die Illusion in jeder Beziehung gestört, ja zerstört wird, entschieden, und zeigt zugleich, dass man einer neuen Scenerie nicht entbehren kann. Da überdies auch der Scholiast dieser Ansicht ist\*), so unterliegt es wohl keinem Zweifel, dass ein Wechsel der Scenerie auch in der That eingetreten ist.

Die neue Scenerie stellt eine durchaus öde, ganz oder stellenweise mit Bäumen und Gesträuch bedeckte Gegend vor. Für eine genauere Charakterisirung derselben bietet weder die Handlung, noch das Stück irgendwie Anknüpfungspunkte dar; denn was von den 862 angerufenen Gefilden, Quellen und Flüssen Troja's, was von dem 1064 erwähnten wüsten Ufersandé zur Anschauung kam, und wo es in dem Falle zu liegen kam, ist anzugeben nicht möglich; nur 892 bietet einen Fingerzeig dar, der später benutzt werden soll.— In Bezug auf die Art und Weise, wie die wüste Gegend dargestellt wurde, bleibt Genelli seinem Principe treu, indem er (p.62) sich das unbewohnte Meergestade d. h. das weite Meer, das auf den Katablemen dargestellt war, mit dichtem Gebüsch, mit wirklichen Bäumen und Sträuchern, welche die untere Decoration bildeten, umkränzt denkt. Die Gefässe, in denen die Gewächse sich befinden, sollen umkleidet gewesen sein, und dadurch eine erhöhte Düne gebildet haben. Ein Eingang befand sich seiner Meinung zufolge in der Mitte des Gebüsches, und auf der Seite der Fremde stand noch eine auf das Proskenion frei hervorragende Gruppe von Sträuchern und Bäumen mit einem Altare. An dieser Baumgruppe soll Aias sich ermorden, und so hinter dieselbe fallen, dass kaum noch die Füße desselben sichtbar bleiben. — Alle die Arbeit aber, die eine in der Art hergestellte Scenerie erforderte, liess sich leicht ersparen, wenn die Scenerie gemalt wurde; nur musste

\*) *μετάκειται ἡ σκηνὴ ἐπὶ ἐρήμῳ τινὸς χωρίου* und zu 814 *μετακινεῖται ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ χοροῦ ἐξελθόντος*.

dieselbe sich über die ganze Bühnenwand hin erstrecken. Denn alles, was bis dahin das Hellenische Lager gezeigt oder angedeutet hatte, musste einer öden Waldgegend Platz machen, und selbst der an der linken Periakte früher befindliche Weg musste durch Drehen der Periakte ein anderes Aussehen erhalten, weil die linke Bühnenseite eine andere Oertlichkeit als die bisher gezeigte darzustellen hatte.

Schwierig ist es zu bestimmen, wo Aias und der Chor im Anfange des neuen Actes auftreten. Den ersteren könnte man, da er sich von seinem Zelte nach rechts hin entfernt hat, und die neue Scenerie eine nach derselben Seite hin gelegene Gegend darstellt, geneigt sein von links her durch die Seitenthür auftreten zu lassen. Damit stimmen aber die ersten Worte, die Aias spricht: *ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἔσσηεν*, nicht. Dies konnte er nur sagen, nachdem er bereits die Vorbereitungen zu seinem Tode getroffen und das Schwert im Boden befestigt hatte. Aias muss also auf eine andere Art erscheinen, oder man muss sich dazu verstehen anzunehmen, dass dem Monologe ein kurzes stummes Spiel des Aias in der Art vorausgeht, dass er zuerst von der linken Seite der Bühne her bis in deren Mitte vorschreitet, dann sich der Hinterwand der Bühne nähert und hier alles für seine Ermordung Nöthige in Bereitschaft setzt. Dies stumme Spiel ist aber der ganzen Situation nicht angemessen; diese verlangt, dass Aias gleich bei seinem Erscheinen als zum Tode fertig sich zeige. Ganz besonders aber widerstreitet dem der Weheruf, den Tekmessa gleich bei ihrem Auftreten ausstösst (891 *ὦ μοί μοί*). Denn Tekmessa kann nimmer bis dahin, wo sie Aias erblickt, stumm auf dem Logeion herumsuchen; sie muss vielmehr, sobald sie erscheint, den Aias auffinden und den Klageruf austossen. Dies ist aber nur dann möglich, wenn sie die Leiche des Aias an der Thür, durch welche sie eintritt, findet; und da ferner die Handlung sich hinfort an dem Orte, wo die Leiche liegt, concentrirt: so kann es nur die Mittelthür sein, durch welche Tekmessa erscheint. Durch sie musste demnach auch Aias vorher eingetreten sein. Weil er aber bei seinem Erscheinen bereits mit den Vorbereitungen zum Tode fertig ist, indem er von Anfang an in starrer Ruhe vor sein Schwert gebannt gesehen wird: so muss er dort in demselben Momente, wo die alte Scenenwand fortgezogen wird, schon zum Letzten bereit erblickt werden, so dass er, um so erschütternder, je weniger sich erwarten liess, dass er schon so weit wäre, dort auf der Stelle seinen Monolog beginnen kann.

Da, wo er in dieser Weise erscheint, ist nach 892 ein *νάπος*, eine Vertiefung oder Thaleinsenkung, wohl theilweise mit Gebüsch bestanden; und sobald er sich hier in sein Schwert, wie es schien, stürzte, war es leicht, es so zu machen, dass er selbst hinter die Coulissenwand fiel, und höchstens nur seine Füße sichtbar blieben, demnach statt seiner ohne Mühe bei der Beerdigung eine Puppe substituiert werden konnte\*).

Dass der Chor bei seinem Wiedererscheinen 866 in zwei Halbchöre getheilt ist und auch von zwei Seiten her auftritt, ist nicht bezweifelt worden (Piderit p. 36, desgl. Donner). Jede Hälfte des Chores weist auf eine andere Gegend hin, die sie durchwandert hat, und wenn in der öden dem Hellenischen Lager nicht fernen Gegend, welche die Scenerie von 814 an darstellt, die eine Hälfte des Chors von der einen, die andere von einer andern Seite her sich zeigt: so kann dies nicht auffallen, obgleich ein analoger Fall nicht weiter zu beschaffen ist; denn im Rhesos tritt zwar der Chor auch getheilt, aber nur von einer Seite her auf. Dagegen ist minder klar, ob der Chor durch die Parodoi eintritt, oder indem er auf der Skene herumsucht und sich dort zusammenfindet. Da der Chor den Aias nur im Bereiche der Bühne, nicht dem der Orchestra zu finden hoffen darf, so muss man erwarten, ihn auf der Bühne eintreten zu sehen. Zudem, wenn der Chor nach dem Wehe-

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\*) Piderit (vergl. auch Müller kl. Schriften I., p. 535), der den Aias an der linken durch Wildniss charakterisirten Seite der Skene, auch Tekmessa im Hintergrunde verschwinden lässt, ist der Ansicht (vergl. l. l. p. 29, 31, 37), dass Tekmessa an der linken Nebenthür, wo Aias' Mord vorgefallen sei, die Bühne wieder betritt. — Warum Müller, Schneidewin (zu 810) und ihm zustimmend Piderit (p. 31) meinen, dass Tekmessa sich weniger weit entferne als der Chor, ist nicht recht klar. Das *ὅποιπερ ἂν σθένω* sagt sie nicht, weil sie eben ihre Kraft berechnet, sondern um anzuzeigen, dass sie nach Kräften dem Aias nachspüren wolle, und um damit auch den Chor zu gleichem Eifer anzuspornen. Ueberdies kommt es hier nicht darauf an, wie weit Jeder läuft, sondern darauf, den Aias aufzufinden. Es scheint mir daher unangemessen anzunehmen, dass Tekmessa überlege, ob sie weiter oder weniger weit als der Chor in den Wildniss vordringen werde. — Wie Aias steht fest an seinem Platze, ohne vor den Augen der Zuschauer hinzugelangen, Orestes im Anfange des zweiten Actes der Eumeniden, abgesehen von den Fällen, wo im Anfange eines Stückes eine oder mehrere Personen durch Hervorrollen die ihnen gebührende Stellung erlangen. Dass Piderit p. 82 ff. den Aias von 815 bis 853 mehr in den Vordergrund der Bühne treten lässt, verträgt sich weder mit 828 und 834, noch mit der ganzen Situation.



rufe der Tekmessa fragt: *τίνος βοή πάραυλος ἐξέβη νάπους;* (892) und *πάραυλος* nach dem Scholiasten für *ἐγγύς* steht: so scheint auch dies eine Anwesenheit des Chores auf der Bühne vorauszusetzen, indem Tekmessa neben der Leiche des Aias sich befindet. Der Auftrag, die Leiche des Aias zu schützen 1182, die an der Hinterwand der Bühne liegt, ferner die Leichenklage, welche Tekmessa abwechselnd mit dem Chore über des Aias Leichnam anstimmt, weiter das Verstummen der Tekmessa bei des Teukros Erscheinen, indem sie wegen des um sie herumstehenden Chores verschwindet — scheint darauf hinzudeuten, dass der Chor auf dem Logeion sich befindet. Dennoch verhält es sich anders, und die eben angeführten Gründe sind keineswegs stichhaltig. Ein Suchen nach Einem, der auf der Skene verborgen ist, von der Orchestra aus findet auch im Oidipus Kol. statt. Wenn der Chor von der Orchestra aus in unserem Stücke Gleiches thut, geschieht der Sache vollständig Genüge; die Orchestra ist die der Skene (dem Orte der Handlung) unmittelbar anliegende, benachbarte Gegend. Darum kann auch der Chor das Geschrei der Tekmessa, selbst ohne auf der Bühne zu sein, als ein nahes bezeichnen, falls nicht die andere vom Scholiasten angeführte Deutung des Wortes *πάραυλος* als *θρηνητικὴ* und *παρατεταμένη* überhaupt vorzuziehen ist. Bei der grossen Schmalheit, welche das Logeion hat, hindert auch nichts, die Beschützung des Leichnams von der Orchestra aus zu besorgen. Was aber die Todtenklage anlangt, so ist dies keine Klage der Art, wie Antigone und Ismene sie vor der Bestattung der Leiche neben derselben anstimmen, und wie sie dem Ritus gemäss bei der Leiche selbst stattfinden musste, sondern es ist ein Klageerguss des Augenblicks, wie er natürlich ist, wenn unerwartet ein grosses Wehe eingetreten ist. Daher wechseln auch lyrische Metra mit Reden des Chores und der Tekmessa in Trimetern, und von der Bestattung der Leiche ist noch keine Rede (vergl. die Todtenklage in der Andromache, wo der Chor auch nicht auf der Bühne ist). Wenn endlich Tekmessa bei ihrer Zurückkunft mit Eurysakes schweigt, so hat der Dichter dies Schweigen einerseits durch die Rolle, die er dem Kinde zugetheilt hat, zu verhüllen gesucht, andererseits musste Tekmessa schweigen, weil statt des früheren Schauspielers, der die Tekmessa darstellte, ein Statist zurückgekehrt ist (vergl. Schneidewin pag. 20). Dazu kommen noch mehrere positive Gründe. Dass der Chor der Tekmessa nicht nahe steht, als sie das unglückliche Ereigniss meldet, sieht man aus den



Fragen 897 und 905\*); denn diese zeigen, dass der Chor nicht sehen kann, was geschehen ist, und wie es sich zugetragen hat. Gleiches ergibt sich aus 912 ff., wo Tekmessa den Chor, als er vielleicht Anstalten macht, sich ihr zu nähern, zurückweist (915). Endlich ist der Chor nirgends wo anders als in der Orchestra darum, weil sich eben so wenig ein geeigneter Zeitpunkt angeben lässt, wo er sich von der Bühne entfernt, als sich sein Verbleiben auf der Bühne mit der weiteren Entwicklung der Handlung verträgt. Während Menelaos barsch auf der Bühne auftritt, kann der Chor nicht in passiver Haltung neben ihm ebendasselbst verweilen. Hier muss er also, wenn er auf der Bühne gewesen ist, schon dieselbe verlassen haben; aber eine derartige Andeutung fehlt ganz. Will man aber doch annehmen, dass es geschehen sei, und lässt man ihn nach dieser Scene von neuem auf die Bühne steigen, etwa um die Bewachung der Leiche zu übernehmen: so muss man auch wissen, was ihn bestimmen soll, vor dem Schlusse die Bühne wiederum zu verlassen. Denn dass er bei der Beerdigung des Aias zugegen ist oder daran Theil nehmen soll, davon ist nirgends die Rede. Man sieht also, es erheben sich bei dieser Voraussetzung so viele Schwierigkeiten, dass man mit Sicherheit behaupten darf: der Chor hat im zweiten Acte die Bühne nicht betreten.

Alle aus dem Hellenischen Lager kommenden Personen, Menelaos, Teukros, Agamemnon und Odysseus, kommen von der linken Seitenthür her und entfernen sich auch durch dieselbe. Nach Eurysakes geht Tekmessa, von Teukros gesendet (983, 985), durch die linke Nebenthür; denn nur so ist nicht zu besorgen, dass sie mit Menelaos bei ihrer Rückkehr zusammentreffen werde. Ob Teukros 1184 durch die rechte Nebenthür oder Seitenthür sich entfernt (er kehrt 1223 zurück), ist unwichtig, und lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit angeben.

Es sind dem bisher Gesagten zufolge vier Thüren auf der Skene im zweiten Acte in Gebrauch; Veränderungen in der Scenerie während des Actes kommen nicht vor.

Aus 1115 ist mit Sicherheit zu entnehmen, dass Menelaos in Begleitung von Herolden oder wenigstens mit einem erscheint. — Dass mit Agamemnon auch Menelaos zum zweiten Male zurückkommt (so auch Piderit p. 40 und besonders p. 55 ff.),

\*) Wenn Teukros (1003), der den Todten sehen will, sagt: *ἴθ' ἐκτά-*  
*ρα*, so redet er hier, wie schon Schneidewin bemerkt hat, einen aus  
dem Gefolge, nicht einen Choreuten an.

ist wohl nicht zu bezweifeln. Zwar fällt es auf, dass Menelaos, der kurz vorher sich über alle Maassen maulfertig bewiesen hat, das zweite Mal kein Wort spricht; aber wenn nicht mehr als drei Schauspieler auf der Bühne erscheinen durften, so liess sich das Schweigen desselben bei seinem zweiten Auftreten so wenig wie bei Tekmessa umgehen. Seine Anwesenheit wird wegen 1116, 1312 und 1319 nöthig, und sie wäre erwiesen, wenn Martin's Conjectur 1312 (σοῦ τοῦδ' ὁμαίμονος), so wie sie es verdient, in den Text aufgenommen würde.

In Bezug auf den Schluss äussert Schneidewin (p. 24) ganz richtig, dass die Begleiter des Teukros, die das Grab besorgen sollen, nach rechts hin, der Chor nach links zu den Zelten hin sich entfernt, und zwar letzterer, um das für die Bestattung Erforderliche herbeizuschaffen (vergl. 1403 ff.), und damit sind zugleich die Thüren bestimmt, durch welche sie abgehen. Teukros selbst entfernt sich mit Eurysakes, indem sie den Leichnam aufnehmen, durch die Mittelthür, und sie entschwinden dadurch alsbald den Augen der Zuschauer (wie Oidipus im Oid. Kol. bei seinem letzten Gange). Hätten sie die Leiche auf eine andere Weise fortgeschafft, so hätte es noch besonders müssen bemerklich gemacht werden.

### K y k l o p s.

Der Ort der Handlung ist eine in der Nähe des Aetna gelegene Küstengegend Siciliens. Da Cultur ganz fehlt, so ist es zugleich eine öde Gegend, ausserdem auch bergig. Ob der Aetna sichtbar war, ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu sagen möglich; entschiedene Hinweisungen auf ihn als sichtbaren Berg fehlen. Andere Berge dagegen, die theils dem Vordergrunde um die Wohnung des Kyklopen zugehörten, theils den Hintergrund der Scenerie bildeten, waren, wie wiederholte darauf bezügliche Andeutungen zeigen, in der That in der Scenerie dargestellt (20, 62, 95, 114, 130, 298, 288, 704 u. a. m.). In der Mitte der Skene ist der Eingang zur Höhle des Kyklopen; die rechts davon liegende Gegend führt in das Innere der Insel, der nach links gehende Weg zur Küste. Da das Meer selbst nicht sichtbar ist, so steht diese Anordnung mit der Anweisung des Polux nicht in Widerspruch. Wenn der Aetna sichtbar war, so musste es an der rechten Seite der Bühne oder wenigstens rechts von der Wohnung des Kyklopen der Fall sein. Wie die Hürden oder Ställe für das Vieh aussahen, welche in der

Nähe der Wohnung des Kyklopen lagen (222, 363), darüber fehlt es im Stücke an Andeutungen. Genelli denkt sich dem Eingange des Kyklopen zur Seite zwei Höhlen für das Vieh und die Satyrn (p. 61). Der Grasplatz vor der Höhle des Kyklopen, auf den Geppert p. 172 aufmerksam macht, ist natürlich das Logeion selbst. — Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; Thüren werden drei gebraucht: die Mittelthür und die zwei Seitenthüren.

Aus der Höhle des Kyklopen kommt im Anfange des Stückes Seilenos, geht 174 in sie zurück, und kommt 188 wieder von dort hervor. Ferner geht 346 der Kyklop mit den Hellenen aber ohne Odysseus hinein, 355 Odysseus. Letzterer kommt von da 375, und der Kyklop mit Seilenos 503. Die zwei letzten gehen 590 abermals hinein, nicht minder Odysseus 607. 624 kommt Odysseus von dort zurück, geht 653 hinein, und 663 erscheint von daher der Kyklop und Odysseus mit dem Gefolge. — Von der linken Seitenthür her kommt Odysseus mit seinen Leuten 96, von rechts her durch die Parodos der Chor der Satyrn 41, durch die Seitenthür der Kyklop 203. — Am Schlusse geht Odysseus mit seinen Begleitern nach links hin zur Küste; eben dahin will der Chor sich entfernen; letzterer hat also nicht nöthig, um deswillen auf die Bühne zu steigen. Der Kyklop steigt an der linken Seite der Bühne eine Anhöhe hinan und verschwindet da, wahrscheinlich von dem über der linken Nebenthür befindlichen Balcon aus.

Der Chor erscheint 36 von der Seite der Heimath her in der Orchestra 37, und beginnt dort 41 seine Parodos. Der Tanz, der den Gesang begleitet, wie der Umstand, dass das Lied die Parodos ist, setzen ausser Zweifel, dass der Chor nicht auf dem Logeion erscheint. Wenn die Satyrn im Gesange und während des Tanzes die Schafe von den Felsen zu sich rufen 43, sie durch Steinwürfe zusammentreiben 51, die alten Schafe zu den jungen rufen 55: so ist nichts, was dem entsprochen hätte, auf der Bühne sichtbar geworden; dagegen kann es an Bewegungen, die einzelnes davon mimisch im Tanze darstellten, nicht gefehlt haben. Anders scheint es sich mit dem Rufe an die Diener 84, dass sie das Vieh zusammentreiben sollten, verhalten zu haben. Ist es auch nur das einzige Wort *χωρεῖτε*, was sie in der Beziehung aussprechen, so würde es doch sicher vermieden worden sein, wenn nicht Diener bei den Satyrn wären, die sich in Folge von des Seilenos Befehl von den Satyrn fortschicken liessen. Zudem ist noch bemerkbar,

warum der Dichter, nachdem die Sikinnis zu Ende ist, die Diener sich entfernen lässt. Sie werden gebraucht, um demnächst als Begleiter des Odysseus aufzutreten\*). — So wenig übrigens der Chor im Anfange Anlass hat auf der Bühne zu erscheinen, so wenig ist dies auch später der Fall. Zwar redet Odysseus bei seinem Erscheinen nicht den Seilenos allein, sondern auch die Satyrn 96 mit ξένοι an, und sagt 100: Σατύρων πρὸς ἄντροις τόνδε ὄμιλον εἰσορῶ· χαίρειν προσεῖπα τὸν γεραίτερον (den Seilenos), fordert endlich auch alle, nicht den Seilenos allein auf, ihm Fleisch, Milch und anderes aus der Höhle zu bringen\*\*), was zu der Meinung veranlassen könnte, dass auch die Satyrn sich auf der Bühne befunden hätten; aber dass es nicht der Fall gewesen ist, ersieht man aus 188 ff., wo Seilenos allein die Lebensmittel aus der Höhle holt; Satyrn waren also nicht in dessen Nähe. Wenn der heimkehrende Kyklop 204 den Chor zuerst anredet, so geschieht es, weil Seilenos mit den Hellenen bei Seite getreten ist; die Drohung aber, den Satyrn die Köpfe zu zerschlagen 211, kann eben sowohl ausgesprochen werden, wenn der Chor auf der Skene, als wenn er in der Orchestra ist. 469 er bietet sich der Chor freilich, den angezündeten Baumast dem Kyklopen in's Auge zu stoßen, und zwar in der Höhle, und es entsteht darum 483 eine Art Wettstreit, wer vorantreten soll, ja auch 596 bieten sie nochmals ihre Hülfe an. Als es aber heisst: näher treten, will keiner von der Stelle 630—637, und Odysseus sieht sich genöthigt seine Genossen zu Hülfe zu rufen. Die Satyrn stehen also möglichst fern, d. h. in der Orchestra, und wollen sich auch von da nicht fortrühren. So bleibt nur 564 übrig, wo Donner bemerkt: „er (Seilenos) deutet auf einen Satyr, der auch heimlich vom Weine kostet;“ Donner nimmt also die Anwesenheit von wenigstens einem Satyr auf der Bühne an. Aber auch dieser Eine kann ihm nicht zugestanden werden; denn οὐκ ἐμέ hat Nauck gewiss richtig in οὐκέτι umgeändert, und die Schnelligkeit, mit der Seilenos trinkt und dem Kyklopen wegschnappt,

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\*) Ist damit das Richtige getroffen, dann musste freilich die Umkleidung ausserordentlich rasch vor sich gehen; denn die genannten Choreuten mussten, während nur elf Verse recitirt wurden, aus Satyrn Hellenen werden, und überdies von der rechten Parodos zur linken Seitenthür sich begeben. Dass dergleichen in so kurzer Zeit geschehen konnte, dafür fehlt es freilich an hinlänglichen Beweisen.

\*\*) 137 ἐκφέρετε. 162 ἐκφέρετε τυρεύματα.

was er vor der Nase hat, ist es, was hervorgehoben wird. Sind doch auch die Satyrn bei der ganzen Trinkscene unbetheiligt; und sie werden demnach hier wie im ganzen Stücke in der Orchestra sein.

Als die Hellenen sich vor dem Kyklopen an den Hürden verbergen, sieht der Kyklop die dort zusammengeknebelten Lämmer und die Käse, welche Seilenos aus der Höhle gebracht hat. Es lässt sich wohl nicht bezweifeln, dass diese Gegenstände sich da *in natura* befanden, nicht gemalt oder nachgebildet waren. Zu letzterem ist kein Anlass; auf die angegebene Weise wurde dem Bedürfnisse am leichtesten und vollständig Genüge geleistet.

### Philoktetes.

Die Scenerie stellt eine unbewohnte, wilde Felsgegend auf Lemnos vor 170, 183, 221, 689, 692. Dass im Hintergrunde ausser anderen Bergen auch der feuerspeiende Mosychlos sichtbar war, ergiebt sich weniger aus der Anrufung 986 als aus 800. Abschied nimmt Philoktetes auch von den Bachnymphen 1454, den Quellen und Höhlen der Insel 1461, dem Brausen des Meeres 1455, dem Meeresgestade 1464 und dem Gebirge des Hermes 1459; er ruft ferner 936 die *λιμένας* und *προβλήτας*, 937 die *καταρρώγας πέτρας* an. Es sind dies also Dinge, die sich in der Nähe von Philoktetes müssen befunden haben; aber wie viel und was davon den Zuschauern sichtbar gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht sagen; denn die von ihm 1146 angerufenen Vögel und Thiere zeigen, dass man von dem Anrufen eines Gegenstandes sich keinen Schluss auf dessen Sichtbarkeit erlauben darf. Da aber die Handlung, wie das Stück durchweg zeigt, in der Nähe der Meeresküste vor sich geht, so kann leicht die Vermuthung entstehen, dass man das Meer auch in der That gesehen habe. Aber der Theil der Küste, an dem Odysseus und Neoptolemos angelandet sind, ist, wie sich aus 1123 und 1077 ergiebt, nicht sichtbar gewesen. Ob man andere Theile der Küste erblickte, ist für die Handlung ganz gleichgültig; und da jede bestimmte Hinweisung auf das Meer als sichtbaren Gegenstand fehlt, so ist schwer zu glauben, dass es den Zuschauern vor die Augen gerückt worden sei\*). — Die Behau-

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\*) Wenn Schneidewin 3. Aufl. p. 148 sagt: „vom Felsen aus überblickt man das weite Meer“, so mag das richtig sein; aber die Frage ist

sung des Philoktetes, die Höhle, vor welcher die Handlung sich entwickelt, muss in der Mitte der Skene vor der Mittelthür und zwar in einiger Höhe sich befunden haben 29, 1000\*), und hatte an zwei einander gegenüber liegenden Seiten Eingänge (16, 158, 159, 952, 1081, 1262). Ob einer oder beide auf der Scenerie zu sehen waren, darüber ist man nicht einerlei Ansicht gewesen. Da sie an der Ost- und Westseite der Höhle sich befanden (vergl. 16 und dazu Hermann's Bemerkung), so sahen die Zuschauer nur dann zwei, wenn ihnen die Höhle gegen Norden oder Süden vorlag, aber beide auch nur so, dass sie nicht in die Höhle selbst hineinsehen konnten. Nun wird aber der Chor, der sich in der Orchestra befindet, aufgefordert, in die Höhle hinein zu sehen; es muss also die Möglichkeit dies zu thun da gewesen sein, und die Höhle scheint demnach von den Zuschauern von O oder W her erblickt worden zu sein. In diesem Falle aber war nur ein Eingang den Zuschauern sichtbar\*\*). — Nahe zur Linken der Höhle, und zwar ein wenig unterhalb derselben, ist eine Quelle 21; zugleich wird Laubstreu 33, ein hölzerner Becher 36, Holz zum Feuern 37, endlich Lumpen, die Trocknens halber in die Sonne gelegt sind, 39 erwähnt. Eines oder das andere von alle dem mag den

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nicht, was sich von der Höhe aus sehen liess, sondern was den Zuschauern sichtbar war.

\*) Schneidewin sagt p. 149, dass Neoptolemos die Klippen hinanklettert, um zur Höhle zu gelangen. Er stieg vielmehr hinan, da die Höhle so liegen muss, dass auch der lahme Philoktetes sie erreichen und verlassen kann. — Aus *ἐσχατιαῖς* (144) ist nichts in Bezug auf die Lage der Höhle an der Skenenwand zu folgern. Die Höhle als Hintergrund oder an einer Seite der Bühne zu denken ist darum unthunlich, weil die Handlung sich vor ihr entwickelt. Der Ausdruck bezieht sich also nur auf die Abgeschiedenheit und Einöde, in der die Höhle liegt (vergl. 2, 29, 170, 172, 183 u. s. w.).

\*\*) Geppert p. 171 ist der Ansicht, dass man beide Eingänge nicht gesehen habe, da sie, wie Geppert sagt, „mit den Eingängen in die Orchestra übereinstimmend nach Osten und Westen gekehrt waren.“ Aber die Lage, welche das Theater zu Athen hatte, bestimmt nicht die Himmelsgegenden an der Scenerie. Aus 31 ist nichts zu folgern; denn Neoptolemos, der die Höhle in einiger Höhe befindlich nennt, muss erst näher an sie herantreten, um angeben zu können, was in und neben ihr befindlich ist. Ist er aber in die Nähe des Einganges gelangt, dann übersieht er die Höhle, nach welcher Seite hin sie auch geöffnet sei. Aus 159 *οἶκον ὁρᾷς τόνδ' ἀμπίδυρον πετρῶνης κοίτης* ist freilich nicht zu folgern, dass man zwei Eingänge der Höhle müsse gesehen haben.



Zuschauern sichtbar gewesen sein; ihnen Alles zu zeigen, liegt keine Nothwendigkeit vor. Dagegen müssen Felsen oder Gebüsch zur Linken der Höhle den Anblick derselben den von links Auftretenden in so weit entzogen haben, dass sie von ihnen anfangs nicht wahrzunehmen war (21, 153). — Thüren sind ausser dem in der Mitte befindlichen Eingange zur Höhle nur zwei an der rechten und linken Seite erforderlich; der erstere Zugang führt in das Innere der Insel, der letztere an den Theil der Küste, wo Odysseus mit seinen Begleitern landete. Ein besonderer von rechts her zur Höhle hinaufgehender Weg braucht darum, weil Philoktetes von rechts her erscheint, nicht vorhanden gewesen zu sein. Der eine Weg, auf dem Neoptölemos hinangestiegen ist, eine Art Treppe, die als solche den Zuschauern natürlich verdeckt war, genügte auch für Philoktetes. Die Höhle selbst muss man sich über der Mittelthür der Skene, also auf und vor dem Balcon des ersten Stockwerkes befindlich denken. — Eine Veränderung der Scenerie findet nicht statt.

Das Auf- und Abtreten der Personen unterliegt fast durchaus keinen Zweifeln. Von der Fremde her durch die linke Seitenthür kommen Neoptolemos und Odysseus im Anfange, Odysseus geht 134 eben dahin zurück: Von der rechten Seitenthür her erscheint Philoktetes 219, von links her der Emporos 542, der 627 eben dahin zurückkehrt. Von daher kommt auch 974 Odysseus, und entfernt sich 1080 mit Neoptolemos; beide kommen 1222 wieder von daher; ersterer geht 1258 dahin zurück, kommt abermals 1293, und geht 1299 dahinwärts wieder ab. Am Schlusse entfernen sich auch Neoptolemos und Philoktetes nach jener Seite hin.

Herakles erscheint nach Solger in der Höhle; dies ist aber entschieden falsch. Er erscheint vielmehr auf einer Maschine, heisse sie Theologeion oder *μηχανή*, in der Höhe, wie auch Schneidewin p. 155 annimmt. Sagt doch Herakles selbst 1413: *οὐρανίας ἔδρας προλιπών*. Wenn aber Schneidewin die Worte 1420 *ἀθανάτων ἀρετὴν ὡς πάρεσθ' ὄραν* auf die mit göttlichem Glanze umflossene Gestalt des Herakles bezieht, so darf man dabei wenigstens nicht an einen künstlichen Lichteffect denken. Der Glanz, der den Halbgott umgiebt, kommt der Maschine, auf der er sich befindet, und dem prächtigen Schmucke, der denselben umgiebt, zu, nicht seinem Körper selbst. — Wie Herakles verschwindet, deutet der Dichter nicht an; es geschieht sicher auf dieselbe Weise, wie er erschienen ist. Zugleich ist



hieraus ersichtlich, dass er seine Stellung in der Höhe nicht verlassen hat.

Was das Erscheinen des Chores anlangt, so muss dieses von links, von der Seite her erfolgen, von woher auch Odysseus und Neoptolemos kommen; und zwar erscheint er, da nichts zu einer anderen Annahme zwingt, durch die Parodos. Unsicher ist nur der Zeitpunkt, wann er auftritt. Schneidewin ist der Ansicht, er sei vom Anfange des Stückes an da gewesen. Aber ein bei und nach seinem Eintritt 134 Verse hindurch stumm bleibender Chor ist etwas Unerhörtes\*). Daher nimmt Kock (p. 22) an, dass Odysseus und Neoptolemos nach 134 sich entfernen, und Odysseus nach einer Pause 135 mit dem Chore wieder erscheint. Aus den ersten Worten des Chores gehe nämlich hervor, dass Neoptolemos unterwegs angefangen habe, seinen Kriegern die Rolle deutlich zu machen, welche sie um den Philoktetes zu betrügen spielen sollten; und dieser Gegenstand beschäftige sie auch weiter in den ersten Reden, die der Chor von der Orchestra aus mit Neoptolemos führe. Aber auch diese Annahme scheint gewagt. Es ist ohne Beispiel, dass eine Person, die eben abgetreten ist, unmittelbar darauf, ohne dass das Gespräch auf der Bühne sich fortgesetzt hat, wieder erscheint. Ferner tritt nie eine Person mit dem Chore zusammen so auf, dass sie selbst auf dem Logeion, der Chor in der Orchestra erscheint. Wo Aehnliches nöthig wird, ist entweder das Zusammenauftreten beider Theile vermieden worden, wie im Oidipus Kol., oder es findet nur am Schlusse des Stückes und auch da nur so statt, dass eine grosse Zahl von Menschen Bühne und Orchestra zugleich verlassen. In der Mitte des Stückes findet es nur bei dem Leichenbegängnisse der Alkestis statt. Alle diese Fälle unterscheiden sich demnach wesentlich von dem unsrigen, wo neben dem Chor in der Orchestra nur ein Einziger auf der Bühne erscheinen soll. Endlich spricht auch 126 entschieden dagegen. Eben hat Odysseus gesagt: τὸν σκοπὸν πρὸς ταῦν ἀποστελῶ πάλιν (nämlich denjenigen, von dem es 45 hiess: τὸν οὖν παρόντα πέμψον εἰς κατασκοπήν\*\*), und fährt dann fort:

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\*) Im Beginne des Oidipus R. ist die Menge der Bittenden auch vom Anfange des Stückes da und stumm, aber zugleich auf der Bühne. Der Chor im Orestes tritt auch schweigend ein; aber ein langes Verstummen des in die Orchestra eingetretenen Chores ist ohne Analogie.

\*\*) Hermann leugnet zwar die Identität beider, und versteht unter dem 125 genannten, *quem ipse (Odysseus) secum habebat ministrum*. Aber dies

καὶ δεῦρ', ἐάν μοι τοῦ χρόνου δοκῇτέ τι  
κατασχολάζειν, αὐθις ἐκπέμψω πάλιν  
τοῦτον τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα.

Hier kann der Pluralis *δοκῇτε* nur auf den Chor gehen, und dieser muss also bereits anwesend sein. Behutsam und leise ist er wie Odysseus und Neoptolemos herangeschlichen, und wenn er darum bei seinem Erscheinen schweigt, so ist dieses ganz motivirt. Wann er erscheint, lässt sich freilich nicht bestimmt angeben; aber viel früher, als Odysseus seinen Entschluss zum Strande zurückzugehen mittheilt, wird es wohl nicht geschehen sein. Die anfängliche Bitte des Chores an Neoptolemos aber, ihm mitzutheilen, was er thun oder verbergen solle, bezieht sich darauf, dass er hierher zur Hülfe beschieden worden ist, und es ist also ganz natürlich, dass er wegen seines weiteren Verhaltens sich erkundigt. — Von der Voraussetzung, dass der Chor durch die Parodos in der Orchestra erscheine, abzugehen ist kein Grund da. Nur wer Neoptolemos und den Chor zusammen auftreten lässt, kann sich versucht fühlen, auch den Chor auf die Bühne kommen zu lassen. — Nicht alle jedoch, welche ein Auftreten des Chores durch die Parodos annehmen, lassen ihn auch dort, wie Kock p. 22 thut, verbleiben, sondern man hat auch angenommen, dass er von da auf die Bühne steige, da er, um die Höhle genau zu sehen, bis in die Höhle, wenigstens bis dicht an sie herangehen müsse. Aber in 144 fordert Neoptolemos den Chor nur auf, den Ort, wo Philoktetes wohnt, sich getrost anzusehen, nicht, in die Höhle zu gehen (*δέρκου θαρσῶν*). Ein Nähertreten zu derselben würde nur dann erforderlich sein, wenn *ἐσχατιαῖς* die Lage der Höhle im Hintergrunde der Skene bezeichnete. Da dies nicht der Fall ist, die Höhle vielmehr vor der Mittelthür der Skene sein muss, so enthalten die Worte des Textes nichts, was darauf schliessen liesse, dass der Chor auf das Logeion steigt. Die Worte 147 ferner *τῶν δ' ἐκ μελάθρων προχωρῶν* hat Hermann gewiss richtig mit *ὁδίτης* verbunden, so dass nicht daran zu denken ist, der Chor solle dem Neoptolemos von der Höhle her zu Hülfe kommen. Wäre der Chor bei der Höhle geblieben, so hätte er nicht sowohl darauf

geht nicht an; denn in dem Falle musste entweder Odysseus auf ihn als den seinigen hinweisen (*τόνδε*), oder das Pronomen possessivum (*μου*) durfte nicht fehlen. Das einfache *τὸν* kann nur auf die schon vorher als Wächter und Späher gebrauchte Person sich beziehen.

denken müssen, den Neoptolemos zu schützen, als sich selbst; oder man müsste beweisen, dass der überaus ängstliche Neoptolemos trotz seiner Angst weiter nach rechts hin vorgeschritten wäre, als der Chor. Neoptolemos hält sich aber, weil er den Philoktetes fürchtet, nahe der linken Seitenthür auf, und dorthin soll ihm der Chor von der Orchestra aus zu Hülfe eilen, wenn Philoktetes gegen ihn anrückt. — Aus den Worten 201 endlich, die zeigen, dass der Chor oder ein Theil desselben die Schmerzenslaute des Philoktetes früher hört als Neoptolemos, lässt sich nur ersehen, dass der Chor weiter nach rechts hin, also dem Philoktetes näher sich befindet, als Neoptolemos, nicht aber, dass er seinen Stand auf der Bühne hat. Es ist also keinerlei Veranlassung da, dass der Chor die Bühne betritt; und man kann sich um so weniger dazu veranlasst sehen, da kein Moment eintritt, das geeignet wäre, den Chor zum Verlassen der Bühne zu bewegen. 225 ist zwar der Chor über Philoktetes's Erscheinen erschrocken; aber die Skene kann er, auch wenn er auf der Bühne wäre, in Folge dessen nicht verlassen, wenn er nicht dem von Neoptolemos erhaltenen Auftrage geradezu entgegen handeln soll. Demnächst schweigt der Chor ganz; erst 317 kommt er wieder zu Worte, und äussert nur sein Mitgefühl für Philoktetes. Weiterhin 391 wendet er sich im Gebet an die Allmutter Ge, wozu 507 ff. die Antistrophe ist. Ausserdem redet er nur noch wenige Worte 522 und 539, die eben so wenig als das, was neben ihm vorgeht, eine Aenderung in seiner Stellung hervorrufen können, und beginnt dann 676, nachdem das Logeion leer geworden ist, ein Stasimon; er muss also hier in der Orchestra sein, und doch ist kein Anlass dahin zurückzukehren sichtbar geworden, kein Grund, der ihn lange in Unthätigkeit auf der Bühne zurückgehalten haben könnte. Unter diesen Verhältnissen bleibt also nichts übrig, als den Chor seinen Standort in der Orchestra ruhig behaupten zu lassen, nachdem er von links her dort erschienen ist. Zögernd und um sich spähend, wie er angekommen ist, hält er sich anfangs in der Nähe der linken Parodos. Erst die Aufforderung des Neoptolemos, die Höhle genauer zu betrachten, veranlasst ihn bis in die Mitte der Orchestra vorzugehen, und sich dort dem Rande des Logeion zu nähern. Da Neoptolemos in diesem Momente weiter nach links hin steht, Philoktetes hingegen alsbald von rechts her sich nähert, so muss der Chor den Klageruf des unglücklichen Helden zuerst hören. Da aber ferner der Chor dem Philoktetes näher steht als Ne-

optolemos, so will Philoktetes sich zuerst an den Chor wenden. Dieser bebt aber zurück, während Neoptolemos aus den Reden des Philoktetes ersieht, dass keine Gefahr vorhanden ist, dem Philoktetes sich nähert und ihm antwortet. Ist die Stellung und Gruppierung der Personen in der Art, wie sie eben angegeben worden ist, so sieht man leicht ein, warum Neoptolemos den Chor anweist, ihm nöthigenfalls zu Hülfe zu kommen. Neoptolemos ist allein auf der Bühne; er hatte also allerdings Ursache sich für den Fall der Noth nach Hülfe umzusehen. Man begreift aber nun auch, warum 533 nur davon die Rede ist, dass Philoktetes und Neoptolemos, nicht Mehrere, in die Höhle gehen, ferner, warum Philoktetes dazu 635 nur Neoptolemos auffordert; denn eine andere Person war eben nicht auf dem Logeion anwesend. — So wenig wie der Chor in der ersten Hälfte des Stückes auf die Bühne steigt, eben so wenig ist es in der zweiten der Fall, obgleich es auf den ersten Blick anders zu sein scheinen könnte. Als nämlich die Krankheit des Philoktetes auf's Höchste gestiegen ist, und er unter Angst und dem Ausströmen des Blutes aus der Wunde in Schlaf verfällt, sagt Neoptolemos 825: ἀλλ' ἐάσωμεν, φίλοι, ἐκηλον αὐτὸν, ὡς ἂν εἰς ὕπνον πέσῃ, und man kann geneigt sein, diese Worte nicht auf die θεράποντες, die ihm etwa zur Seite stehen, sondern wegen der Anrede φίλοι auf den Chor zu beziehen. Die Aufforderung aber, den schlafenden Philoktetes nicht zu stören, scheint sogar zu fordern, dass der Chor oder einige aus dem Chore in der Nähe des Philoktetes sich befinden. Auch das demnächst folgende Schlaflied scheint vorauszusetzen, dass die Sänger sich in der unmittelbaren Nähe von Philoktetes befinden. Weiterhin, wo der Chor 833 zu Neoptolemos sagt: ὦ τέκνον, ὅρα ποῦ στάσει u. s. w., und ihn auffordert, den günstigen Augenblick wahrzunehmen, und sich mit dem Bogen des schlafenden Helden aus dem Staube zu machen, scheint ebenfalls die Anwesenheit des Chores auf der Bühne erforderlich zu sein; denn die Worte konnten nur so gesagt sein, dass es wenigstens den Schein hatte, als seien sie leise ausgesprochen worden. Dazu kommt, dass der erwachende Philoktetes zu Neoptolemos sagt 879: σὺ μ' αὐτὸς ἄρον, als ob noch Andere in der Nähe gewesen wären, die auch hätten zugreifen können; ferner dass Neoptolemos 887 das Anerbieten macht, den Philoktetes durch Choreuten forttragen zu lassen, worauf Philoktetes aber 890 wiederum nicht eingeht. Ja, es lässt sich endlich auch sehr wohl angeben, in welchem Moment der Chor die

Bühne müsse verlassen haben; es müsste dies nach 890 erfolgt sein, als Philoktetes die Beihülfe der Choreuten entschieden zurückgewiesen hatte, und sie sehen, dass sie auf dem Logeion nichts helfen können. Dennoch unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass der Chor in seiner Gesammtheit in der Orchestra beständig verblieben ist, indem keiner der vielen Gründe es nothwendig macht, dass der Chor auf der Bühne sei. *Ἐάσωμεν φίλοι* kann Neoptolemos auch zum Chore sagen, als einige sich anschicken, zu ihm zu kommen; das Schlaflied kann sehr wohl in der Orchestra von Wenigen gesungen werden; der Rath (833) fortzugehen kann laut gegeben werden, weil Philoktetes nicht bei Sinnen ist und eben in Schlaf gesunken ist; die Ermahnung leise zu sprechen ist auch dann ganz angemessen, wenn die Redenden nicht dicht neben einander stehen; die Bitte des Philoktetes (879), dass Neoptolemos selbst ihn aufheben möge, nicht andere, ist dadurch motivirt, dass Philoktetes ihn gerade als allen Entsagungen gewachsen erfunden hat; 890 aber weist Philoktetes die Hülfe der Choreuten ab, damit nicht der Pestgeruch seiner Wunde sie auf den Gedanken bringe ihn zu verlassen. Nirgends ist also erforderlich, dass der Chor dem Philoktetes nahe trete; und sicher wird er demnach auch die Orchestra in der zweiten Hälfte des Stückes nicht verlassen haben. Wenn dagegen 1003 Odysseus den Befehl giebt, den Philoktetes zu fassen, so macht schon Schneidewin mit Recht darauf aufmerksam, dass dies zu Dienern gesprochen wird, die neben ihm stehen. Diese leisten eben sowohl hier Folge, wie 1054, wo sie den Philoktetes wieder loslassen. Ob der Diener zwei oder mehrere sind, hängt von der Lesart ab; Schneidewin billigt den Dualis.

Der Schlupfwinkel, von dem aus Odysseus 974 plötzlich erscheint, ist wohl an der linken Seitenthür zu suchen; hier mag Odysseus in der felsigen und vielleicht bebuschten Gegend gelauert haben, und es ist also nicht nöthig, noch eine besondere Thür um deswillen in der Scenerie vorauszusetzen.

Am Schlusse des Stückes kann der Chor freilich über die Bühne hin abziehen; aber nothwendig ist es keineswegs, wenn er auch sagt 1469: *χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀολλεῖς*. Auch wenn er durch die Parodos abzieht, geht er denselben Weg, den die Schauspieler von der Bühne aus durch die linke Seitenthür einschlagen, und mit ihnen zusammen, ein Fall, der namentlich am Schlusse der Stücke nicht selten eintritt.

## Oidipus auf Kolonos.

Ort der Handlung ist ein Platz an dem bei Kolonos gelegenen Hain der Eumeniden. Der Hain nimmt daher die Mitte der Scenerie ein; er besteht vorzugsweise aus Oelbäumen (17, 701), ist aber zugleich von Lorbeergebüsch und Weinreben (16 *χωρος βρύων δάφνης, ἐλαίας, ἀμπέλου*) durchwachsen, und bildet hierdurch ein dichtes Gebüsch, wodurch, wie es im Stücke heisst, die Nachtigallen angezogen werden. Hingewiesen wird auch im Stücke auf das grasreiche Thal im Haine, in dem (155 ff.) durch das Zusammenfliessen von Quellen eine Art Sumpfteich sich gebildet hat; beides ist daher auch wohl den Zuschauern sichtbar gewesen. Sah man den Teich, so musste Jeder um so erwartungsvoller darauf achten, ob der blinde Oidipus da, wo er dem Haine sich nahet, oder in ihn hineingeht, dieser gefährlichen Stelle fern bleiben werde oder nicht. Der heilige Bezirk des Haines ist, damit er nicht von Fremden betreten werde, umgränzt. In welcher Weise dies aber geschehen ist, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit angeben, besonders weil 57 und 192 einer sehr verschiedenen Erklärung unterliegen. Es scheint ein wallförmiger Ring von nicht hohen unbehauenen Felsblöcken gewesen zu sein, und einer dieser Felsblöcke scheint es zu sein, auf den Antigone den von der Reise ermüdeten Vater sich niederlassen heisst (19). Aus 59 ist ferner mit Sicherheit zu entnehmen, dass eine Statue des Heros Kolonos sichtbar war\*). Da Kolonos, wie demnächst bemerkt werden wird, sich an der rechten Seite der Bühne befinden muss, und die Fluren des Heros dem Haine benachbart sind (58): so scheint die Statue nach der Seite der Bühne hin (vielleicht gar an der rechten Periakte), welche den nahen Flecken Kolonos anzudeuten hatte, sich befunden zu haben; aber nicht als solide Statue (denn dazu liegt keine Veranlassung vor), sondern gemalt. Die Bedeutung der rechten Seitenthür, die nach Kolonos führen muss, ergiebt sich daraus, dass der einzelne Kolonaier, wie der aus der Heimath herbeieilende Chor nur von rechts her erscheinen können. Kolonos selbst ist also als in der Nähe der rechten Periakte liegend zu denken. Demnach

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\*) *τόνδ' ἐπ' ὀπότεν Κολωνόν*. Kolster (de adornata Oidipodis Col. scena. 1846) p. 7 lässt die Statue das sogenannte Hyposkenion schmücken; von der Bühne aus habe man sie nicht gesehen, wohl aber sei dies für den in der Orchestra befindlichen Kolonaier der Fall gewesen.



kann auch von Athen, das man wenigstens theilweise in der Ferne erblickte, nur zwischen der rechten Periakte und dem Eumenidenhaine selbst, also in der Gegend der rechten Nebenthür, eine perspectivische Ansicht gegeben worden sein, die aber nur aus wenigen Andeutungen (der Akropolis mit deren Tempeln) bestanden haben dürfte. Links vom Hain, da wo der Weg nach der Fremde hinführt, kann Athen nicht erblickt worden sein; denn abgesehen davon, dass es einen Theil der Heimath bildet, so könnte auch der Kolonaier, welcher Theseus von der Ankunft des Oidipus benachrichtigt, nicht nach Kolonos und demnächst weiter nach Athen sich hinbegeben haben, wenn es diese Lage gehabt hätte. — An der linken Periakte geht der Weg nach der Fremde, nach Theben. Was zwischen ihm und dem heiligen Eumenidenhaine lag, scheint eine buschige, wenigstens eine mit Bäumen bestandene Ebene gewesen zu sein, wie sich später zeigen wird. — Dass das Heiligthum des Prometheus, wie Schneidewin annimmt, sichtbar gewesen ist, glaube ich nicht. Mag es auch in der Wirklichkeit gerade im Bereiche dessen, was die Scenerie darstellte, gelegen haben, daraus folgt nicht, dass es auch in der Scenerie wiedergegeben wurde. Wie spät die Hellenen selbst im Portrait sich bequemt haben, die individuellen Züge der dargestellten Personen wiederzugeben, wie sie dazu sich erst ganz allmählich verstanden haben, und zwar in viel späteren Zeiten, als die sind, in welche unser Stück fällt, ist bekannt. Um wie viel weniger werden sie demnach jede Zufälligkeit, die einer Gegend anhaftete, in die Scenerie aufgenommen haben! Nun wird aber die Sichtbarkeit von des Prometheus Heiligthum im Stücke nirgends vorausgesetzt; Prometheus selbst wird nur einmal (55) und zwar mit Poseidon zusammen genannt; was könnte demnach die Veranlassung gewesen sein, dass das Heiligthum des Prometheus dargestellt, das des Poseidon, der doch auch Schutzherr der Gegend war, nicht dargestellt worden wäre? Die Idee, dass die Scenerie die Gegend am Eumenidenhaine so dargestellt habe, wie sie zur Zeit des Sophokles aussah, muss schon darum verworfen werden, weil die Zeit der Handlung fast um ein Jahrtausend vor Sophokles fällt, und daher Jedermann von selbst begreifen musste, dass nicht alles, was später da war, auch im grauen Alterthume schon dagewesen, und zwar so dagewesen sei, wie es zur Zeit des Sophokles aussah. — Doch selbst dann, wenn man zugeben wollte, die Scenerie sei darauf berechnet gewesen, das Bild der Wirklichkeit im Gemälde darzustellen, wie dies



Schneidewin voraussetzt, war es möglich, dem Principe im vor-  
 gegenwärtigen Falle vollständig zu genügen? Schneidewin\*) sagt  
 zu dieser Beziehung (pag. 9): „der Zuschauer wird als im  
 vorliegenden Theile des eigentlichen Hügels Kolonos befindlich  
 gedacht, so dass Athen mit der Akropolis ihm zur Rechten  
 sichtbar wird.“ Aber an der rechten Periakte kann Athen nicht  
 sichtbar gewesen sein; denn hier lag zweifelsohne Kolonos in  
 der Nähe, und die Periakte musste eine darauf sich beziehende  
 Malerei tragen. Athen kann also nur links von der Periakte  
 d. h. wie bereits angedeutet, in der Gegend der rechten Neben-  
 bühne gesehen worden sein. Wenn aber dies geschah (und die  
 Handlung verlangt, dass dem so sei), so ist dies, man stelle  
 und denke sich, wie man wolle, ein Widerspruch mit der Wirk-  
 lichkeit. Der Weg von Theben führt durch Kolonos nach  
 Athen in der Wirklichkeit so, dass Athen über Kolonos hinaus  
 in der Richtung, welche der Weg bis Kolonos gehabt hat, liegt.  
 War nun die Scenerie ein Abbild der Wirklichkeit, und der  
 Weg von Theben her, wie es sein muss, an der linken Periakte  
 angedeutet: so konnte Athen nirgends anders zur Darstellung  
 gelangen, als an der rechten Periakte, und Kolonos, bei dem  
 die Handlung vor sich geht, musste entweder gar nicht ange-  
 deutet werden, oder es musste gerade das Mittelstück der Sce-  
 nerie bilden. Das letztere konnte nicht geschehen, weil der  
 Chor dann nicht berechtigt war, durch die Parodos zu erschei-  
 nen; eben so wenig konnte es aber auch in der Darstellung  
 ganz übergangen werden; denn auch dann fehlte die Berech-  
 tigung, den dort heimischen Chor von der rechten Parodos her-  
 kommen zu lassen. Wenn aber Athen nicht an der rechten  
 Periakte bezeichnet werden konnte, und doch sichtbar sein  
 musste, so ist schon einem Widerspruche der Scenerie mit der  
 Wirklichkeit nicht mehr auszuweichen. — In ganz anderer Weise  
 denkt sich Kolster (l. l. p. 6), dem Kock (p. 52 u. 53) folgt,  
 die Scenerie. Sie lassen den Hain der Eumeniden die linke  
 Seite der Bühne von der Mittelthür an einnehmen, an der an-  
 dern Seite dagegen lässt Kolster einen allmählich sich senkenden  
 Bergkamm bis an das rechte Ende der Bühne, wo Athen's  
 Mauern und Thürme erblickt worden seien, hingehen. Wo bei

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\*) Auch Kolster huldigt diesem Principe, weshalb er (l. l. pag. 5) der  
 Ansicht ist, dass der Fels, von dem der Ort *πολυπρόων κολώνη* genannt  
 worden sei, dargestellt gewesen sei, *licet verbo de hac re poeta non mo-  
 querit.*

dieser Anordnung Kolonos liegt, finde ich freilich nicht angegeben; aber man kann nicht zweifeln, dass es an der linken Seite in der Nähe des Haines, wenn gleich den Zuschauern unsichtbar, gedacht werden muss. Da aber Kolonos der Schauplatz der Handlung ist, und, was aus der Heimath kommt, von rechts her erscheinen muss: so muss der Chor entweder von links her, d. h. aus der Fremde, kommen, oder er muss von rechts her auftreten, d. h. aus einer ganz anderen Gegend, als der, wo Kolonos liegt. Es genügt, diese eine Schwierigkeit hervorzuheben, um deutlich zu machen, dass die Scenerie in der Weise nicht kann angeordnet gewesen sein. — Genelli (pag. 61) entwirft von der Scenerie folgendes Bild: „in den Winkeln des Proskenion erheben sich die Ecken von zwei Felswänden so hoch, wie es die Skene erlaubt, und angezeigter Maassen aus Holz aufgebauet. Zwischen diesen bildet die Mitte die Oeffnung in's Thal der Eumeniden. Die Fortsetzung der Felswände zeigt sich im Gemälde der Katablemen, und darüber die weitere Aussicht in's Land: rechter Hand erblickte man wahrscheinlich einen Anfang der Stadt Athen, linker Hand aber schloss das Bild mit dem Meere. Reben rankten sich an die Felsen hinan, und die Thalöffnung zwischen den Felsenecken füllten grünende Bäume aus —, so dass in der Mitte ein dunkler Eingang blieb. Da dies lebendige Gewächse waren, und sie mithin in Gefässen aufgestellt werden mussten, die doch nicht sichtbar werden durften: so entstand aus der Bekleidung dieser Gefässe noch eine Erhöhung über dem Fussboden des Logeion. Was aber zwischen den Bäumen noch hätte durchblicken können, war hinter denselben mit dunkler bemalten Decken verhängt.“ Alles das scheint mir aber sehr wenig dem zu entsprechen, was man von der Einrichtung der Scenerie verlangen muss. Waren in den Winkeln des Proskenion Felswände aus Holz gezimmert, so wurde dadurch der Zugang zur Skene an beiden Seiten versperrt, zumal wenn die Felswände auch auf den Katablemen sich fortsetzen sollten; denn jede von den Seiten her führende Strasse hätte dann nur über die Felsenrücken zur Skene hinab führen können. Wie sich Genelli ferner noch eine Aussicht in's Land hinein über die nahen Felswände denkt, ist mir ganz unklar. Denn nahe und zugleich hohe Felswände verdecken alle anderen hinter ihnen liegenden Gegenstände, auch wenn dieselben sich in beträchtlicher Höhe befinden. Dass Athen nicht kann zur Rechten erblickt worden sein, ist schon bemerkt worden. Das Meer zur

Linken ist in jeder Beziehung störend. Abgesehen davon, dass nach den Angaben der Alten die linke Seite der Skene nicht die Küste und das Meer vorstellen soll: so ist das Meer in keiner Weise für die Handlung erforderlich, und es wird seiner im Stücke nicht gedacht. Die Thalöffnung, welche in der Mitte zwischen den Felsecken liegt, und, von grünen Bäumen erfüllt, in ihrer Mitte einen dunkeln Eingang zeigt, kann, wenn mich nicht alles täuscht, nur als eine düstere Schlucht sich darstellen. So beschreibt sie aber Antigone nicht; so kann sie, da von Felswänden im Stücke nichts gesagt wird, nicht gewesen sein. Gegen die lebendigen Gewächse und zwar Topfgewächse auf der Bühne ist vollends zu protestiren. Oelbäume, Lorbeer und Weinreben zog man begreiflicher Weise in Athen nicht in Töpfen; und hätte man sie in dieser Gestalt aufgetrieben, wie winzig und lächerlich hätte sich eine solche Decoration von wirklichen Bäumchen ausnehmen müssen, wenn man sie mit einer Coulissenwand vergleicht, auf der alte grosse Bäume mit dichtem Buschwerk dazwischen dargestellt waren! Wozu aber wirkliche Gewächse, wenn ein Gemälde weit bessere Dienste leistete? wozu schaffte man sich ohne alle Noth jenes beschwerliche Forträumen der Utensilien am Ende des Stückes? Wenn bei uns die Bühne mit vielerlei Dingen ausgestattet wird, so ist zum Aufräumen Zeit da, wenn alles am Ende des Stückes nach Hause geht; in Athen wurde nach Beendigung eines Stückes ein neues begonnen, bis die Nacht der Lust Grenzen setzte.

Dass Genelli (p. 71) seine Zweifel äussert, ob das Hyposkenion (er meint damit die vordere Wand des Logeion) mit Säulen und Statuen verziert worden sei, daran thut er sehr wohl. Wenn er aber an einer andern Stelle die Thymele in der Orchestra für den rohen Stein ausgiebt, auf den sich Oidipus gesetzt habe, so wird er dafür schwerlich Zustimmung finden. Genelli meint zwar, wenn Oidipus so recht unter den Augen der Zuschauer sitze, gewinne das Stück ungemein an Klarheit, indem dann die ganze Handlung in der Orchestra weile; aber ehe derlei behauptet werden kann, ist der Beweis dafür zu führen, dass die Schauspieler zum Theil in der Orchestra gespielt haben. Die Alten verneinen dies entschieden.

Thüren oder vielmehr Zugänge sind für das Stück fünf erforderlich; der nach Theben an der linken Periakte und der nach Kolonos an der rechten Periakte befindliche sind bereits genannt worden; ein dritter Weg ist auf Athen zu erforderlich, also an der rechten Nebenthür. Dass ein vierter in der Mitte

der Skene nothwendig, der fünfte in der Gegend der linken Nebenthür wahrscheinlich vorhanden war, wird sich im weitem Verfolge herausstellen. Wenn Kolster (l. l. p. 11) nur drei Thüren annimmt, so geschieht es von der Voraussetzung aus, dass die Bühne nicht mehr als drei Thüren gehabt habe; er lässt daher einen Theil der Personen durch die Orchestra her erscheinen. — Eine Veränderung der Scenerie findet in keiner Weise statt.

Ich wende mich nun zu dem Auftreten der Personen.

Der Chor tritt sicher von der rechten Parodos her in die Orchestra ein (so auch Schneidewin und Kock p. 52). Denn 1) bis 668, wo der Chor wegen des Stasimon in der Orchestra sein muss, tritt nichts ein, was ihn veranlassen könnte, inzwischen die Bühne zu verlassen. Er muss also von Anfang an in der Orchestra sich befinden. 2) Der Zweck, um dessentwillen der Chor erscheint, wird vollkommen erreicht, wenn er in der Orchestra auftritt. Er erscheint in Folge der ihm durch den einzelnen Kolonaier zu Theil gewordenen Anzeige, dass ein Fremder den heiligen Bezirk der Eumeniden betreten habe, um ihn von dort fortzuschleichen. In der Orchestra befindet sich der Chor ganz in der Nähe des Hains; er kann hier längs des Randes des Logeion nach Oidipus, der sich verborgen hat, spähen; es ist also kein Anlass da, ihn um deswillen auf dem Logeion sein zu lassen. Dem Haine scheut er sich vielmehr nahe zu treten, weil derselbe den Eumeniden geweiht ist. 3) Die Worte 163 und 164 *μετάσταθ', ἀπόβαθι πολλὰ κέλευθος ἐπαύσει* weisen auf einen grössern Zwischenraum zwischen Oidipus und dem Chore hin. Dies ist eigentlich nur dann der Fall, wenn der Chor in der Orchestra ist (vergl. Kock l. l. u. den Scholiasten zu den angeführten Worten). Wäre der Chor auf der Skene, so wäre der Zwischenraum nur dann beträchtlich, wenn Oidipus etwa in der Mitte und der Chor an der Seite der Bühne sich befände. Der Chor aber, der schon nach Oidipus herumgesucht hat, kann nicht am Ende der Bühne stehen geblieben sein; Oidipus hingegen kann sich nur in der Mitte der Bühne niedergelassen haben, da er bleibt, wo er ist, und die Haupthandlung auch weiterhin sich um ihn konzentriert; der Chor würde also, wäre er auf der Skene, dem Oidipus nahe sein. — Auffallen kann es nicht, dass der Chor durch die Parodos kommt, während der Kolonaier, der des Oidipus Anwesenheit zuerst bemerkt und seinen Landsleuten mitgetheilt hat, von der Skene aus sich entfernt hat. Denn der Zugang von

der rechten Periakte und der von der rechten Parodos führen zu demselben Orte hin. Etwas auffällig würde die Sache nur dann, wenn der zuerst sichtbar gewordene Kolonaier mit dem Chore zugleich in der Orchestra, und nicht auf dem Logeion wieder erschiene, oder allein auf dem Logeion, während der Chor in die Orchestra einträte. Dies hat der Dichter wohl vermieden; denn er hat den ersten Kolonaier von Kolonos weiter zu Theseus gehen lassen (297); er erscheint nicht mit dem übrigen Chore, und die den Chor bildenden Personen brauchen daher nicht genau den Fusstapfen ihres Gangesossen zu folgen; sie wollen nur zum Haine hin, und dies erreichen sie vollkommen, indem sie in der Orchestra erscheinen. Nur wer die bei dem antiken Theater gültigen Lokalgesetze nicht berücksichtigt, kann demnach hier Anstoss nehmen\*. — Die Bühne betritt der Chor, als Kreon Gewalt gegen Antigone und Ismene braucht. Kreon nämlich spricht 821 die Drohung aus, die Antigone so fortschleppen zu lassen, wie er Ismene 819 fortschleppt habe. Als er aber 828 Antigone erfasst, diese aus sich ist, und Kreon der Aufforderung des Chors sie loszulassen nicht nachkommt, da feuern die einzelnen Choreuten einander an, auf Kreon einzudringen. Indess, unverzüglich auf die Szene zu steigen, damit beeilen sie sich nicht; sie sind alte kräftige Greise, und sollen kräftigen, bewaffneten Männern entgegen treten; dies gäbe einen sehr ungleichen Kampf ab. Daher wird denn Antigone 844 fortgerissen, ohne dass eines handgreiflichen Widerstandes von Seiten des Chores gedacht wird. Inzwischen kann der Chor auch kein ganz unthätiger Zuschauer bleiben, er der nach Theseus' Gebot für die Sicherheit des Oidipus zu sorgen hatte (653). Er nähert sich daher, wenigstens zum Theil, dem Kreon, so dass dieser sich dadurch veranlasst sieht 856 zu sagen, er solle ihn nicht anrühren; worauf der Chor erwidert (857): οὐτοί σ' ἀφήςω. Beides, die Weisung fern zu

\*) Kolster l. l. pag. 7 lässt den einzelnen Kolonaier durch die rechte Parodos darum abgehen, weil der Chor, den er rufe, von daher eintreten müsse; beide müssten denselben Weg einschlagen. Der Kolonaier sei von der linken Parodos her eingetreten (denn er unterhalte sich mit Oidipus aus einiger Entfernung), und sei also gar nicht auf das Logeion gekommen, sondern in der Orchestra verblieben. — Ich bemerke hierzu nur: der Kolonaier und der Chor können nicht von links, der erstere auch nicht in die Orchestra kommen. Der Kolonaier muss auf dem Wege, auf dem er gekommen ist, wieder abtreten. Der Weg durch die Parodos und der an der anstossenden Periakte befindliche sind ein und derselbe Weg.

Bleiben, wie die Antwort, hat nur Sinn, wenn der Chor wenigstens in einzelnen seiner Mitglieder dicht bei Kreon sich befindet und Hand an ihn gelegt hat. Erfolgt nun demungeachtet kein Festhalten des Kreon, trifft letzterer vielmehr Anhalten, auch den Oidipus mit Gewalt fortzuführen (874), so ist das kein Beweis gegen die Anwesenheit des Chores auf der Bühne. Der Chor ist der bewaffneten Schaar gegenüber zu Ohnmächtig, als dass er es hindern könnte, und im Bewusstsein seiner Schwäche ruft er 884 seine Landsleute zu Hülfe, in Folge dessen Theseus erscheint. Hierauf entfernen sich die auf die Bühne gestiegenen Choreuten wieder einzeln und langsam von der Bühne; denn ein längeres Bleiben auf ihr ist für den Chor nicht motivirt, und die Choreuten haben um so mehr Zeit, sich allmählich wieder zurückzuziehen, weil Theseus eine ziemlich lange Rede hält. Das im Ganzen sehr passive Verhalten des Chores während Kreon's Gewaltthat ist aber, wie bereits auch bemerkt worden ist\*), nicht nur durch das Alter der Choreuten bedingt, sondern auch vom Dichter beabsichtigt, um den Haupterfolg dem Theseus vorzubehalten. Am Ende des Stückes sieht der Chor auf dem Wege, auf welchem er gekommen ist, ab, also durch die rechte Parodos; denn er hat durchaus keinen Anlass auf die Skene zu steigen, und jede Hinweisung, dass er etwas der Art thut, fehlt.

Oidipus tritt von Antigone geführt im Anfange des Stückes von der linken Seitenthür her auf; denn er kommt aus der Fremde. Anderer Ansicht sind Kock und Kolster (p. 9); sie glauben, dass Oidipus durch die *porta regia*, also die Mittelthür eintritt. Dies verstösst aber gegen die für das antike Theater bestehenden Localgesetze, und eine Analogie dazu wird sich wohl nicht auffinden lassen; denn das Auftreten des Aias im zweiten Acte des gleichnamigen Stückes durch dieselbe Thür geschieht in Folge einer schon vollbrachten Reise oder Wanderung; er tritt nicht auf, er steht da. Kommt überdies Oidipus durch die Mittelthür, so wird der Eumenidenhain dadurch auf die eine Seite der Skene gerückt, und die gesammte Haupt-handlung geht dann nicht in der Mitte des Logeion, sondern an einer Seite desselben vor sich. — Nachdem Oidipus aufgetreten ist, entzieht er sich den Augen der Zuschauer vor seinem letzten Scheiden nur noch einmal, nämlich da als der Chor bei seinem Auftreten ihn sucht. Oidipus sagt, als er hört, dass

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\*) Schneidewin p. 23.



Menschen nahen, zu Antigone (114): *κρύψον κατ' ἄλσος*; und da er gleich anfangs bis gegen die Mitte der Skene vorgeschritten ist, so wird er auch in jener Gegend sich verbergen; er wird in das dort befindliche Gebüsch d. h. hinter den das Gebüsch darstellenden Vorhang getreten sein\*). — Dass aber ein Ausgang in der Gegend der Mittelthür wirklich vorhanden war, ersieht man aus der Scene, in welcher sich Oidipus von der Skene ganz entfernt. Das Orakel hatte ihm als Ort seines Todes die Stelle angewiesen, wo er gastliche Aufnahme bei den Eumeniden finden würde (seine Worte sind: *θεῶν σεμνῶν ἔδραν λάβοιμι καὶ ξενόσταςιν* 90). Da der Ort, wo die Eumeniden walten, der ihnen heilige Hain ist, so muss sich Oidipus auch zuletzt in ihn begeben, als er 1541 sich zum letzten Gange anschickt. Nun liegt aber der Hain an und neben der Mittelthür; er muss also auf letztere losgehen. Denn ginge er mehr nach rechts oder links hin, so gerieth er auf die zu den Menschen hinführenden Wege, das Orakel erfüllte sich nicht, und das Grause, was der Gang des Oidipus auf dem geheimnissvollen Wege hat, fiel weg. Ein Weg an der Mittelthür ist also nicht zu entbehren, und auf ihm entfernt sich Oidipus mit seinen Töchtern und Theseus, festen Schrittes den ebenen Pfad des Vordergrundes verlassend, und zwischen Felsen, Bäumen und Sumpflöchern in das Dunkel des Hains sich hineinbegebend. Dass der Bote bald nach dem Abgange, später die Töchter des Oidipus und Theseus desselben Weges auf die Skene zurückkehren, versteht sich von selbst (vergl. Kolster p. 10).

Ismene, die dem Vater von Theben nachgeeilt ist, muss natürlich 324 von der linken Seitenthür her auftreten. Sie hat die Reise in Begleitung eines Dieners gemacht (334), und Antigone sieht sie auf einem Aitnaiischen Rosse (313) herankommen. Auf der Bühne zeigt sich Ismene allein, nicht das Ross, noch der sie begleitende Diener. Wäre der letztere sichtbar gewesen, so war es überflüssig, dass sie sagte, sie sei in dessen Begleitung gekommen. Den Anblick des Rosses aber den Zuschauern zu gewähren, dazu liegt kein Motiv vor. Wäre sie zu Ross vor den Zuschauern erschienen, so hätte es nur in der Orchestra geschehen können; hier hätte sie (wie Kolster in der That annimmt, vergl. p. 9 und 10) erst absteigen müssen, ehe

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\*) Kolster (p. 8) lässt den Oidipus durch die linke Thür der Skene, wo der Hain war, verschwinden; denn er nimmt nur drei Thüren an.



sie zu dem Vater und der Schwester eilen konnte. Dies wäre aber bei der aufgeregten Gemüthsstimmung, in der sie erscheint, nicht geeignet gewesen, das Pathos zu erhöhen. Sie tritt demnach allein und zu Fuss ein, während vorausgesetzt wird, dass der Diener hinter den Coulissen bei dem Pferde verblieben sei. — Schwieriger scheint es, mit völliger Sicherheit anzugeben, wohin Ismene sich entfernt, als sie dem Vater aus der Quelle Wasser holen will (505). Hätte der Weg nach Theben, auf dem Ismene gekommen war, dahin geführt, so hätte der Chor, als er ihr den Weg zur Quelle beschreibt, nur diesen zu nennen brauchen. Das thut er aber nicht. Andererseits muss der Weg sich doch an der linken Hälfte der Skene befunden haben, da der von Theben herzueilende Kreon Ismene, bevor er die Skene betritt, auf ihrem Wege dahin oder an der Quelle selbst abfährt. Daraus scheint sich zu ergeben, dass der Weg zur Quelle durch die linke Nebenthür geführt hat; und hat es damit seine Richtigkeit, so ist also auch die fünfte Skenenthür in Anwendung gekommen. Damit dass Ismene die linke Nebenthür benutzt, stimmt aber auch noch eine Andeutung, welche das Stück darbietet. Der Chor sagt, Ismene solle gehen *τοῦ-  
κεῖθεν ἄλλους τοῦδε* (des Eumenidenhains); und wenn sie auf dem Wege weitere Belehrung brauche, so finde sie dieselbe unterwegs; denn *ἔστ' ἐποικὸς ὅς φράσει*. Dies kann doch wohl nur heissen, Ismene solle an der linken Seite des Eumenidenhaines, wo sie Menschen treffen werde, also ausserhalb des heiligen Bezirkes, hingehen zu der entgegengesetzten Seite des Haines. Ob dieser Weg durch eine offene Gegend oder durch Gebüsch führte, ist nicht gesagt. Da aber Ismene ihre Bereitwilligkeit nach jenem Orte hinzugehen mit den Worten *χωροῖμ' ἂν εἰς τόδε* (nämlich ἄλλος) kund giebt, so ist wohl der Schluss erlaubt, dass die Strasse neben dem Eumenidenhaine durch Buschwald hinführte. — Aus dem Gesagten ergibt sich von selbst, dass Kreon von Theben her nicht durch die linke Seitenthür eintritt, sondern durch die linke Nebenthür\*). Dass

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\*) Kolster (p. 10) lässt Kreon durch die linke Parodos in die Orchestra eintreten, und von da auf die Bühne steigen, während seine Begleiter in der Orchestra beim Chore verbleiben sollen. — Analogien für den Eintritt aus der Fremde durch die Nebenthür sind das Eintreten des Polymestor in der Hekabe, des Paidagogos im Orestes, der gefangenen Hellenen in der Taurischen Iphigeneia, zum Theil des Hirten im Oidipus R.; vergl. auch das bei der Elektra des Euripides in der Hinsicht Bemerkte.

der Weg, auf dem Kreon eintritt, nicht der ist, auf welchem Oidipus im Beginne des Stückes, ebenfalls aus Theben kommend, erscheint, kann nicht ein Einwurf dagegen sein; denn es führten aus Athen, wie Theseus 900 bemerklich macht, mehrere Wege dahin, die sich erst allmählich mit einander vereinigten.

In Bezug auf das Auftreten von Theseus ist zu beachten, dass er 553 sagt, er komme *παντὶν ὁδοῖς ἐν ταῖσδ' ἀκούων*, dass Oidipus anwesend sei. Als er 667 sich entfernt, sagt er weder, was ihn dazu bestimmt, noch wohin er gehen will. Als er aber in Folge des durch Kreon's Gewaltthat entstehenden Tumultes 886 zurückkehrt, sagt er, er sei durch den Lärmen gestört worden *βουθυτοῦντα ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἐναλίῳ θεῷ, τοῦδ' ἐπιστάτῃ Κολωνοῦ*, wozu der Scholiast bemerkt, der Dichter habe es so angeordnet, damit Theseus leicht und schnell erfahren konnte, was auf der Skene vorging, und damit er alsbald zur Stelle sein konnte. 897 sendet Theseus einen Diener *πρὸς τούσδε βωμούς* (die trotz des Pronomens nicht sichtbar sein können) mit dem Befehle, dass alle von da zu Fuss und zu Ross aufbrechen und suchen sollten, dem Kreon die Töchter des Oidipus wegzunehmen; sie sollten zu dem Ende bis dahin eilen, wo die zwei nach Theben führenden Wege sich vereinigten (900 *σπεύδειν ἐνθα δίστομοι μάλιστα συμβάλλουσιν ἐμπόρων ὁδοί\**), und er selbst bricht mit Kreon in gleicher Absicht dahin auf, geht also durch die linke Seitenthür ab. — Aus alle dem ergibt sich klar, dass das Kommen und Gehen von Theseus nicht durch die rechte Seitenthür, sondern durch die rechte Nebenthür erfolgt. Käme und ginge Theseus durch die rechte Seitenthür, so fiel es auf, warum die zur Verfolgung von Kreon's Leuten ausgesendeten Krieger nicht über die Bühne kommen. Nur wenn Theseus von der rechten Nebenthür her eintritt, wenn der Opferplatz, zu dem derselbe sich begiebt, und von dem herkommend er erscheint, in der Nähe dieser Thür, also auf dem von Athen nach Kolonos führenden Wege, sich befindet, erklärt es sich, warum die den Feinden Nachsetzenden nicht über die Bühne eilen; sie umgehen den Eumenidenhain in geringer Entfernung vom Schauplatze der Handlung. Das erste Auftreten des Theseus durch die rechte Nebenthür ist aber dadurch motivirt, dass der Kolonaier ihn nicht in Athen, sondern auf dem Wege zum Opferplatze, der durch

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\*) Wozu der Scholiast bemerkt: *ὡς σχιστῆς οὔσης ὁδοῦ ἐκεῖσε*.

Bäume oder eine gebüschreiche Gegend den Zuschauern verborgen ist, angetroffen hat\*).

Von eben daher, durch die rechte Nebenthür, erscheint auch Polyneikes; denn vor seinem Auftreten hat er sich am Altare des Poseidon (1158) befunden. Auf demselben Wege tritt er auch ab, als er sieht, dass er seinen Zweck nicht erreicht, um sich wieder mit seinem Heere zu vereinigen\*\*). Wo sein Heer sich befindet, geht aus dem Stücke selbst nicht mit Sicherheit hervor.

Dass der einzelne Kolonaier 31 von der rechten Seitenthür her erscheint, und 80 dahin abgeht, dass Antigone 846 nach der linken Seitenthür hin abgeführt wird\*\*\*), eben dahin Theseus mit Kreon 1044 abgeht, von da Theseus mit den Töchtern des Oidipus 1099 zurückkehrt, versteht sich von selbst.

Am Schlusse des Stückes verspricht Theseus der Antigone, die versuchen will mit der Schwester den Mord ihrer Brüder zu hindern, sie nach Theben zu senden. So eilig dies auch geschehen muss, so schlägt Antigone doch nicht von der Skene aus den nach Theben führenden Weg ein. Denn Theseus macht keine Anstalt, den Schwestern alsbald eine Begleitung zu geben, oder anderes für die Reise Erforderliche anzuordnen, obgleich er sich erboten hat, alles für sie zu thun, was ihnen erspriesslich sein werde. Sie verlassen daher die Bühne mit Theseus durch die rechte Nebenthür, und begeben sich mit ihm zunächst nach Athen.

Die Vorzeichen für die Todesstunde des Oidipus sind ein dreimaliges Donnern (1456, 1462, 1479) begleitet von Blitzen.

\*) Kolster p. 10 lässt den Theseus zuerst durch die rechte Seitenthür auftreten, demnächst durch die *porta regia* fortgehen, durch letztere gegen Kreon dem Chore zu Hülfe kommen, hierauf durch die Orchestra und die linke Parodos den Leuten Kreon's nachjagen, und durch die *porta regia* zurückkommen, nachdem er den Zuschauern unsichtbar um den Eumenidenhain herumgeritten sein soll.

\*\*) Denn aus der Vergleichung von 1325, 1371 und 1400 mit 1312 ergibt sich, dass Polyneikes noch auf dem Zuge gegen Theben von Argos her begriffen ist; er kann also auch nicht direct von der Skene den nach Theben führenden Weg einschlagen, sondern muss auf dem Wege, auf dem er erschienen ist, wieder abgehen. — Kolster lässt den Polyneikes durch die *porta regia* ein- und abtreten.

\*\*\*) Kolster meint freilich (l. l.), dass Antigone durch die Orchestra und die linke Parodos fortgebracht werde; natürlich lässt er sie dann auch später mit Ismene auf demselben Wege zurückkommen.

Ohne Zweifel ist dergleichen auch den Zuschauern hörbar und sichtbar geworden. Aber darum ist es nicht erlaubt, 1477 ἀμφιόστανται zu erklären mit: wegen der schwarzen Gewitterwolken, die den Chor umziehen. Dergleichen mag in einem Opernhause thunlich sein; im antiken Theater konnte der in der unbedeckten Orchestra stehende Chor nicht von Wolken umhüllt werden.

### Die Hiketiden des Aischylos.

Der Ort der Handlung ist eine hügelichte Gegend an der Küste von Argos (113, 747); sie ist öde, ohne Wohnungen der Menschen; dagegen befindet sich in ihr ein Altar\*) (330) und in dessen Nähe ein Hain (492). Einer der Hügel, der die anderen an Höhe überragte, oder durch seine Lage sich dazu eignete, wird als Warte benutzt (683). Die Stadt Argos war nicht sichtbar, obgleich Droysen und Donner entgegengesetzter Ansicht sind; denn der von daher kommende König bedient sich eines Wagens (161), Danaos ferner erbittet sich, um bis zur Stadt zu gehen, eine Begleitung zu seiner Sicherheit 476; beides wie die Verlassenheit und Abgeschiedenheit von den Bewohnern des Landes, in der die Danaiden sich befinden, lässt vermuthen, dass die Stadt weiter abliegt, als dass sie in der Ferne hätte dargestellt werden können. — In Bezug darauf, ob das Meer sichtbar war, gehen die Ansichten ebenfalls auseinander; Droysen und Donner nehmen dies an. Nun erblickt freilich Danaos 683 ἀπὸ σκοπῆς das herankommende Schiff der Aigyppter; aber da nur er es von der Höhe aus, die er erstiegen hat, sieht, die Danaiden es nicht sehen, so scheint sich daraus zu ergeben, dass die Zuschauer es noch weit weniger sehen konnten. Wenn dagegen die Danaiden 704 von der Eile der Aigyppter sprechen, so sind sie entweder inzwischen auch auf die Warte gestiegen, oder der Dichter lässt sie das mittlerweile näher gekommene Schiff selbst vom Logeion aus erblicken; aber ein Beweis dafür, dass auch die Zuschauer

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\*) Dieser Altar scheint die κοινόβωμλα (209) zu sein, auf welcher die ἀγῶνιοι θεοί (318, 340, 229) verehrt wurden, und war, wie es scheint, mit den Relieffiguren oder Symbolen des Zeus, Apollon, Poseidon, Hermes, vielleicht auch der Artemis geschmückt. Droysen freilich lässt die Thymele in der Orchestra mit den Bildern des Apollon und Hermes, ferner mit dem Dreizacke Poseidon's geschmückt sein. Auch Geppert (p. 151) versetzt die κοινόβωμλα in die Orchestra.

es gesehen haben, ist diesen Worten ebenfalls nicht zu entnehmen. Was aber besonders gegen die Darstellung desselben in der Scenerie zu sprechen scheint, ist, dass es nur an der linken Seite, von woher der Chor aufgetreten sein muss, konnte erblickt werden; dies wäre aber gegen das bekannte Gesetz, welches das Meer an die rechte Seite der Bühne hin verlegt, gewesen. So bleiben nur die Stellen 794 und 713 ff. übrig, die man für diese Frage heranziehen könnte. Aber die Worte der zuerst genannten Stelle sind, wenn nicht verdorben, doch so dunkel, dass ich nicht wage auf sie einen Beweis zu gründen; einer Schlussfolge aus der zweiten Stelle muss man sich aber darum begeben, weil es einleuchtend ist, dass nicht alles, was die Danaiden dort aufzählen, von den Zuschauern kann gesehen worden sein; ein Schluss auf das, was die Scenerie wirklich zeigte, ist also aus ihnen nicht zu entnehmen.

Was die Vertheilung der in der Scenerie sichtbaren Gegenstände anlangt, so muss man wohl davon ausgehen, dass Danaos und dessen Töchter nur von links her als Fremde erscheinen können; die linke Seitenthür wird also zur Küste führen, die rechte hingegen wird den nach Argos zu gehenden Weg zeigen. Die Mitte der Scenerie mochte wohl die *κοινοβωμία* zeigen; denn in der Nähe des Altares entwickelt sich zum grossen Theile die Handlung. Links davon, der Küste zugewendet, lag alsdann der als Warte benutzte Hügel, rechts von der Mitte der im Stücke genannte Hain; Hügel, Bäume und Gebüsch mögen ausserdem auch anderwärts an der Scenerie vorhanden gewesen sein\*). Ausser den zwei Seitenthüren ist keine erforderlich, falls nicht etwa Danaos am Anfange des Stückes noch durch einen anderen Zugang erschien. Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein.

Was nun zuvörderst den Chor der Danaiden anlangt, so zeigt die anapästische Parodos, dass er durch die Parodos, natürlich die linke, einzieht, und da das an die Parodos sich schliessende Stasimon nichts enthält, was ihn zum Verlassen der Orchestra\*\*) bestimmen könnte, so muss auch dieses in der

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\*) Weil in dem Stücke nur geringe Andeutungen in Bezug auf die Scenerie vorkommen, sucht Geppert (p. 151) dieselbe durch die Angaben des Pausanias über jene Gegend im Einzelnen näher zu bestimmen. Es scheint mir dies gewagt, um so mehr da der Fluss Erasinos der einzige Gegenstand ist, der den Hiketiden und dem Pausanias gemeinsam ist.

\*\*) Droysen und Donner lassen die Danaiden auf der Thymele Platz nehmen.

Orchestra gesungen worden sein. Als dagegen Danaos 175 ihn heisst sich mit den Bittzweigen am Hügel der *ἀγώνιοι θεοί* niederzulassen, und der Chor seine Geneigtheit dazu ausspricht 194, muss der Chor die Orchestra verlassen; denn der Hügel, auf dem der Altar (176) der genannten Götter liegt, kann nur auf der Skene sich befinden. Der Chor steigt demnach nun auf die Bühne. Dort bleibt er fortan, wie aus 220, 318, 339, 398, 408, 414 hervorgeht; dort müssen die den Chor bildenden Jungfrauen sein, als sie drohen, sich an den Götterbildern aufzuhängen (446); ja selbst die Mahnung (492), in den nahen Hain zu gehen, kann sie, wie es scheint, nicht dazu bringen, den sie schützenden Ort zu verlassen. Der folgende (508 beginnende) Chorgesang, der mit einem Gebete anhebt, muss demnach von den Danaiden auch auf dem Logeion gesungen worden sein. Warnt sie doch auch Danaos selbst 744 *ἀμελεῖν θεῶν ἀρωγὴν*; sie müssen sich also noch bei dem Altare befinden. Noch weniger können sie in dem hierauf folgenden (747) Chorliede, worin sie ihre Angst vor den herannahenden Aigyp-tern aussprechen, sich entfernen. So trifft sie denn, und darauf weist auch die weitere Handlung hin, der Aigypische Herold auf der Bühne. Dieser droht nicht nur 849, sie bei den Haaren zu fassen; der Chor ruft auch 829 *βία, βία*; ja der Herold legt auch Hand an einzelne derselben; denn 852 sagt eine der Danaiden: *ἄγει με*; und dass er gewaltthätig gegen sie verfährt, ergibt sich aus den Worten 873: *διωλόμεσθ' ἄελπτ', ἄναξ, πάσχομεν* (vergl. 879). Da erscheint der König von Argos, der Aigypische Herold entfernt sich (918); 921 heisst sie der König zur Stadt abgehen, und es bereitet sich die Schlusscene vor; die Jungfrauen und deren Dienerinnen ordnen sich, und nach dem 984 beginnenden Chorliede ziehen sie ab. — Aus alle dem ergibt sich mit völliger Sicherheit, dass der Chor, den Anfang des Stückes ausgenommen, während der ganzen Dauer der Handlung auf der Bühne verweilt; und von der Bühne aus zieht derselbe am Schlusse des Stückes durch die Seitenthür ab, indem Danaos, der nicht in die Orchestra hinabsteigen kann, sich an der Spitze des Chores befindet.

In welchem Aufzuge der König Pelasgos dem Orte der Handlung sich nähert, sagt Danaos 166 ff.

*ὁρῶ κόνιν, ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στραίου·  
σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἄξονήλατοι·  
ὄχλον δ' ὑπαπιστῆρα καὶ δορυσσόον*



—  
 λεύσσω ξὺν ἵπποις καμπύλοις τ' ὀχήμασιν·  
 τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέται  
 ὀπιτῆρες εἶεν.

so bestimmt und deutlich, dass in Bezug darauf eigentlich jede Frage überflüssig zu sein scheint. Dennoch ist sie es nicht; denn daraus, dass Danaos dies alles sieht, folgt keineswegs, dass es auch die Zuschauer sehen. Ja man muss sehr zweifeln, dass dergleichen möglich, wenigstens erlaubt war, indem sonst Wagen mit Rossen, Reisigen, eine Schaar Schildbewaffneter d. h. ein Aufzug hätte erscheinen müssen, dergleichen sich sonst nirgends findet. Ferner ist es auffällig, dass das Absteigen und später das Aufsteigen des Königs auf seinen Wagen nicht, wie es sonst zu geschehen pflegt, erwähnt wird, dass der König an die grosse Zahl seiner Begleiter keine Befehle Halt zu machen oder sich marschfertig zu halten u. a. dergl. ergehen lässt, dass ein Aufsteigen des Königs aus der Orchestra nach der Bühne (denn auf der Bühne kann nicht ein Wagen, geschweige mehrere und zugleich mit ihnen Reiter erscheinen) nirgends erwähnt wird. Die Bedenken gegen den den Zuschauern sichtbaren Aufzug mehren sich aber noch dadurch, dass der König, wenn er einmal zu Wagen erschienen ist, nicht nur auf demselben zur Stadt nebst seiner ganzen Begleitung zurückkehren, sondern auch, als er das zweite Mal wiederkommt, in gleicher Weise erscheinen muss. Denn das zweite Mal gilt es, bewaffnet und gerüstet Feinden, von denen er gehört hat, entgegen zu treten. Hier durfte also die kriegerische Umgebung keinesfalls fehlen, wenn sie früher da gewesen war; — und doch, es wird das zweite Mal auch nicht einmal eines Wagens gedacht. Nimmt man dazu, dass es in allen andern Tragödien nur äusserst selten vorkommt, dass ein Wagen erscheint, dass es jedes Mal nur ein einziger ist, der in das Theater einfährt, dass sonst nie ein Wagen benutzt wird, um den auf ihm Erschienenen zu seinem Wohnorte zurückzuführen: so tritt noch weit mehr heraus, wie ganz anomal der Aufzug hier ist. Hier sollen es mehrere Wagen, eine Zahl Reiter, viel Volks sein, was nicht nur ein Mal erscheint und abzieht, sondern noch ein zweites Mal in ganz gleicher Weise zum Vorschein kommen, und dann sich entfernen soll. Das widerstreitet dem, was das antike Drama sonst zeigt, so durchaus, dass ich fest glaube, der König erscheint im Theater nicht zu Wagen. Danaos sieht ihn freilich mit grossem Gefolge dem Orte der Handlung sich nähern, aber an diesem Orte tritt er von wenigen Be-



gleitern umgeben zu Fuss (484) auf, und zwar nicht in der Orchestra, sondern auf der Bühne. Es ergiebt sich damit von selbst, warum von einem Hinan- und Herabsteigen des Königs, von seiner Begleitung so wenig, das zweite Mal gar nicht, die Rede ist; es wird die antike Einfachheit, die am äusseren Schmuck, wo er entbehrlich war, kein Gefallen fand, gewahrt, und das Erscheinen des Königs stimmt alsdann ganz zu der Einfachheit der theatralischen Scenerie, welche im Stücke sich vorfindet.

Da das Auftreten des Herolds von links her keinem Zweifel unterliegt, so handelt es sich nur noch darum, wann und wo Danaos erscheint. Droysen und Donner sind der Ansicht, dass er sich unter dem Chore der Danaiden befinde, mit ihnen zusammen auftrete und während ihres Gesanges die Gegend durchspähe. Es dürfte schwer sein, eine andere Ansicht mit Entschiedenheit geltend zu machen, da ihr nichts Erhebliches entgegensteht. Nur das fällt auf, dass Danaos, wenn er mit dem Chore zu gleicher Zeit erscheint, überaus lange stumm auf der Bühne verbleiben muss, und zwar so lange, wie sich sonst nirgends unter ähnlichen Verhältnissen bei einem Schauspieler finden dürfte. Für wen dies nun ein entscheidendes Moment ist, der wird sich mehr dazu neigen, den Danaos erst gegen Ende des Chorgesanges erscheinen, und dann seine Ermahnungen an die Töchter alsbald beginnen zu lassen. Danaos hat in diesem Falle die Umgegend so lange durchspäht, und es ist dann sogar möglich, dass er nicht durch die linke Seitenthür eintritt, sondern dass er etwa von dem Hügel aus, der einen trefflichen Ort zur Umsicht darbot, vielleicht aus einer dritten Thür, etwa der linken Nebenthür, erschien. Auf diese Weise wird auch dem ausgewichen, dass Danaos auf der Bühne erscheint, während die ihn begleitenden Töchter durch die Parodos eintreten.

Dass die Danaiden von ihren Dienerinnen begleitet sind, ersieht man aus 946, wo der König zu den Danaiden sagt:

*τάσσεσθε, φίλαι, δμῳΐδας οὕτως,  
ὥς ἐφ' ἐκάστη διεκλήρωσεν  
Δαναὸς θεραποντίδα φερνήν.*

und es entsteht nun die Frage, was die Sklavinnen bis zu Ende des Stückes, wo sie zu ihren Herrinnen sich ordnen, gethan, und wo sie sich befunden haben. Hermann nimmt ihnen jede Mitwirkung bei den Chorgesängen, indem er selbst in den Worten (992): *ὑποδέξασθε δ' ὁπαδοὶ μέλος* das Wort *ὁπαδοί* nur

auf Personen des Chores bezieht, so dass hier ein Theil des Chores den andern auffordern soll, in den Gesang mit einzustimmen. Das Wort ὁπαδοί als Vocativus aufzufassen sei *indecorum*, und dem widerstreite das ganze Gedicht. Voss dagegen theilt 1019 und weiterhin noch Mehreres den Mägden zu, wie auch Droysen von ihnen die zwei letzten Strophen und zwei Zeilen vorher singen lässt. In der That findet sich auch bis 992 nichts in dem, was der Chor singt und spricht, vor, was mit einiger Sicherheit den Dienerinnen zugesprochen werden könnte, weil es für sie mehr als für die Herrinnen sich eignete. Aber auch in alle dem, was von da dem Chore bis zum Schlusse zufällt, lässt sich nichts auffinden, was den Dienerinnen mit Bestimmtheit zuzutheilen wäre. Unter solchen Umständen aber kann man nicht glauben, dass die Dienerinnen während der Handlung unthätig schon in der Gesellschaft ihrer Herrinnen sich befunden haben; und die Aufforderung des Königs, dass jede Dienerin zu ihrer Herrin herantreten soll, kann sich also nicht bloss auf dieses sich Ordnen beziehen, sondern muss auch ein Herantreten derselben zum Chore in sich schliessen\*). Bis dahin mögen sie wohl den Zuschauern wenig oder gar nicht sichtbar an der Seite des Logeion gestanden haben.

### P r o m e t h e u s.

Der Schauplatz der Handlung ist fern im Skythenlande in einer durchaus öden Felsgegend, in der namentlich ein hoher, zackiger, steil abfallender Felsberg sich auszeichnet, der gerade in der Mitte der Bühnenwand sich befinden muss (5, 56, 142, 147, 20, 15, 117, 1021). Droysen und Donner bezeichnen die Scenerie zwar als ein felsiges Meeresufer in der Art, dass man links die offene See, rechts wildes Geklüft gesehen habe; aber dem ist schwerlich beizustimmen. Wäre das Meer sichtbar gewesen, so hätten auch Okeanos und die Okeaniden von dorthier d. h. auf irdischen Pfaden erscheinen müssen. Dies ist aber nicht der Fall; denn die Okeaniden schweben durch die Luft herzu 128 ff., 280, 124, 135 (u. vergl. Kock p. 20), und Okeanos kommt ebenfalls auf einem geflügelten Rosse durch die Luft (288, 396), nirgends wird auf das Meer als auf einen sicht-

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\*) Droysen und Donner beziehen den Befehl des Königs darauf, dass die Mägde sich zu den Halbchören der Danaiden in zwei Halbchöre scharen sollen.

baren Gegenstand hingewiesen, und nur so viel ist also richtig, dass dasselbe in keiner grossen Ferne zu denken ist. Auf dem Kiessande des Meergestades sieht sich nämlich Io 570, als sie in der Nähe des Prometheus ist, herumgetrieben, und, was evident ist, die Okeaniden haben das Eisengeklirr von Prometheus An Schmiedung in ihren Grotten und Höhlen vernommen 133. — Um die Seite der Heimath und Fremde zu bestimmen, liefert das Stück keine andere Andeutung, als die, dass Okeanos und die Okeaniden aus der Nachbarschaft her erscheinen. Beiderlei Wesen werden demnach von rechts her sichtbar geworden sein, und das Meer selbst ist rechts von der Bühne, da wo es auch nach Pollux zur Darstellung kommen soll, zu denken. Dazu kommt, dass, wenn Okeanos und die Okeaniden nicht von rechts her auftreten, kein anderes Wesen von daher, von der Seite der Heimath, erscheinen würde, ein Fall, der seines Gleichen nicht in sämtlichen Hellenischen Dramen hätte.

Um die Zahl der Thüren, die gebraucht werden, zu bestimmen, ist es nöthig darüber in's Klare zu kommen, wie Io und Hermes erscheinen. Denn da Prometheus mit Hephaistos, Kratos und Bia in der Höhe (über der Mittelthür auf einem Balcon) erscheinen, die Okeaniden und Okeanos durch die Luft herzukommen, so bedürfen diese keines der gewöhnlichen Bühnenzugänge. Dass hingegen Io, sie, die rastlos auf der Erde umherirrt\*), auf irdischen Pfaden anlangen muss, hat noch Niemand bezweifelt. Aber auch Hermes kommt ohne Zweifel zu Fusse und zwar auf der Erde an, wiewohl Droysen\*\*) und Donner ihn ebenfalls mit Heroldsstab und Flügelschuhen versehen durch die Luft daherschweben lassen. Denn eine Andeutung, dass er durch die Luft sich nahe, wie dies bei Okeanos und den Okeaniden so stark hervorgehoben wird, fehlt ganz; er wird ferner des Zeus Läufer (945 τὸν Διὸς πρόχιν) genannt; er eilt mit den Aufträgen des Zeus überall leicht hin, was bedarf er daher noch einer besonderen μηχανή, um auch hierher zum Orte der Handlung zu gelangen? — Weiter aber gilt es erst zu untersuchen, ob Io und Hermes auf ebener Erde, oder,

\*) οἷστρος πλανᾷ νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν παραλλαν ψάμμον 570, u. vergl. 600.

\*\*) Droysen meint, dass die ihn tragende Maschine etwa vor der Mitte der Bühne in der Luft schwebend bleibt, während Geppert p. 182 Anm. 1 annimmt, dass er in gewöhnlicher Weise, aber durch die linke Parodos erscheint.

wie vielleicht vermuthet werden könnte, in der Höhe, auf Anhöhen oder Spitzen der Berge, erscheinen. Letzteres scheint in der That bei Hermes der Fall zu sein; denn als Bote des Zeus muss man erwarten, er werde bis in die Nähe des Prometheus kommen; auch würde ein Zwiegespräch zwischen ihm und Prometheus, wobei der eine hoch oben an einer Felsenklippe, der andere tief unten an dem Felsen steht, wie für die Gruppierung störend, so für die Illusion nicht vortheilhaft sein. Sodann erklärt sich auch nur dann, wenn Hermes auf der Höhe der Felsen erscheint und dort verbleibt, in ungezwungener Weise, wie er, als die Felsen mit Prometheus zusammenstürzen, plötzlich verschwinden kann. Befände er sich beim Beginne der Katastrophe auf dem Logeion, so müsste er, nicht Prometheus, es sein, der die göttlichen Strafgerichte meldete; er könnte sich nicht stumm und eiligst von dort entfernen; denn es sähe das wie eine Flucht aus, und wäre es auch, indem man den Gott eiligst fortlaufen sähe, um der hereinbrechenden Zerstörung zu entweichen. Hermes würde eine Rolle spielen, die ihm als Gott wenig angemessen wäre. Befindet er sich dagegen in der Höhe auf einem der Felsen, so erfolgt sein Verschwinden plötzlich, sobald die Felsen erbeben; der unangemessene Rückzug des Gottes wird vermieden; das Verschwinden ist da, wo die Felsen, auf oder neben denen er steht, erbeben und zusammenbrechen, vollständig motivirt, und es leuchtet ein, warum die Rolle, der Interpret des grausig hereinbrechenden Schicksals zu sein, nicht dem Hermes, sondern dem Prometheus zufällt. Wenn Prometheus die Okeaniden bei ihrem Erscheinen nicht sehen kann, sondern nur das Rauschen ihrer Flügel vernimmt, dagegen den Hermes herannahen sieht, so ist dies daher zu erklären, dass die Okeaniden oberhalb des Prometheus in der Höhe erscheinend ihm anfangs verborgen bleiben müssen, während Hermes mehr zur Seite desselben, vielleicht gar etwas niedriger als Prometheus' Stellung ist, sich zeigt, und durch keine vorstehenden Felsen dem Prometheus die Aussicht nach ihm hin entzogen ist. Von einer Thür aber, deren Hermes bei dieser Art des Auftretens sich bedient, kann dann begreiflicher Weise keine Rede mehr sein, und so bleibt diese Frage bloss noch in Bezug auf Io zu beantworten. Hier kann ich nun nicht umhin von vorn herein auszusprechen, dass, wenn alle andern Personen des Stückes nicht durch Thüren der Bühne auftreten, es sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass Io allein einer solchen sich bedient. Viel-

mehr ist es unter solchen Verhältnissen wahrscheinlicher, dass der Dichter auch sie, die durch Länder und über Meere, durch Wüsten und über Gebirge hinwegeilt, ebenfalls in der Nähe des Prometheus auf einer Berghöhe werde erscheinen lassen. Nun heisst es freilich 570, dass sie von der Bremse getrieben am Meeresstrande herumirre; aber dass dies nicht in eigentlichster Bedeutung zu fassen ist, kann Niemandem entgehen. In dem Momente, wo sie bei Prometheus verweilt, wird sie von der Bremse nicht weiter getrieben, und so braucht auch das Herumirren am niedern Strande nicht gerade auf jenen Moment bezogen zu werden. Dazu kommt, dass sie, als sie dem Prometheus gegenüber steht, sagt (748): *οὐκ ἐν τάχει ἔρριψ' ἑμαυτὴν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στυφλοῦ πέτρας*. Dieser Entschluss, sich vom Felsen in die Tiefe zu stürzen, von einem Felsen, auf den sie mit *τῆσδε* hinweist, erhält erst Bedeutung und Kraft, nicht wenn Io am Fusse desselben sich befindet und noch hinaufklettern müsste, um ihren Entschluss ausführen zu können, sondern wenn sie schon auf demselben ist und jeden Augenblick und alsbald sich von da herabstürzen kann. Man darf also wohl auch in Bezug auf Io behaupten, dass sie ebenfalls in der Höhe erscheint, und auch sie benutzt dann keine der gewöhnlichen Bühnenthüren. Es wird mithin im ganzen Stücke keine einzige derselben gebraucht. — Hat es aber damit seine Richtigkeit, und wird das Logeion von keinem Schauspieler betreten, ein Fall, der freilich ohne alle Analogie in der Tragödie wie in der Komödie ist, dann kann man sich auch in Bezug auf die Okeaniden nicht dabei beruhigen, dass sie aus der Höhe herabschweben, sondern man muss die bestimmtere Frage stellen: schweben sie zur Orchestra oder zum Logeion herab, oder bleiben auch sie in der Höhe? In der That spricht alles dafür, dass das letztere der Fall ist. Ich will nicht besonders hervorheben, wie entfernt der Chor, wenn er auf dem Logeion oder in der Orchestra ist, von den übrigen Schauspielern ist; nicht dass er dem Leidenden, zu dessen Tröstung er erschienen ist, möglichst sich nähern muss; denn vielleicht war beides wegen der für das Hellenische Theater bestehenden Gesetze nicht zu ändern; aber eine erhebliche Schwierigkeit, der man nicht ausweichen kann, wenn der Chor am Boden des Theaters ist, fällt weg, wenn er in der Höhe, in der Nähe des Prometheus, sich befindet, und sie muss daher besonders bei der vorliegenden Frage in Erwägung gezogen werden. Gegen den Schluss des Stückes hin fordert nämlich Hermes den Chor auf

sich zu entfernen, bevor die Felsen mit Prometheus zusammenstürzen. Der Chor will aber davon nichts wissen. Als jedoch das Beben der Felsen beginnt, Hermes plötzlich fort ist, da ist Prometheus der einzige, dessen Anwesenheit sich noch in Worten bemerklich macht; auch der Chor ist verschwunden, und es wird seiner nicht weiter gedacht. Er ist fort; denn war er noch anwesend, so würde ihm die Rolle zugefallen sein, die Zuschauer auf die gewaltige Naturrevolution aufmerksam zu machen; er thut es nicht, er ist also nicht mehr gegenwärtig. Befand er sich in dem Momente, wo er verschwindet, in der Orchestra oder auf dem Logeion, so konnte er nur entweder versinken, oder fortlaufen, oder nach der Höhe hin entrückt werden. Zu letzterem hätte es einer *μηχανή* bedurft; aber selbst wenn er diese bei der grossen Verwirrung in der Natur, die ihn umgab, ruhig oder hastig besteigen konnte (es ist beides nicht recht dem Chore unter solchen Umständen angemessen), lautlos und stumm konnte er nicht vor den Augen der Zuhörer in die Höhe schweben; er hätte das solenne Schlusswort der Tragödie sprechen müssen, nicht der leidende und untergehende Prometheus. Aber lautlos konnte er auch nicht zu Fusse ent-eilen; denn die Probe von Geschwindigkeit, die seine Füße dabei abgelegt hätten, hätte wenig zu dem Grausen, was um ihn her herrschte, gestimmt. Noch weniger konnte er, ein grosser Chor, mit einem Male plötzlich in die Erde hinabsinken. So wird man denn unwiderstehlich auch in Bezug auf ihn darauf hingewiesen, dass auch er den Boden des Theaters nicht erreichte, sondern irgendwo in der Höhe verblieb. War dies der Fall, dann konnte, dann musste er, wie Hermes, beim Schwanken und Zusammenstürzen der Felsen eiligst und darum lautlos sich entfernen, plötzlich verschwinden; und das konnte er nur, wenn er in der Höhe war. Es bedurfte dann nichts, als dass eine vielleicht Wolken darstellende Coulissee vor ihm aufgezogen oder niedergelassen wurde, oder dass er durch Zurücktreten oder Herunterbücken sich den Augen des Publikums entzog. Da es aber endlich auch nicht an noch mehreren bestimmten Hinweisungen auf seine hohe Stellung fehlt, wie z. B. 130, wo der Chor sagt: ἦδε τάξις προσέβα τάνδε πάγον, und, als er den Wagen verlässt, 283: ὀκτιοέσση χθονὶ τῇδε πελώ: so wird man wohl davon abstehen müssen, ihn bis in die Orchestra (denn für ein Verweilen auf dem Logeion lässt sich kein irgend haltbarer Grund auffinden,) herabsteigen zu lassen. Ist aber der Chor in der Höhe verblieben, so ist das Erschei-



nen von Io und Hermes in der Höhe dadurch auf's neue und noch mehr gesichert.

Dass das antike Theater darauf eingerichtet war, eine Handlung lediglich in der Höhe vorgehen zu lassen, bedarf nach dem, was über dessen Einrichtung im Allgemeinen gesagt worden ist, kaum der Erinnerung. Waren die höheren Stockwerke mit fortlaufenden Gallerien versehen, so versteht es sich von selbst, dass Chor und Schauspieler auf ihnen auftreten konnten. Aber auch dann, wenn in dem höheren Stockwerke je fünf Balcone neben einander lagen, genügten diese vollkommen, um einen Prometheus aufzuführen. Prometheus befand sich auf dem höchsten Balcon in der Mitte der Bühnenwand, Okeanos und die Okeaniden liessen sich wahrscheinlich auf den Balconen der rechten Seite nieder, Io und Hermes verblieben auf denen zur Linken von Prometheus.

Wie die Schwebemaschine beschaffen war, auf der Okeanos erschien, weiss ich nicht anzugeben. In Bezug auf Prometheus hat Hermann (p. 55 seiner Noten) überzeugend dargethan, dass der angeschmiedete Held eine Puppe ist; der Schauspieler, welcher die Rolle des Prometheus durchzuführen hatte, befand sich hinter der Puppe; und da der angefesselte Held sich nicht bewegen konnte und durfte, und man die Bewegung der Gesichtsmuskeln oder deren Starrheit nicht sehen konnte, so hatte es keine Schwierigkeit, die Rolle des Helden auf diese Weise unter zwei Gestalten zu vertheilen. Weil aber eine Puppe den Prometheus vertrat, so konnte auch die Darstellung der Schlusscene keinerlei Schwierigkeit veranlassen. Die Puppe wankt, dreht sich und stürzt mit den die Felsen zeigenden Couliissen so, dass beide oder wenigstens Prometheus zuletzt ganz verschwindet, d. h. Prometheus versinkt in den Tartarus, oder ein Abgrund verschlingt ihn, wie Donner und Droysen, mehr die Bedeutung des Ereignisses als das Factum selbst aussprechend, es angeben.

In wie weit das Erdbeben dargestellt worden ist, lässt sich im Einzelnen nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmen. Das Erbeben des Bodens 1085 liess sich leicht im Schwanken der Couliissen darstellen, das Rollen des Donners konnte leicht nachgemacht werden, auch die Staubwirbel liessen sich wohl sichtbar machen, vielleicht durch Rauch. Ob aber auch das Zucken der Blitze zum Vorschein gekommen ist, lasse ich dahingestellt; und wenn es 1091 heisst, dass der Aether mit dem Pontos *συντετάραται*, so ist dies von dem Standpunkte dessen, der es sagt, und von



dem Gefühle aus, in dem er es sagt, zu beurtheilen. Von einer den Worten entsprechenden Darstellung kann da nicht die Rede sein \*).

### P l u t o s.

Ort der Handlung ist der Platz vor dem Hause des Chremylos, eines armen Landmannes. Danach ist zu bestimmen, wie sein Wohnhaus, welches die Mitte der Scenerie einnahm, aussah (231). Die weitere landschaftliche und wirthschaftliche Umgebung des Hauses ist für die Handlung gleichgültig und lässt sich auch aus dem Stücke nicht ansehen\*\*). Die linke Seitenthür bildet den in die Fremde führenden Weg, die rechte Seitenthür zeigt den nach der Heimath gehenden. In der Gegend der linken Nebenthür, ja vielleicht bis zum Wohnhause hin (415) mag wohl Gebüsch oder ein Hain, durch den ein Weg vermittle der linken Nebenthür führte, sich befunden haben. Der durch die rechte Nebenthür gehende Weg führte zum Tempel des Asklepios. Es werden also fünf Thüren gebraucht; eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein.

Plutos, Chremylos und Karion treten durch die linke Seiten-

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\*) Die Okeaniden lässt Droysen auf zwei Wagen vor dem Felsen des Prometheus herüber und hinüber schweben, und den Okeanos auf seinem gaukelnden Flügelmeerrosse durch die Luft hereinreiten. Aber das Gaukeln des Rosses und die Zweizahl der Wagen möchten sich schwer erweisen lassen. In Bezug auf den Wagen, in welchem die Okeaniden erscheinen, weist Geppert p. 180 die Vorstellung, dass der Wagen Flügel gehabt habe, mit Recht ab, weil Flügel nur einem belebten Wesen, nicht einer Maschine zukommen. Auch die Bespannung desselben mit mythischen Wesen verwirft er nicht ohne Grund. Dagegen ist es nicht zu billigen, dass er den Okeaniden Flügel beilegen, und sie dann noch auf einer Flugmaschine will ankommen lassen; denn eines von beiden, die Flügel oder die Flugmaschine, ist entbehrlich. Da aber ein voller Chor schwerlich ohne eine Maschine, auf der er steht, durch die Luft schweben kann, so wird man diese nicht entbehren können. Sie war wohl mit Wolken an der den Zuschauern zugekehrten Seite umkleidet; wenigstens weisen darauf die auch von Geppert angeführten Worte des Scholiasten hin.

\*\*) 772 sagt Plutos, dass Attika ihn aufgenommen habe; und Athen mag vielleicht nicht gar fern vom Schauplatze zu denken sein; aber dass es auch in der Ferne sichtbar gewesen sei, lässt sich weder hieraus, noch aus Anspielungen, wie sie 330, 338, 407 und anderwärts sich finden, folgern; denn die Verspottung Athenischer Verhältnisse zieht sich durch alle Stücke des Aristophanes hindurch.

thür aus Delphoi kommend auf (8, 12, 32). Nachdem sie in der Nähe von des Chremylos Hause angelangt sind, geht Karion durch die rechte Seitenthür ab, um die Bauern aus der Umgegend herbeizurufen (*ἑνγγελώργους* 223). Plutos und Chremylos dagegen gehen 252 in das Haus. Das ganze Theater wird dadurch für einen Augenblick leer, bis Karion 253 mit den Landleuten von rechts her erscheint. Da er zusammen mit dem Chore erscheint, so kommt er wie der Chor auf die Bühne, von wo letzterer sich, als Karion 321 in das Landhaus hineingeht, mit der Parodos (vergl. 316) in die Orchestra hinabzieht. Dass der Chor im weitem Verfolge nicht auf der Bühne ist, zeigt besonders die Scene mit der Penia; denn in ihr greift der Chor in keiner Weise in die Handlung ein, wie man erwarten müsste, wenn er auf der Bühne wäre; überall sind es nur die zwei auf der Bühne befindlichen Personen, welche vor der Penia fliehen, (417, 419, 429, 433, 437, 440, 441 u. s. w.) nicht der Chor, der, wäre er auf der Bühne, auch suchen müsste sich der Penia zu erwehren. — 322 kommt Chremylos aus seinem Hause, und Blepsidemos von rechts her 334, wie es scheint (vergl. 338) durch die Seitenthür (aus der Stadt her). Da die 415 erscheinende Penia dem Chremylos den Weg vertritt, als er in sein Haus gehen will, so kommt sie wohl aus der linken Nebenthür (vergl. die Scholien zu 415). Sie entfernt sich 612 auf dem Wege, auf dem sie erschienen ist; Chremylos dagegen und Blepsidemos gehen 626 nach der rechten Nebenthür hin ab. Ehe Chremylos die Bühne verlässt, trägt er dem Karion auf, Stromata herauszubringen und den Plutos zum Tempel des Asklepios zu führen. Dies muss auch demnächst während des folgenden Chorgesanges vor den Augen der Zuschauer geschehen sein. — Nach dem Chorgesange kommt Karion 627 vom Tempel des Asklepios her, und 641 tritt die Frau des Chremylos aus dem Hause. Letztere geht 769 wieder ins Haus zurück, als Karion dem geheilten Plutos durch die rechte Nebenthür 770 entgegen geht. Nach dem Chorgesange erscheinen 771 Plutos und Chremylos, 788 findet sich dazu des letzteren Frau, die aus dem Hause kommt, und 801 gehen alle in das Haus hinein. — Nach dem nächsten Chorliede kommt 802 Karion aus dem Hause, und 823 findet sich bei ihm ein Bürger mit einem Sklaven, 850 Blepsidemos mit einem falschen Zeugen, wie es scheint, von der rechten Seitenthür her, ein, durch welche Thür, wenn die eben angeführte Annahme richtig ist, 933 der Zeuge, 950 Blepsidemos sich entfernt. Die Anderen

gehen 958 in Karion's Haus. Hierauf folgt wieder ein Chorlied, und nach demselben kommt 959 eine Alte von der rechten Seitenthür her, 965 Chremylos aus dem Hause, endlich 1042 ein Jüngling ebenfalls von der rechten Seitenthür her, und alle gehen 1096 in das Haus des Chremylos. — Nach einem andern Chorliede kommt 1097 Karion aus dem Hause, an das Hermes 1099 geklopft hat (letzterer tritt wohl aus dem Gebüsch um die linke Nebenthür), und zieht sich 1170 mit Hermes in's Haus zurück. — Demnächst erscheint 1171 ein Priester des Zeus, wohl von der rechten Seitenthür her, zugleich Chremylos aus dem Hause. Letzterer lässt alsbald durch die im Hause befindlichen Personen den Plutos 1193 zum Tempel der Athena abführen, und ist selbst dabei gegenwärtig. Da der Chor sich dem Zuge anschliessen will und es nöthig findet (1208) dazu *ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τοῦπισθεν*, so müssen wohl alle Schauspieler in die Orchestra hinabziehen, und von hier aus durch die rechte Parodos vom Chore begleitet (1209 *δεῖ γὰρ κατόπιν τούτων ἄδοντας ἔπασθαι*) sich entfernen.

Bei den von rechts herzutretenden Personen hält es schwer mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen, ob sie der rechten Nebenthür oder Seitenthür sich bedienen. Wenn man das Herzueilen von mancherlei Menschen auf einem und demselben Wege in der Eirene, den Vögeln, den Wespen, den Acharnern hiermit vergleicht, so muss man geneigt sein, auch die hier Herzueilenden von einer Strasse, der Hauptstrasse aus der Stadt herkommen zu lassen.

### L y s i s t r a t e.

Das Stück zerfällt in zwei Acte\*); der Schauplatz im ersten Acte, der bis 253 sich erstreckt, ist ein mit Häusern umgebener Platz in Athen, dessen eine Seite namentlich durch die Scenerie dargestellt wird. Das Haus der Lysistrate nimmt die Mitte, das der Kalonike die um die rechte Nebenthür befindliche Räumlichkeit ein. Die linke Seitenthür stellt die in die Fremde führende Strasse dar, die linke Nebenthür eine Strasse, die nach auswärts von Athen, nach Attika führt. Die rechte Seitenthür weist auf die Stadt Athen hin. Die Akropolis ist, weil 241 keine Hinweisung auf sie giebt, wohl nicht sichtbar gewesen. Die Thüren werden, wie sich aus Vorste-

\*) So auch Geppert p. 160.

hendem ergibt, sämmtlich gebraucht. Ob Veränderungen in der Scenerie während des ersten Actes eintreten, ist nicht ganz sicher, wie sich alsbald zeigen wird.

Im Anfange des Stückes tritt Lysistrate aus ihrem Hause\*), Kalonike v. 5 aus dem ihrigen; 65 und 66 kommen andere Frauen auf die Bühne, in denen sich zwei Parteien unterscheiden lassen. Sie kommen also schwerlich durch eine Thür, sondern durch mehrere, und zwar die links gelegenen Thüren, weil sie aus der Fremde her erscheinen. Myrrhine, die unter ihnen sich befindet, aber aus Attika ist, tritt wohl durch die linke Nebenthür ein. Lampito kommt (77) aus Lakedaimon, wohl mit andern 244 genannten Frauen. Bei ihrem Auftreten tritt sicher keine Drehung der linken Periakte ein, da die Gegend, aus der früher von dort Eintretende kamen, nicht genauer bezeichnet ist. Weiter tritt auf 85 Lampito, aus Boiotien, 90 eine Frau aus Korinthos (die 184 anwesende Skythin ist wohl eine Sklavin Lysistrate's) und 244 geht Lampito nach Lakedaimon ab. Wird nun hier die linke Periakte 85, 90 und 244, also dreimal gedreht? und zwar so, dass 244 wieder die von Anfang an dagewesene Decoration der Periakte, die 77 namentlich den Weg, der nach Lakedaimon führt, bedeutete, zum Vorschein kommt? Ich weiss für das überaus häufige, wie für das sehr schnelle (85 und 90) Umwenden der Periakte keine ausreichende Analogie beizubringen; es ist ferner auffallend, dass eine schon dagewesene Decoration durch fortgesetztes Drehen wieder zum Vorschein kommt; aber einen starken Beweis für das Drehen sehe ich darin, dass nach zweimaligem Umwenden der dreiseitigen Periakte die zuerst von ihr dargebotene Ansicht von neuem zum Vorschein kommen muss, wenn noch eine weitere Drehung stattfindet. Es braucht also ein rückwärts Umwenden der Periakte nicht einzutreten; und der Dichter scheint mir daher das öftere Drehen gerade deshalb nöthig gemacht zu haben, um wieder zu der ersten Darstellung der Periakte zurückkehren zu können.

Das Geschrei der Weiber, welches hinter der Skene er-

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\*) Nach Genelli p. 248 kommt Lysistrate im Anfange aus der Gastthür auf der Seite nach der Fremde, und geht der Kalonike, die von der Seite der Heimath herkommt, entgegen, und hinab in den Dromos. Lampito ferner soll von einer anderen Seite her erscheinen als Myrrhine. Er scheint ferner auf p. 255 schon von Anfang an die Akropolis als das Object der Scenerie anzusehen.

folgt (200), zeigt an, dass sie (241) die Akropolis eingenommen haben, und 253 entfernen sich alle Frauen von der Bühne, um die Akropolis\*) den Männern abzusperren; sie gehen also nach rechts hin ab. Das gesammte Theater wird auf diese Weise leer, und es tritt nun eine Verwandlung der Scenerie ein. Die neue Scenerie stellt die Akropolis von Athen\*\*) dar; die Mitte der Scene wird von den Propyläen eingenommen (482, 487 ff.). Wie nahe am Felsen der Burg auch die Pansgrotte mag gewesen sein (721), sichtbar ist sie so wenig gewesen (911, 721) wie der Tempel der Chloe (835).

Der Chor der Greise tritt 254 durch die rechte Parodos (288) auf. Er will eine Art Scheiterhaufen aufhäufen 269, um die Weiber zu verbrennen. Einzelne tragen daher Kohlen in Töpfen oder Pfannen; die Kohlen werden 293 angeblasen, es raucht tüchtig 295, 297, 305, 312, 319; ja die Flamme schlägt auf 306\*\*\*); und die Greise müssen, um den Frauen, die in der Akropolis sind, auf den Hals zu rücken, aus der Orchestra auf das Logeion steigen (302, 309). Inzwischen eilt von rechts 319 ein aus Frauen bestehender Chor aus Athen her den in der Burg befindlichen Frauen zu Hülfe, und zwar indem sie durch die rechte Seitenthür auf die Bühne kommen 353 (dieser Ansicht ist auch der Schol. Rav.). Es sind also nun zwei Chöre auf dem Logeion, der der Greise und der Frauen; und dass der letztere dem ersteren nahe, also auf der Skene ist, ersieht man nicht nur aus 357, wo vom Prügeln die Rede ist, sondern auch aus 377 ff., wo die Frauen die Männer begiessen wollen, aus 362 und 366, wo sie die Männer zum Handgemenge herausfordern, aus 657 u. s. w. — Der Probolos kommt 387 mit mehreren Trabanten von rechts her, Lysistrate aus der Burg 430†) mit einigen anderen, deren Zahl 456 noch zunimmt. Nachdem der Probolos (602) übel zugerichtet sich entfernt hat 610, um

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\*) 246 *εἰσιῶσαι* fasst Geppert p. 163 in der Bedeutung: abgehen, nicht: hineingehen, indem Lysistrate sich nicht vor der Akropolis, sondern in einer Strasse von Athen befinde. — Aber warum soll Lysistrate nicht sagen: „lasst uns jetzt in die Burg hineingehen“, wenn die Scenerie eine nahe der Burg liegende Strasse darstellte?

\*\*) Genelli meint, sie habe das Aussehen irgend eines weiblichen Badehauses zu Athen gehabt (p. 255).

\*\*\*) Sie wollen die Kohlen brennend erhalten, um später die Fackeln daran in Brand zu stecken 315.

†) Ueber die Balgerei mit den Skythen vergl. Beer p. 86 ff.

in die Stadt zu gehen, begiebt sich auch Lysistrate 613 in die Burg zurück. Hierauf folgt ein Wortwechsel zwischen dem Chor der Frauen und dem der Greise bis 705. Der Chor der Greise ist inzwischen höchst wahrscheinlich nicht mehr auf der Bühne; denn es folgen bald ganz bestimmte Anzeichen dafür, dass er in der Orchestra sein muss, und doch fehlt später ein Anlass, der den Chor zur Veränderung seines Standortes bringen könnte. Er muss also 461, wo Lysistrate zum Kampfe gegen die Skythen andringt, und wo es selbst diesen gewaffneten Kriegersleuten schlecht ergeht, sich in die Orchestra zurückgeschlichen haben. Dies ist auch die Ansicht des Scholiasten zu dieser Stelle\*). Aber auch nur dann, wenn die Greise zu der angegebenen Zeit das Logeion verlassen haben, fällt es nicht auf, dass sie in der nächsten Scene unthätig sind und an keinen weiteren Angriff auf die Burg denken. — 706 tritt Lysistrate, demnächst drei andere Frauen 728, 735 und 742 aus der Burg; 780 kehren alle vier in die Burg zurück. Dass die Chöre zu der Zeit einander nahe sind, zeigt 797, wo ein Alter ein Weib küssen, diese ihn deshalb schlagen will (vergl. auch 823); da es aber bloss Gesänge der Chöre sind, in denen dies vorkommt, die Handlung nicht fortgeht, so erklärt sich alles dies auch, wenn von den Chören der eine auf der Bühne, der andere in der Orchestra ist. Ueberdies zeigt die Zote 823 ff. ganz bestimmt, dass die Weiber einen höheren Standpunkt als die Männer haben. Dadurch wird auch die Unthätigkeit der Weiber von 829 an erklärt; denn dass sie da sind, zeigt die Scene 1014 ff., aus der sich zugleich auch ergibt, dass sie auf der Bühne, nicht in der Orchestra sind.

829 und 833 werden Lysistrate, Myrrhine und bald auch andere (844) auf der Mauer\*\*) der Burg sichtbar (vergl. 864 und die Scholien zu 864); Kinesias dagegen kommt 845 aus Athen von rechts her mit einem Sklaven, der 908 mit dem kleinen Kinde wieder zurückgeht. Mit Kinesias verhandelt Lysistrate, nachdem die anderen Frauen sich in die Burg zurückgezogen haben (*ἀπέλθετε* 844), bis sie 864 (*καταβᾶσα*\*\*\*)) sich bereit erklärt, seine Frau Myrrhine zu rufen. Sie entfernt sich nun, und Myrrhine erscheint anfangs auf der Mauer, später indem

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\*) (*Τοῦτο*) ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πεφευγόντων.

\*\*) Es geschieht dies, indem die Frauen auf die an der Skenenwand befindlichen Balcone heraustreten.

\*\*\*) Vergl. 873, 874, 884.



sie aus der Burg tritt 889. Nachdem<sup>2</sup> Myrrhine ihren Mann zum Besten gehabt hat, wobei sie zwischen 914 und 947 sechs Mal in die Burg hineingeht und zurückkehrt, entfernt sie sich 951 nochmals, und Kinesias kehrt 979 wieder nach Hause zurück, falls der Probulos der nächsten Scene wirklich ein anderer ist als Kinesias, was Beer (p. 92), wie es scheint, mit Recht in Abrede stellt. — 980 tritt von der linken Seitenthür her ein Spartanischer Herold auf, und geht 1013 wieder nach links hin ab, während der Probulos oder Kinesias sich nach rechts hin entfernen.

In der 1014 beginnenden Scene begiebt sich der Weiberchor vom Logeion 1021 zum Männerchor, indem die Frauen vielleicht nach und nach in die Orchestra hinabsteigen. Die Vereinigung ist 1042 geschehen (vergl. die Hypothesis, 1022, 1024, 1026, 1035 und 1036). 1074 kommen Spartanische Gesandte von links, 1086 ein Athener von rechts, 1108 Lysistrate aus der Burg; und nachdem Lysistrate die Parteien versöhnt und zum Frieden vermocht hat, sagt sie 1182: *νῦν οὖν ὅπως ἀγνεύσετε, ὅπως ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμᾶς ἐν πόλει ξενίσωμεν, ὧν ἐν ταῖσι κίσταις εἶχομεν*. Hier geht ἀγνεύειν nicht auf die Gesandten, auf die es nicht passend wäre, sondern, wie auch Seeger richtig bemerkt, auf die von den Weibern begossenen Männer, auf den Männerchor, und αἱ γυναῖκες sind demnach nicht nur die mit Lysistrate in der Burg befindlichen Frauen, sondern sie und alle anderen, also der Weiberchor. Bei den Worten 1187 ἀλλ' ἴωμεν brechen daher alle, nicht nur die Gesandten, sondern auch die in der Orchestra befindlichen Chöre der Männer und Frauen auf, und dadurch wird erst verständlich, in wie fern der Frauenchor den Männern 1187 u. ff. alle seine Habseligkeiten anbietet und zuzutragen verspricht, und zwar τῶν (ἐμῶν) χρημάτων ἐνδοθεῖν in der Burg (1195, womit zu vergl. 1201\*), und Lysistrate übergiebt παραδίδωσι (wie es in den Scholien zu 1274 heisst) λοιπὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν Λάκωσι τὰς Λακαίνας, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τὰς ὁμοφύλους. — Mit 1279 beginnt der Chortanz der Athener,

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\*) Das Lied des Chores ist darum eingeschoben, um das Hinaufsteigen in die Burg allen oder wenigstens den meisten inzwischen möglich zu machen. Nach 1215 tritt wohl eine kurze Pause ein, und es kommt alsbald ein Athener, 1225 ein zweiter, 1242 die Gesandten der Lakedaimonier, 1273 Lysistrate mit einem grossen Schwarm Frauen aus der Burg. Ueber den genaueren Zusammenhang alles dessen belehrt Beer p. 93.



mit 1297 der der Lakonen. Beide enden damit, dass die Tanzenden im Tanze sich entfernen, die ersteren durch die rechte, die letzteren durch die linke Parodos. Da Lysistrate und die anderen durch Schauspieler gegebenen Frauen nicht weiter genannt werden, und da die Tänze nur in der Orchestra können aufgeführt worden sein, so entfernen sich die Schauspieler hier mit dem Chore durch die Parodos, und zwar durch beide Parodoi. Auf gleiche Weise gehen Schauspieler durch die Parodos am Schlusse ab in den Wespen und Ekklesiazusen.

Thüren werden im zweiten Acte, wie sich aus der vorstehenden Analyse ergibt, nur drei gebraucht: die Mittelthür und die zwei Seitenthüren.

### Thesmophoriazusai.

Die Handlung erfordert eine doppelte Scenerie, und zwar tritt die Aenderung der ersten Scenerie 279 ein; denn die von da an folgenden Scenen beziehen sich auf einen durchaus andern Schauplatz, als bis dahin der Fall ist. Es sind aber auch alle Bedingungen vorhanden, um eine gänzliche Veränderung der Scenerie eintreten zu lassen. Der Chor ist 279 noch nicht anwesend, Euripides (*ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι* 279) entfernt sich; eben dazu wird Mnesilochos 277 mit *ἔκσπευδε* eile hinaus, eile fort, aufgefordert\*), und das gesammte Theater ist mithin leer. Die Nothwendigkeit der Umänderung ergibt sich aber daraus, dass, wenn man nur eine Scenerie durch das ganze Stück hin annehmen will, es nicht möglich ist, die Mitte der Skene als eigentlichen Schauplatz für die Handlung festzuhalten. Denn Agathon's Haus und das Thesmophorion, vor welchen beiden die Handlung nach einander sich entwickelt, können nicht zugleich die Mitte der Skene eingenommen haben. Ja sie können nicht einmal nahe bei einander dargestellt worden sein, da jede Hinweisung von dem ersteren auf das letztere und umgekehrt fehlt, wenn man von dem darauf nicht Bezug habenden v. 278 absieht.

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\*) Dass Mnesilochos sich gänzlich von der Bühne entfernt, ersieht man namentlich daraus, dass er nach 279 in Begleitung einer Thrakerin erscheint. Von letzterer war vorher, als er mit Euripides zu Agathon's Hause ging, nicht die Rede; ja sie konnte nicht in dessen Begleitung sein, da Euripides damals nicht gedachte, selbst die zum Opfer nöthigen Dinge zu brauchen, oder an Mnesilochos zu geben, sondern den Agathon statt seiner zum Thesmophorienfeste zu senden.

Auf eine Veränderung der Scenerie bei 279 weist schon der Scholiast zu 277 mit den Worten *ἐκκυκλεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ ἔξω τὸ θεσμοφόριον* hin. Sollte er aber hiermit an die blosser Anwendung des Ekkyklema gedacht haben, so irrt er. Nirgends lässt sich nachweisen, dass ganze Gebäude vorgeschoben wurden, ausser wenn wegen später an ihnen eintretender Veränderungen ein solider Bau zum Vorschein kommen musste, wie in der Denkwirthschaft des Sokrates. Hier handelt es sich um einen grossen Tempel, an dem keine gewaltsame Veränderung eintrat, um ein Gebäude, das nicht bloss wie die Denkwirthschaft an einer Seite der Bühne, sondern mitten auf ihr zu erscheinen hatte; und wie dabei die Schwierigkeit eines Vorschiebens durch's Ekkyklema\*) sich gehäuft hätte, so wäre diese Arbeit eine ganz unnöthige gewesen, da ein Wegziehen des frühern Parapetasma und eine Drehung der Periakten vollständig ausreichte. Sicher fand hier also die Veränderung der Scenerie ganz in der Weise statt, in der sie für gewöhnlich zu geschehen pflegte\*\*).

Die für den ersten Act nothwendige Scenerie beschränkt sich auf das Haus Agathon's. Da die Handlung vor ihm sich entwickelt, so muss es mitten an der Skenenwand liegen; das Haus hat *θρυγαί* (58), vor sich einen sonnigen Platz (69), und stellte sich sicher als ein wenn nicht prächtiges, so doch äusserst zierliches Gebäude dar, da ein Agathon es bewohnte. Die zu ihm führende Thür (26, 29) ist die Mittelthür der Skene. Wie die weitere Umgebung des in Athen liegenden Hauses war, deutet das Stück nicht an; nur aus 36 ersieht man, dass ihm zur Seite Euripides mit seinem Diener sich vor dem aus Agathon's Hause tretenden Diener desselben verbergen konnte. Da Euripides beim Beginn der Handlung schon unterwegs ist, so braucht

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\*) O. Müller kleine Schriften I. p. 539 ist der Ansicht, dass das Innere des Thesmophorion hervorgerollt worden sei, also eine Anwendung des Ekkyklema oder der Exostra hier stattgefunden habe.

\*\*) Geppert meint (p. 165), dass der Wechsel der Scenerie bei 295 eintritt, Mnesilochos hingegen 279 mit den Worten *δεῦρο νῦν* in die Orchestra hinabgeht, dort am Altare (muthmasslich der Thymele) den beiden Göttinnen opfert und die Ankunft des Chores erwartet. — Aber abgesehen davon, dass der Schauspieler in die Orchestra hinabsteigen soll, so kann der Altar nicht eher da sein, als der Tempel, zu dem er gehört; ausserdem wird dadurch nicht erklärt, wie die Thrakerin sich bei Mnesilochos eingefunden hat.

dieses Dichters Haus nicht gesehen zu werden. Thüren sind ausser der Mittelthür nur zwei erforderlich. Die Lage derselben hängt davon ab, von welcher Seite her man den Euripides auftreten lässt. Von woher dies aber geschieht, mit Sicherheit anzugeben, scheint mir schwierig. Uebrigens ist es auch an sich ziemlich gleichgültig, ob derselbe von rechts oder links her erscheint; denn der Schauplatz der Handlung liegt mitten in Athen, und ein Athener scheint gleich gut von rechts wie von links her kommen zu können. Dennoch möchte ich geneigt sein, Athen, zu dem Agathon's Haus gehört, der Hauptsache nach rechts zu denken, und jeden Athener, der nicht von dem Ende der Stadt her sich einfindet, von rechts her auftreten zu lassen. Demgemäss glaube ich, dass Euripides hier von der rechten Seitenthür her aufgetreten sei, wie ich umgekehrt den vom Thore her kommenden Wursthändler in den Rittern von links her erscheinend denke. Verhielt sich die Sache so in der That, dann war im ersten Acte noch die rechte Seitenthür nöthig, indem Euripides und Mnesilochos durch sie auftreten, und an der linken Seite noch eine andere Thür, durch welche Mnesilochos sich entfernt, als er zum Thesmophorion sich begeben will. Es ist alsdann ganz in der Ordnung, wenn er im Beginn des zweiten Actes mit der Sklavin von rechts her auftritt. Was für dieses Arrangement noch spricht, ist, dass der Chor am Ende des ganzen Stückes 1228 mit den Worten *ὥρα δὴ ἐστὶ βαδίζειν οἴκαδ' ἐκάστη* füglich nur durch die rechte, nicht durch die linke Parodos sich entfernen kann. Im Uebrigen ist für den ersten Act nur noch zu bemerken, dass der Chor der Musen nicht sichtbar wird, sondern hinter der Coulissenwand sich hören lässt, und Agathon mit Hülfe des Ekkyklema erscheint und verschwindet (96, 265 und Schol. zu 96, vergl. auch Müller kleine Schriften I. p. 539). — Das Thesmophorion bildet im zweiten Acte den Mittelpunkt der Scenerie. Das Aussehen und die Umgebung desselben wird gewiss im Ganzen so gewesen sein, wie die Wirklichkeit beides zeigte. Da wir aber darüber keine bestimmte Auskunft von anderwärts her haben, so müssen wir uns an die im Stücke enthaltenen Fingerzeige halten. Der Tempel lag an der Pnyx 658 etwas erhaben (vergl. 585 *ἀναπέμψαι* und 623 *ἀνῆλθες* und die Scholien an beiden Stellen), und er wird daher den Zuschauern wohl wie andere in schräger Stellung gezeigt worden sein, so dass der vor dem Tempel befindliche Altar (695, 888 und die Scholien zu 717) an der rechten Hälfte der Bühne

lag\*). Dem Tempel zur Linken befand sich ein Hain 1149; nach rechts hin scheint man ausserdem (vergl. 658) *σκηναί* und *διόδους* Buden und Gassen gesehen zu haben (vergl. auch die Scholien zu 658). Ausserdem aber scheint zufolge von 930 in der Gegend der rechten Nebenthür das Prytaneion oder ein ähnliches Gebäude sichtbar gewesen zu sein, von woher der Prytane kommt (923), und wohin der Skythe den Mnesilochos abführt\*\*). Wo die Bänke, Stufen oder Steine zu denken sind, deren einen Mnesilochos zum Niedersitzen benutzt 292, wage ich nicht genauer zu bestimmen.

Da Mnesilochos gleich bei seinem Erscheinen den am Tempel verbreiteten Fackelglanz erwähnt, so muss ein Theil der festfeiernden Frauen, die später den Chor bilden, in dem Momente, wo die neue Decoration eintritt, mit brennenden Fackeln aus dem Tempel auf die Bühne kommen; und unter ihnen befindet sich wohl Kritylla und die das Amt des Herolds versehende Frau, während die zum Markte 457 gehende Blumenhändlerin von der linken Seitenthür, Mika und später Kleisthenes 574 von rechts aus der Mitte der Stadt her zu kommen scheinen. Von der rechten Seitenthür her tritt auch Mnesilochos von einer Thrakerin begleitet auf, und sendet seine Begleitung, nachdem er in die Nähe des Altars gekommen ist, zurück. Mika (764) und Kleisthenes (654) entfernen sich vor Beginn der Parabase wieder durch die Nebenthür (vergl. 929) nach rechts hin. Das Reisig, welches herzugeholt wird, ist wohl eher aus den Buden an der Skene als aus dem Haine geholt

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\*) Aus *ἀνῆλθεν* 893 könnte man sogar versucht sein zu schliessen, dass der Altar vor dem Tempel auf der daselbst befindlichen Anhöhe sich befand.

\*\*) Kanngiesser (p. 178) lässt auch die Statuen der Ceres und Proserpina nebst Agathon's Haus gesehen werden. Das erstere ist sehr wahrscheinlich, das letztere irrig, wenn man eine doppelte Scenerie annimmt. Genelli (p. 255) denkt sich bei der am Tempel vorgehenden Handlung die Scenerie in der Art, dass der Tempel, dem er auch zwei Flügelgebäude giebt, von einem Peribolos umgeben gewesen sei. In der Mitte des letzteren soll sich der Eingang befunden, und die Orchestra soll den Platz vor dem Tempel, auf dem die Frauen sich versammelten, gebildet haben. Da aber Genelli eine Veränderung der Scenerie nicht annimmt, so sieht er in dem nach der Fremde zu liegenden Flügelgebäude Agathon's Haus, und der auf der Bühne befindliche Altar soll zuerst dem Hause Agathon's zugehört haben, später der beim Tempel befindliche gewesen sein.

worden (728, 739). Dass der Chor auf der Bühne erscheint, geht aus dem Stücke zur Genüge hervor. Da aber die Bühne beim Anfange der Parabase (784) leer sein muss, so muss auch der Chor sich vor derselben von dort entfernt haben. Dies geschieht bei und nach 667, als die Frauen sich zerstreuen, um nachzuspüren, ob noch ein Mann sich irgendwo befinde. Von den Schauspielern sind Mika, die Blumenhändlerin schon früher fortgegangen, der den Herold spielende Schauspieler noch früher; Kritylla zieht sich wohl in den Tempel zurück; Mnesilochos und die ihn bewachende Frau entziehen sich dem Anblicke der Zuschauer, indem jener *πίναντες* auflesend am Tempel vielleicht im Gebüsche verschwindet. — Nach der Parabase, sobald Mnesilochos mit der ihn bewachenden Frau von der linken Nebenthür her etwa erschienen ist, tritt Euripides 871 von der rechten Seitenthür her auf, kann aber den Mnesilochos nicht befreien, indem 923 der Prytane mit einem Skythen durch die rechte Nebenthür herbeikommt. Er geht also 927 wieder nach rechts hin ab. Der Trabant des Prytanen soll den Mnesilochos fesseln; und nachdem der Prytane 944 sich (ziemlich beliebig, durch welche Thür es geschieht) wieder entfernt hat, geht er auch mit Mnesilochos 946 zur rechten Nebenthür hin und durch sie ab, kommt aber um 1000 mit ihm zurück. Von 1056 an lässt sich Euripides dem Skythen unsichtbar, sei es von dem Gebüsche am Tempel, sei es von rechts her, vernehmen, tritt 1098 dem Skythen unter die Augen\*) und entfernt sich, da er abermals seinen Zweck, den Mnesilochos zu befreien, nicht erreichen kann, wieder auf dem Wege, auf dem er gekommen ist. Dennoch kommt er 1160 noch einmal von der rechten Seitenthür her, verständigt sich mit dem Chore bis 1171, und tritt, nachdem er einen Moment sich entfernt hat, 1172 als altes Weib verkleidet in Begleitung einer Tänzerin und eines Flötenbläfers auf. Während nun der Skythe mit der Tänzerin nach 1201 etwa nach rechts (in eine der Buden oder in den Hain nach links?) sich entfernt, heisst Euripides 1203 den Flötenbläser, 1209 den Mnesilochos (gleichgültig wohin und durch welche Thür es geschieht) entfliehen, und er selbst thut dasselbe. Der 1210 zurückkehrende Skythe wird vom

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\*) Euripides sagt zwar, dass er herzugeflogen sei; es ist dies aber so wenig für baare Münze zu nehmen (obgleich Seeger es thut), wie das Hängen und Schweben vom Mnesilochos 1110, der gerade als Andromeda gelten soll.

Chore gefoppt und läuft 1225 beliebig durch eine Thür endlich fort; der Chor aber entfernt sich 1231 nach Hause, also durch die rechte Parodos.

*Ἀχαρυσίς.*

Seeger sagt in der Einleitung zu diesem Stücke, dass es (und er folgt darin Bode) im Spätherbste beginnt, und mit den Anthesterien im Frühjahr schliesst. „Noch unwahrscheinlicher, fährt er fort, sind die Szenenveränderungen; Euripides, Lamachos sollen auch im Flecken Chollidä gewohnt haben, als Nachbarn des Dikaiopolis! Am Ende sieht man gar in den Dionysostempel hinein, der doch in Athen stand.“ Und demgemäss bestimmt er den Schauplatz so, dass er anfangs auf der Pnyx in Athen, dann auf dem Lande ist. Bei dieser Ansicht kann es nicht Wunder nehmen, wenn Seeger sagt: „wir sind durch Shakespeare an solche Dinge gewöhnt, und werden uns so wenig als die Athener daran stossen.“ Ich glaube aber, dass die Athener doch an dergleichen Aergerniss würden genommen haben, und dass Aristophanes nicht daran gedacht hat, ihnen dergleichen je aufzutischen. Wie ideell die Zeit auch sonst im alten Drama gehandhabt wird, eine solche Nichtbeachtung aller Zeitgesetze, ein Hinwegsetzen über jede Begränzung durch den Raum ist ihnen auf der Bühne nie vor Augen getreten, und die Vorstellung, die sich Seeger von der Scenerie gemacht hat, ist ganz verkehrt. Es ist vielmehr im ganzen Stücke nur eine einzige Scenerie. Die Veränderung, die allein vorgenommen wird, besteht darin, dass die linke Periakte da, wo der Boiotier ankommt, gedreht wird. Die gesamte Handlung dagegen geht in Athen und zwar in und bei der Pnyx vor sich, und die Scenerie muss daher die Pnyx, das Haus des Dikaiopolis und das des Lamachos darstellen. Das Haus des Dikaiopolis, der wie unzählige Andere um des Krieges willen das angenehme Landleben mit dem städtischen hat vertauschen müssen, bildet die Mitte der Scenerie; denn vor ihm entwickelt sich die Handlung vornehmlich; und es hat, wie 262 zeigt, ein flaches Dach. Links von ihm an der Nebenthür ist die Pnyx (mit Bänken 25), an der rechten Nebenthür befindet sich das Haus des Lamachos, dicht neben dem des Dikaiopolis (vergl. 1071 ff. mit 1095 ff.); an der rechten Seitenthür ist ein Theil Athen's und zwar das Haus des Euripides zum Theil sichtbar; die linke Seitenthür zeigt den Weg in die Fremde an, so dass also fünf Thüren in Anwendung kommen.



Auch Böckh (über die Lenäen pag. 91) denkt sich, indem er sich von allen Willkürlichkeiten, die Andere nicht vermeiden haben, frei hält, dass der Landsitz des Dikaiopolis so nahe der Stadt gelegen habe, dass auch die Stadt in derselben Scenerie dargestellt war. Wenn er aber als Vermuthung ausspricht, dass man das Landhaus des Dikaiopolis nur dann vermittels des Ekkyklema gesehen habe, wenn es nöthig gewesen sei (nämlich im zweiten und vierten Auftritte): so macht Geppert p. 161 wohl mit Recht darauf aufmerksam, dass durch das Ekkyklema sonst nur das Innere der Häuser zum Vorschein kommt, nicht die Häuser selbst. Aber selbst dann, wenn man in Analogie mit dem, was in den Wolken geschieht, ein Parenkyklema hier annehmen wollte, so wäre auch dadurch die Analogie mit dem, was in den Wolken geschieht, noch nicht hergestellt. Denn dort erscheint und verschwindet nicht das *φροντιστήριον* abwechselnd, sondern bleibt unausgesetzt von da an sichtbar, wo es erschienen ist. — Das Haus des Dikaiopolis in der Stadt möchte ich endlich nicht gern als Landsitz bezeichnet sehen.

Kanngiesser, der (pag. 179) einen Theil der Pnyx als Schauplatz der Handlung annimmt, im Hintergrunde das Haus des Euripides und das des Lamachos, auf der Seite das Bild einer Muse und vielleicht Statuen von andern Göttern sichtbar werden lässt, meint (p. 160 ff.), dass Euripides auf der Oberbühne in der Wolkenregion oder auf dem Theologeion sich befinde, und ist fest überzeugt, die Sache habe nicht anders dargestellt werden können. Aber es ist in der That nicht einzusehen, warum es gerade so habe sein müssen. Allen Andeutungen, die das Stück an die Hand giebt, wird genügt, wenn sich Euripides im oberen Stocke seines Hauses befindet. Er ist dann erhaben über das Irdische, und die Zuschauer sehen die Lumpen, die von dort heruntergeworfen werden. Andererseits ist es wunderbar, wie Euripides nach Kanngiesser's Ansicht ohne weiteres in die Region der Wolken sollte gelangt sein. Die Worte der Scholien, die Kanngiesser zur Unterstützung anführt, sind weit entfernt, gerade das vorauszusetzen, was derselbe rücksichtlich der Oberbühne annimmt. Wodurch begründet werden soll, dass die Häuser des Lamachos und Euripides im Hintergrunde liegen, ferner dass die Bühne gerade das schmückende Beiwerk gezeigt habe, was Kanngiesser ihr giebt, sehe ich auch nicht ein.

Geppert (pag. 161 ff.) sagt: „die Handlung bewegt sich



augenscheinlich an drei verschiedenen Orten: zu Anfang ist sie auf der Pnyx, dann wird sie vor das Landhaus des Dikaiopolis verlegt (nämlich als die Feier „der ländlichen Dionysien“ beginnt, wo εἰσιών (202 vergl. 163) heissen soll: ich trete von der Bühne ab), darauf spielt sie vor dem Hause des Euripides (wo Dikaiopolis sich die zu einem tragischen Aufzuge nöthigen Hilfsmittel erbittet), und zum Schluss (von da an, wo Dikaiopolis dem Chore gegenüber seine Vertheidigung beginnt) kehrt sie nach der Wohnung des Dikaiopolis zurück. (Die Scenerie müsste demnach dreimal im Laufe des Stückes geändert werden, und zwar so, dass die zweite Scenerie auch wieder als vierte erschiene). Weiter glaubt Geppert (pag. 165), Dikaiopolis gehe 383, wo er sagt, dass er sich umziehen wolle, in die an den Paraskenien befindliche Garderobe, und während er darin sei (nämlich bis 392, denn er antworte dem Chöre auf seine Frage nicht), werde die Scene verwandelt, und eben darum singe der Chor vor und nach dem Auftritte vor dem Hause des Euripides ein Lied; es solle dadurch der inzwischen eintretende Wechsel der Scenerie weniger bemerklich gemacht werden. — Aber eine Veränderung der Scenerie ist, wenn man die sonst in solchem Falle beobachtete Norm festhalten will, nicht möglich. In das Landhaus des Dikaiopolis kann die Handlung daher weder das erste, noch das zweite Mal übergehen. In keinem Stücke kommt ferner eine viermalige Veränderung der Scenerie vor. Die Paraskenien enthalten zwar die Garderobe, aber Dikaiopolis holt die nöthigen Kleidungsstücke nicht von dort, sondern vom Euripides; er hat also keinen Grund, darum die Bühne zu verlassen. Er geht auch nicht hinein; denn da auf die Frage des Chores 385 nichts zu antworten ist, so ist kein Grund aus dem Schweigen zu entnehmen. εἰσιών 202 in anderer Bedeutung als in der gewöhnlichen (in's Haus gehen) zu fassen ist kein Grund da, zumal da die sonstigen von Geppert beigebrachten Beweise nicht stichhaltig sind.

Genelli ist (pag. 257) der Ansicht, dass das Haus des Dikaiopolis in seinem Geburtsfleck und diesem gegenüber das des Euripides, was später auch als das des Lamachos anzu sehen sei, auf einer Scenerie dargestellt gewesen seien. Die Erscheinung des Chores verwandle die Gegend in die Acharnische, und erst von hier an spiele die Skene mit. Denn die Volksversammlung in der Pnyx, die abgehalten werde, während die Auläa noch aufgezogen sei, so dass eine eigentliche Sce-

nerie noch nicht sichtbar war, verlegt er in die Orchestra, wo für Alle Stühle seien hingestellt worden. Dikaiopolis soll mit Amphitheos von der Fremde her, die Anderen sollen von der Seite der Heimath herkommen. Nach dem Ende der Volksversammlung seien die Sitze schnell fortgeschafft worden, und der Dromos sei die Strasse, wo die beiden Freunde sich trafen. Die Auläa falle nun, die Skene komme zum Vorschein, und der Chor trete von der anderen Seite, von der der Heimath, in die Orchestra, Dikaiopolis aber flüchte mit Amphitheos nach der Seite der Fremde hin. — Wenn aber so entfernte Gegenden wie das Haus des Euripides in Athen und das Haus eines Attischen Gaues auf einer und derselben Scenerie können dargestellt werden, und das Dargestellte bald eines, bald etwas anderes bedeuten kann, dann ist überhaupt eine genau charakterisirte Scenerie ganz unnöthig. Da ich nun auch kein Spiel der Schauspieler in der Orchestra, keine Handlung ohne Scenerie zugeben kann: so kann ich der Ansicht Genelli's in keiner Weise zustimmen, und ich glaube einer in's Einzelne gehenden Widerlegung mich enthalten zu dürfen.

Dikaiopolis kommt im Anfange aus seinem Hause zur Pnyx, Amphitheos 45 wohl von rechts her aus der Stadt und verläuft sich (55) unter dem Volke. Mit 43 beginnt die Versammlung in der Pnyx, und es kommen dahin ein Herold, Prytanen, Gesandte, Botschafter, die, wie sie von rechts her aus der Stadt erscheinen, so auch nach dieser Seite hin später sich entfernen. Der 129 unter der Volksmenge auftauchende Amphitheos entfernt sich 132 durch die linke Seitenthür, um nach Lakedaimon zu gehen, und von daher kommt er auch 175 zurück. Als die Acharner (204) nach Athen hineinstürmen (als Nichtathener müssen sie von links her kommen), entfliehen Dikaiopolis und Amphitheos in das Haus des Dikaiopolis. Ein Wechsel der Scenerie tritt bei 204 nicht ein, und kann nicht eintreten, da Dikaiopolis vor dem nahenden Chore flüchtet, der Chor also schon in der Nähe des Ortes, wo Dikaiopolis sich noch eben befunden hat, sein muss. Aber auch der weitere Verfolg der Handlung weist ebenfalls darauf hin, dass dieselbe Scenerie bleibt; denn 1) erscheint später Lamachos bei Dikaiopolis, also muss auch letzterer noch in Athen sein, 2) Dikaiopolis geht zu Euripides, ohne sich von der Bühne zu entfernen, beide sind also in Athen; 3) die Worte 201 *ἐγὼ δὲ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἄξω τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς εἰσιὼν Διονύσια* sagen offenbar nicht aus, dass Dikaiopolis auf's Land gehen, und dort die

Dionysien feiern will, sondern dass er die ländlichen Dionysien, sobald er in sein Haus gekommen sei\*), feiern wolle. Durch den Krieg gezwungen bereitet er sich vor, die ländlichen Dionysien in der Stadt zu feiern; und daher kann er in der mit 496 beginnenden Anrede sich sehr wohl an die Athener wenden (vergl. 498). — Dikaiopolis tritt 237 in der That mit seinen Hausgenossen, um das Fest zu feiern, aus seinem Hause, und der Chor, welcher 239 in der Orchestra etwas bei Seite tritt, wirft (280, 285, und die Scholien dazu) Steine auf die Festfeierenden. Diese werden dadurch genöthigt in's Haus zurückzugehen; Dikaiopolis selbst aber (394) begiebt sich zum Euripides, Lumpen von ihm zu erbitten 384, die er zu seiner Vertheidigung für nothwendig erachtet. — Zu 394 bemerken die Scholien freilich: μεταβολὴ γέγονε τόπου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν; aber wenn diese Worte mehr sagen sollen als: die Handlung wendet sich einem andern Theile der Bühne zu\*\*), und sie bedeuten sollen, dass eine Aenderung der Scenerie eintritt: so ist die Bemerkung falsch. Selbst nicht einmal eine Aenderung der Periakte kann erfolgen; sie müsste die rechte Periakte treffen, aber diese wird nur gewendet, wenn die gesammte Scenerie gewechselt wird. Dass des Euripides Haus nicht fern von dem des Dikaiopolis dargestellt ist, ergibt sich auch daraus, wie schnell Dikaiopolis von des Dichters Hause zu dem seinigen zurückkehrt (vergl. 486 mit 490). — Der Diener des Euripides und später Euripides selbst antworten aus dem Oberstocke. Wenn Dikaiopolis 409 sagt ἐκκυκλήθητι, und der Scholiast dazu\*\*\*) bemerkt: εἰ μὴ σχολὴν ἔχεις κατελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητι, τουτέστι συστράφηθι, ferner ein Scholiast zu 410 bemerkt φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς μετέωρος: so ist aus allem dem nicht mit Sicherheit zu entnehmen, ob Euripides und das Innere seines Zimmers hier durch Anwendung des Ekkyklema den Zuschauern vor Augen treten (wie O. Müller kleine Schriften I. pag. 537 und Geppert p. 173 annehmen, und Seeger anzudeuten scheint),

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\*) εἰσιῶν der solenne Ausdruck für: in sein Haus gehen. Wollte Dikaiopolis aufs Land gehen, so konnte εἰσιῶν nur dann gesagt werden, wenn der Dichter, absichtlich aus der Rolle fallend, auf die wirkliche Umgebung im Theater Rücksicht nehmen wollte.

\*\*) Analog ist die Stellung von des Herkules Hause gegen den Acherusischen See in den Fröschen.

\*\*\*) Euripides hatte nämlich gesagt: ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήσομαι καταβαίνειν δ' οὐ σχολή.

oder ob er und das Innere durch das Oeffnen der Balconthür an seinem Zimmer den Zuschauern sichtbar werden. Das erstere wäre unbedenklich anzunehmen, wenn irgend ein Beispiel oder sonstiges Zeugniß sich dafür beibringen liesse, dass das Ekkyklema auch in der Höhe angewendet wurde. Da aber Beispiele und Beweise dafür fehlen (denn die aus Pollux von Geppert als Beweis angeführten Worte würden, wenn sie für den gegenwärtigen Fall beweisend wären, den anderweitigen Gebrauch des Ekkyklema bedeutend einschränken, ja in den meisten Fällen, wo es sicher angewendet worden ist, ausschliessen), so scheint es mir bei weitem gerathener anzunehmen, dass Euripides den Zuschauern nur durch das Oeffnen der Balconthür sichtbar wurde. Der für das Oeffnen der Thür nicht angemessene Ausdruck *ἐκκυκλεῖν* wurde von dem Dichter gewählt, um den tragischen Dichter in seiner Weise, d. h. in einer den Verhältnissen nicht angemessenen Art reden zu lassen. Für die Richtigkeit dieser Ansicht spricht auch, dass, als Euripides den zudringlichen Dikaiopolis los werden will, er dem Sklaven 479 zuruft *κλεῖε πηκτὰ δωμάτων*, was weit mehr auf das Zumachen und Verschiessen einer Thür als auf das Zurückdrehen des Ekkyklema hinweist. Auf die Hausthür, die ohnehin nicht offen war, lassen sich die Worte nicht beziehen. — Dikaiopolis kehrt 489 nach seinem Hause zurück (vergl. 486); dieses ist also in der Stadt, die Handlung eben dort, und darum sagt Dikaiopolis, dass er (498) *ἐν Ἀθηναίοις* rede; daher heisst es 504

*αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν οὐκ Ἀθηναῖοι τ' ἄγών  
κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεσιν.*

vergl. 507 u. 508. Ferner geht eben dies auch daraus hervor, dass, als der Chor uneinig unter sich den Lamachos herbeiruft, dieser auch alsbald 572 erscheint. — 625 entfernt sich Dikaiopolis und geht in sein Haus, wie Lamachos kurz vorher in das seinige; es folgt nun die Parabase bis 718.

Nach derselben kommt Dikaiopolis aus seinem Hause und eröffnet seinen Markt. Auf die dabei gebrauchten *ὄροι ἀγορᾶς* wird 719 als auf sichtbare hingewiesen; sie mögen also aus Tauen oder Stangen bestanden haben. Dass der Ort der Handlung auch hier Athen ist, zeigt die Anrede des von links erscheinenden Megarers (729) *ἀγορὰ ἔν Ἀθάναις*, ferner die später aus Athen Auftretenden, wie namentlich der Diener des Lamachos; eben so das Verbot 722, dass Lamachos hieher nicht zu Markte kommen dürfe. Die vielen alsbald auf- und abtretenden Personen einzeln durchzugehen ist überflüssig; es ist

an sich klar, dass der Sykophantes, Nikarchos, der Herold, der Paranympchos, der zweite Bote von der rechten Seitenthür, der Megarer, der Boiotier, der Landmann von der linken Seitenthür her auftreten. — Als der von rechts her erschienene Herold 1000 das Choenfest ausgerufen hat, wird 1003 Dikaiopolis sichtbar, eifrig mit den Zurüstungen zu einem leckern Mahle beschäftigt; und da er 1007 sagt *γέρε τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἵν' ἀναπείρω τὰς κίχλας*, und er selbst dabei thätig sein will, da es 1014 heisst *τὸ πῦρ ὑποσκάλευε* (vergl. 1039, 1043, 1047), so muss er nicht nur nahe am Hause sein, sondern er scheint in der *αὐλή* des Hauses zu sein, wo er durch Hülfe des Ekkyklema sich in den Stand gesetzt sieht, an einem mit Braten und Speisen bedeckten Küchentische alles zum Mahle vorzubereiten. Das Ekkyklema dürfte hier keine unpassende Ironie auf diese in der Tragödie nicht selten ohne Noth angewendete Maschine sein. —

Lamachos, der 1097 aus seinem Hause tritt, geht (denn der zweite Bote entfernt sich unvermerkt) 1141 nach links, zugleich auch Dikaiopolis, aber nach rechts hin ab. Ein Diener meldet 1173 die Verwundung des Lamachos, er kommt also von links; und von eben daher wird auch 1190 Lamachos herbeigetragen. 1198 kommt Dikaiopolis von rechts; Lamachos lässt sich 1226 nach rechts hin zum Arzte bringen, Dikaiopolis hingegen geht 1231 zum *βασιλεὺς* (*τῆς ἀμύλλης τοῦ χοός*, wie die Scholien zu 1224 richtig sagen), also nach rechts hin ab, und der Chor, der von ihm aufgefordert worden ist, ihm zu folgen, zieht, wie es scheint, durch die Parodos ihm nach. Denn wenn er über die Bühne hin zöge, müsste ein längerer Chorgesang das Stück beschliessen.

### *Ἰ π π ε ῖ ς.*

In diesem Stücke walten rücksichtlich der Objecte, welche die Scenerie zeigte, wie rücksichtlich der Dauer der Scenerie mancherlei Zweifel ob. Die Ansicht Seeger's ist folgende (p. 272): „Das Stück spielt Anfangs vor dem Hause des Demos, um die Mitte des Stücks auf der Pnyx, die durch ein Paar steinerne Bänke vorgestellt wurde, von wo aus gegen das Ende hin dem Publicum eine Prachtszene (durch das Encyklema, oder durch Wegnahme einer Bretterwand) gezeigt wurde: der verjüngte Demos in altherkömmlichem Festtagskleid auf seinem Thron oder Feldstuhl.“ Und diese Ansicht scheint auch, so weit sich

aus Geppert (pag. 161 Note 1) ersehen lässt, Bode zu haben. Ich meine hingegen zuvörderst, dass die erste Scenerie in dem bei weitem grössten Theile des Stückes dieselbe bleibt; denn die anfangs vor dem Hause des Demos, später auf der Pnyx sich entwickelnde Handlung bedingt durchaus keine Veränderung in der Scenerie. Man erblickte von Anfang an die Wohnung des Demos und die Pnyx, die durch Steinbänke charakterisirt war; der Demos wohnt neben der Pnyx, wo sich seine Thätigkeit konzentriert, und wohin ihn seine Geschäfte alle Tage rufen. Lag nun das Haus des Demos vor der rechten Nebenthür, so ist vollständig Platz für die Pnyx da; sie nahm den Raum zur Linken ein; an der rechten Seite der Bühne hingegen befand sich der Weg nach dem Buleuterion und nach Athen überhaupt. Die linke Seitenthür führte nach dem Thore hin und der Fremde. Es wurden also, wenn die Mittelthür und die linke Nebenthür Zugänge zur Pnyx bezeichneten, sämtliche Thüren bei der Darstellung verwendet. — Aber nicht nur möglich war es, die erste Scenerie bis 1326 zu behalten; es konnte auch um 756 eine Aenderung derselben nicht eintreten. Es folgt dort kein Chorgesang, die Schauspieler verlassen die Skene nicht, und darum wie auch um deswillen, weil die Scholien von einer dort vorgenommenen Veränderung der Scenerie nichts wissen, kann eine solche an dieser Stelle nicht eintreten. Die eben angeführten Gründe, also namentlich der Umstand, dass das Theater nicht leer wird, hindern aber auch schlechterdings, dass bei 1326 eine neue Scenerie zum Vorschein kommt. Ferner kann der Demos mit dem Wursthändler nur von dem Orte her wieder erscheinen, wohin er sich von der Bühne begeben hat. Beide sind in das Haus des Demos gegangen; nur aus ihm, nicht aus den Propyläen können sie wieder sichtbar werden. Wenn 1326 von einem Knarren der Propyläenthore die Rede ist, so ist dies eine den tragischen Bombast verspottende Redensart, die, wie der Zusammenhang lehrt, sich hier nur auf das zum Hause des Demos führende Thor bezieht. Als ein hochgefeierter Mann zieht der Demos aus seinem Zauberpalast, wie der gepriesene Held von der Akropolis aus. Das Enkyklema oder das Wegnehmen der Bretterwand ist hier also in keiner Weise anwendbar, und die anfängliche Scenerie bleibt ohne Veränderung das ganze Stück hindurch. — Ein besonderes Haus für die Sklaven neben dem des Demos anzunehmen, wird durch keine Andeutung im Stücke befürwortet.



Geppert (p. 160) ist der Ansicht, dass der Ort der Handlung die Agora sei, wo der Demos sich täglich herumgetrieben habe; denn nur dahin, nicht in die Pnyx werde der Wursthändler gekommen sein; auch gehe aus 750 ff. augenscheinlich hervor, dass die Skene nicht auf der Pnyx sei. — Aber aus 750 ff. ersieht man nichts weiter, als dass der Demos nicht in der Pnyx ist; er will erst hingehen. Dass aber die Pnyx nicht sichtbar, kein Theil der Scenerie ist, folgt daraus nicht; vielmehr zeigt die alsbald folgende Scene, dass sie in der That gesehen werden musste; denn der Schauplatz der Handlung ist hier die Pnyx, und doch ist es nicht möglich, dass nach 750 eine Scenenänderung eintreten konnte. Das erste Bedenken Geppert's erledigt sich auch leicht: der Wursthändler geht dahin zum Verkaufe, wo er auf Erlös hoffen darf, also dahin, wo der Demos ist. Mag der Händler zu dem Zwecke früher auf die Agora gegangen sein; hier wo der Dichter das Haus des Demos in der Nähe der Pnyx ansetzt, ist es natürlich, dass auch der Wursthändler an diesem Orte sich einfindet. Wenn ferner Geppert (p. 159) noch aus 1322 und 1325 einen Beweis dafür, dass man zuletzt die Akropolis als Haupttheil der Scenerie anzusehen habe, hernimmt, so bin ich bestimmt anderer Ansicht. Der Demos ist vorher mit dem Wursthändler in sein Haus abgegangen; nur aus seinem Hause, nicht aus der Burg her kann er demnach später auftreten. Der Wortschwall des Wursthändlers, der 1326 auf die Thür zum Hause des Demos als auf Propyläen aufmerksam macht, ist dem Charakter des Menschen wohl angemessen. Er muss seine Wirksamkeit und seine wunderthätige Kraft den Leuten bei jeder Gelegenheit anpreisen, er thut es auch hier. Das alte Athen 1323 ist also nicht die Akropolis Athens, sondern der in seiner Wohnung zu einem ächten alten Athener umgewandelte Demos, der, wo er auch wohnt, durch sein Wesen auch Athen zu einem Altathen umzaubert. — Dass die von Geppert p. 95 auf Grund von 163 ff. vorausgesetzte Aussicht auf die Häfen Athens und den Saronischen Meerbusen, auf das östliche Karien u. dergl. m. im Theater zu Athen nicht stattfand, daran ist nicht zu zweifeln, denn es sind dies zum Theil Gegenden, die ein mit Fernglas bewaffnetes Auge von jedem beliebigen Punkte Attika's nicht erreichen kann; geschweige denn dass die genannten Gegenden für die Zuschauer im Theater zu Athen wirklich sichtbar gewesen wären. Aber eben daraus, dass Gegenden, die nicht sichtbar sein konnten, mit anderen, die allerdings von



Athen aus erblickt werden konnten, hier zusammen genannt sind, ersieht man, dass es dem Dichter auf die wirkliche Aussicht nicht ankam, und dass, was man von Fernsicht im Theater hatte, lediglich durch Malerei hergestellt war.

Kanngiesser (p. 178), der die Pnyx mit dem Hause des Demos richtig als Schauplatz der Handlung bezeichnet, glaubt, dass die Orchestra die Pnyx dargestellt habe, und dass dort auch der Rednerstuhl zu sehen gewesen sei, ferner an der einen Seite des Platzes die Bildsäule des Poseidon, an der anderen die der Athena gestanden habe. Dies ist nicht richtig, weil der Demos nicht in die Orchestra kann hinabgestiegen sein.

Eine Aenderung der Scenerie tritt nicht ein; Thüren werden fünf gebraucht.

Aus der rechten Nebenthür treten im Anfange zwei Sklaven des Demos (Nikias und Demosthenes); Nikias geht 154 wieder hinein; dagegen erscheint von da 235 Kleon, 728 der Demos. Wahrscheinlich durch diese Thür entfernt sich Kleon 972, um Orakel zu holen, kommt zurück 997 und wird 1252\*) (vergl. 1407) wieder hineingebracht. In dasselbe Haus geht 1262 der Wursthändler und der Demos; 1316 kommt der Wursthändler, 1331 der Demos mit Kleon heraus. — Durch die rechte Seitenthür, die auf das Buleuterion und Athen hinausgeht, geht 482 Kleon (vergl. 485), 497 der Wursthändler ab; von daher erscheint 611 der Wursthändler, 691 Kleon; beide gehen dahin abermals ab 1111, und kommen von da 1151. — Der Chor tritt 242 durch die rechte Parodos ein und schwenkt zum rechten Flügel d. h. zur linken Seite des Logeion herum. — Durch die linke Nebenthür, wie auch wohl durch andere mehr nach rechts hin liegende Thüren kommt das Volk zur Pnyx (vergl. 173). — Vom Thore, also von links her erscheint der Wursthändler 146 (*προσέρχεται πρὸς ἀγοράν*; vergl. 1247), und zwar müsste man ihn durch die linke Seitenthür eintreten lassen, wenn nicht 149 zu ihm gesagt würde: *ἀνάβαινε σωτὴρ τῇ πόλει*, wozu ein Scholion bemerkt: *ἵνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου*

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\*) 1249 *κυλίνδετ' εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα* richtig im Scholion erklärt durch *κομίζετέ με εἴσω*. Wie Kleon gleich einem tragischen Helden zusammengesunken ist, so spricht er auch weiter; an eine Maschinerie ist hier also nicht zu denken, wie O. Müller kleine Schriften I. p. 537 thut, der meint, dass Kleon und der Wursthändler als zwei Garköche vermittle zwei bei verschiedenen Thüren angebrachten Ekkyklemata in ihren Buden sitzend auf die Bühne kommen.

ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον ἀναβῆ. Der Scholiast lässt ihn also durch die linke Parodos erscheinen, und aus der Orchestra auf das Logeion steigen. Nun sind zwar die alten Erklärer nicht durchgängig dieser Ansicht. Denn ein anderer fährt fort: διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς παρόδου; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον· λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἀναβαίνειν ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον εἰσιέναι· ὃ καὶ πρόσκειται· λέγεται γὰρ καταβαίνειν τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους· — — wozu noch die alte Glosse kommt ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ\*) δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαινε. Es war also ein Theil der alten Erklärer geneigt, das beim Auftreten auf der Rednerbühne solenne ἀναβαίνειν auch auf das Theater zu beziehen, und es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass der Wursthändler sehr wohl durch die linke Seitenthür auftreten konnte. Da aber ἀναβαίνειν für das blosse Auftreten auf der Bühne im Drama sich nicht belegen lässt, da καταβαίνειν in den Wespen entschieden gesagt wird, um das Hinabsteigen von der Bühne in die Orchestra zu bezeichnen, so glaube ich in der That, dass der Dichter den Wursthändler hier durch die Orchestra zur Bühne hinaufsteigen lässt. Er soll als ein ganz ausserordentlicher Mann auf ausserordentlichem Wege eintreten, gleich einem zu Wagen siegreich einziehenden Könige, als der erste Mann seiner Zeit, und die hohen Handwerks- und Verkaufsutensilien, mit denen er bepackt war, motivirten auch äusserlich, warum er auf der grossen Strasse neben dem Logeion erschien. Der komische Effect war so ohne Zweifel ein unendlich grösserer, als wenn er auf dem gewöhnlichen Wege sich sehen liess. Nachdem er 972 wahrscheinlich durch die rechte Seitenthür, die auch zum Thore führte, sich entfernt hat, kommt er 997 von da zurück; dagegen wird Kleon 1407 dorthin fortgebracht\*\*).

Das Stück schliesst, indem der Demos mit dem Wursthändler in sein Haus\*\*\*) geht, und Kleon (1406) fortgebracht wird. Auffallend ist, dass keine Andeutung sich vorfindet, wohin der Chor sich begiebt. Man hat daher mit Recht vermuthet, dass das Stück am Ende nicht vollständig ist.

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\*) In demselben Sinne, in dem es zu 482 heisst: τὸ μὲν Κλέωνος τῆς θυμέλης ὑπεξῆλθε πρόσωπον; und anderwärts in den Scholien nicht selten in demselben Sinne.

\*\*) 1407 ἐκφερέτω Schol. αἰρόμενος ἐκφέρεται ὁ Κλέων. — Demosthenes verliert sich nach 155 von der Bühne (vergl. Beer p. 26 ff.).

\*\*\*) Der Demos ladet zwar den Wursthändler in's Prytaneion ein, aber er geht wohl nicht unmittelbar (1404) dahin ab.

"Ο ρ υ ι θ ε ς.

Der Ort der Handlung ist ein waldiger und bebuschter Felsabhang, als welchen sich die Hinterwand der Skene darstellt (54, 56, 20, 202), und zwar so hoch als das Skenengebäude ist (952). Ob aber die obersten Theile desselben mit Wolken umzogen waren, wie Geppert aus 818 schliesst, ist sehr unsicher. Bis in die Wolkenregion soll der Abhang freilich reichen, aber eine weitere Hindeutung auf die Wolken fehlt; und so könnte dies leicht zu den Dingen gehören, die man sich vorstellen sollte, aber nicht sah. Da Menschen den Felsabhang auf der Skene hinansteigen, so müssen Treppen und Stufen, die durch Gebüsch und Felsen dem Anblicke der Zuschauer entzogen waren, da gewesen sein. Die Wohnung des Wiedehopfs, hoch im Gebüsche liegend, hat sich daher sicher auf einem der längs der Bühne vorstehenden Balcone befunden; ja es sind sogar Räume in der Höhe vor der Skene vorhanden gewesen, die so gross waren, dass mehrere Menschen wie in einem Lager oder Waffenplatze (389) in ihnen herumgehen konnten; wozu freilich auch kein übergrosser Raum braucht hergerichtet worden zu sein. Da Gebäude fehlen, so kann nur von Zugängen die Rede sein, und die angegebene Scenerie muss sich über die ganze Bühne hin erstreckt haben. Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt 1565 ein, worüber später das Nöthige gesagt werden soll. Zugänge haben sich ausser an der Mittelthür, die zur Wohnung des Wiedehopfes führte, noch an der linken Seitenthür, wo der Weg zur Erde hin war, an der linken Nebenthür, wo die Wohnung der Prokne gewesen zu sein scheint 666, und an der rechten Nebenthür, durch welche man zu der Stadt der Vögel gelangte, befunden; endlich auch einer an der rechten Seitenthür, eben sowohl wegen des von rechts her durch die Parodos auftretenden Chores, wie um einiger anderer Vögel willen, die von daher erscheinen; also fünf Zugänge. Veränderungen treten in der Scenerie bis 1565 nicht ein.

Von der linken Seitenthür her eintretend kommen zwei Athener, von einigen Sklaven 656 begleitet, mit zwei Vögeln in den Händen, und steigen unter Stolpern den felsigen Abhang hinan. Sie gelangen 56 zu der Wohnung des Wiedehopfs, und hier erscheint 60 Trochilos, zwischen dem Gebüsch (92, 265) hervorkommend, der 84 sich entfernt, den Wiedehopf zu rufen.

Der Wiedehopf erscheint 92 und geht nach 206 in das Gebüsch an der Mittelthür zurück, und lässt von da aus seinen Aufruf an die Vögel erschallen. Auf sein Rufen erscheint von 267 an der Chor der Vögel, und zwar zuerst vier vereinzelt auf der Bühne, danach der übrige Chor der Vögel in grossem Schwarme (294) in der Orchestra von rechts als der Heimath her. Dass die letzteren durch die Parodos kommen, daran lässt 296\*) nicht zweifeln. Daraus wird aber auch klar, von woher die vier zuerst erschienenen Vögel gekommen sind; sie erscheinen nicht in der Orchestra, nicht durch die Parodos. Wäre dem so, so würde die Zahl des komischen Chores gerade um vier überschritten\*\*); sie verschwinden aber auch sehr bald so, dass ihrer hinfert nicht weiter gedacht wird\*\*\*). Sie sind also kein integrierender Theil des Chores, und erscheinen daher auch abgesondert von demselben. Wenn der Chor übrigens ohne sein gewöhnliches Eintrittslied in der Orchestra erscheint, so ist dies durch das zerstreute Auftreten der Vögel hinlänglich motivirt†) (vergl. Geppert p. 251). — Der von dem Chor der Vögel 343 ff. beabsichtigte Angriff auf die Menschen geht nicht alsbald in Erfüllung; erst um 364 wird ein wirkliches Vordringen der Vögel bemerkbar, und zwar müssen sie dabei, wenn nicht sämmtlich, doch zum grossen Theile auf die Bühne steigen. Da aber der Wiedehopf alsbald begütigend sich dazwischen legt, so kommen sie den Menschen nicht eigentlich zu nahe, und treten 400 ihren Rückzug nach der Orchestra wieder an. Die nach 666 aus dem Gebüsch kommende Prokne erscheint wohl an der linken Nebenthür, und sie wie alle anderen, die auf der Bühne befindlich sind, gehen 675 hinein zum Epops††).

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\*) *Οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἔτ' ἔσθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπομένων τὴν εἴσοδον*; auch der Scholiast erklärt *εἴσοδος* durch *πάροδος*.

\*\*\*) Die 267, 274, 279, 287, 297, 298, 299, 301, 302—304 genannten machen zusammen 28.

\*\*\*) Als besonders prächtig ausstaffirt werden die vier ersten den Zuschauern besonders vorgeführt. Auch der Scholiast zu 297 schliesst sie aus dem Chore aus; und sie werden also wohl von den Seitenthüren her namentlich der rechten erscheinen, und sich durch sie, vielleicht als die vielen Vögel einstürmen, verlieren. Sie können also keine Musikanten sein, wie Wieseler meint.

†) Warum Seeger den Phoinikopteros durch die linke Parodos auftreten lässt, während der andere Chor von rechts her erscheinen soll, begreife ich nicht.

††) Seeger hält die Nachtigall für eine Flötenbläserin; und beachtens-

Nach dem Ende der Parabase 800 kommen die zwei Athener Peisthetairos und Euelpides aus der Wohnung des Wiedehopfes heraus, und letzterer geht 847 nach Nephelokokkygia, also durch die rechte Nebenthür ab, Peisthetairos hingegen 850 in die Mittelthür, einen Priester zu holen, mit dem er dann auch 859 (vergl. die Schol. h. l.) zurückkommt. Fragt man, wie der Priester zu den Vögeln kommt, so geschieht es wohl von der Voraussetzung aus, dass diese Sorte Menschen sich überall vorfindet. 894 geht er, da er nicht fortgejagt wird, wohl in dieselbe Thür hinein, durch die er gekommen ist. Darauf treten nach einander ein 904 ein Dichter, der 955, ein Chresmologos 959, der 990, Meton 992, der 1019, 1021 ein Episkopos, der 1032 abgeht, 1035 ein Psephismatopoles, zu dem der Episkopos sich 1046 von neuem einfindet; und letzterer geht 1055 ab, nachdem jener schon 1047 die Bühne verlassen hat. Alle diese kommen von der Erde her, und kommen und gehen also durch die linke Seitenthür. Nachdem endlich 1057 Peisthetairos in das Haus des Epops gegangen ist, und die Bühne leer geworden ist, folgt wieder eine Parabase von 1058 — 1157 (vergl. die Scholien zu 1058).

Nach der Parabase tritt Peisthetairos aus der Mittelthür, und von Nephelokokkygia, also von der rechten Nebenthür her, kommt 1121 der erste Bote (*τρέχει*), der wohl 1163 durch die Mittelthür sich entfernt. Ihm folgt von der rechten Nebenthür her 1170 ein zweiter (*εἰσθελῖ*); und auch dieser verliert sich 1185, als Peisthetairos und der Chor sich zum Kampfe bereit machen. Gleich darauf aber erscheint 1198 Iris von oben herabfliegend (vergl. Schol. zu 1197, also von rechts, von über der Nebenthür her); ihr Gewand ist vom Winde aufgebauscht (sie muss also an einem Seile sehr schnell herabgelassen werden; vergl. 1203 mit den Schol.), und sie geht 1259 durch die linke Seitenthür weiter zu den Menschen\*). 1271 kommt durch die linke Seitenthür der als Herold zu den Menschen abgesendete (1269\*\*) Vogel, der 1310 in die Mittelthür abgeht, damit

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werth ist, was der Chor 684 von ihr sagt, zumal da 737 ihrer von neuem gedacht wird, und ihr Gesang dort, wie auch Seeger angiebt, ertönt.

\*) Fortfliegen, wie Seeger meint, kann sie nicht; wie hätte das dargestellt werden sollen?

\*\*) Die Absendung und das Abgehen desselben ist den Zuschauern nicht sichtbar geworden; ein im antiken Drama äusserst seltener Fall, der aber in unserem Stücke noch einmal wiederkehrt (vergl. 1709).

Sklaven Federn von da mit Flügeln u. s. w. herausbringen. Der 1337 erscheinende Patraloias entflieht 1371, der 1372 auftretende Kinesias 1409, der 1410 zum Vorschein kommende Sykophantes 1468, und hierauf geht Peisthetairos mit den Sklaven 1469 (vergl. die Scholien) durch die Mittelthür ab. Die kurz vorher erwähnten Menschen müssen sämmtlich von der linken Seitenthür her kommen und durch sie sich entfernen, wobei freilich auffällig ist, dass fast in demselben Momente, wo der eine sich entfernt, der andere auf demselben Wege kommend da ist. Die Sache wird inzwischen etwas weniger auffallend, wenn man daran denkt, dass die Wege von der linken Seitenthür aus zur Erde je nach den verschiedenen Localitäten der Erde, wohin sie führen, sich sehr vervielfachen und theilen.

1494, nachdem Peisthetairos wieder zum Vorschein gekommen ist, erscheint verstohlen und vermummt aus dem Himmel kommend Prometheus. Da sein Ankommen von der Burg der Vögel her nicht angekündigt ist, so ist es möglich, dass er nicht von der rechten Nebenthür, sondern von der linken Nebenthür herkommt. Er entfernt sich 1552 auf dem Wege, auf dem er gekommen ist; und zugleich mit ihm verlässt auch Peisthetairos die Bühne, und zwar durch die Mittelthür.

Die Bühne ist jetzt leer, und während der Chor ein Spottlied singt, welches auf die dargestellte Handlung keine Beziehung nimmt, erfolgt zwischen 1553—1564 die Aenderung der Scenerie. Auch in der darauf folgenden Scene greift der Chor nicht in die Handlung ein, sondern singt nach dem Ende derselben 1694—1705 ein ähnliches Spottlied wie das erste. Das am meisten Auffallende ist aber freilich die Umänderung der Scenerie, während der Chor in der Orchestra anwesend ist, wozu sich ein Analogon nicht beibringen lässt. Dennoch kann an der Umänderung selbst nicht gezweifelt werden, auch wenn man nur darauf sieht, wie verschieden der Schauplatz des zweiten Actes von dem des ersten ist. Die Handlung geht nämlich nach Nephelokokkygia über, von wo früher nur Boten kamen, und wohin Boten gingen, indem sie von der Bühne sich entfernten (vergl. 1566). Ueber das Aussehen der Vögelstadt selbst fehlen bestimmte Andeutungen im Stücke wie in den Scholien; aber sicher ist als Mittelstück der Scenerie eine vorn offene Küche anzusehen, in der Peisthetairos überaus thätig ist. Da erblickt man ihn, von mehreren Köchen in seiner Küchenarbeit unterstützt, gleich beim Wegziehen des frühern Parapetasma, und die Gruppe war also beim Erscheinen der zweiten Scenerie



von Anfang an eben so da, wie die Gruppen im Anfange des zweiten Actes des Aias und der Eumeniden. In der Küche treffen den Peisthetairos die von den Göttern kommenden Gesandten 1565, die, wie aus 1567 zu schliessen ist, zu Fuss aus der Fremde, also von der linken Seitenthür her kommen. 1693 entfernen sich sämmtliche auf der Bühne befindliche Personen; sie gehen in die Küche, und von da in das Haus hinein. Nach dem hierauf folgenden Chorliede erscheint 1706 ein Bote, der meldet, dass Peisthetairos (unsichtbar den Zuschauern, was gegen sonstige Observanz ist) nach dem Himmel gegangen ist. Aus ihm schwebt er auch 1718 als ein neuer Zeus mit Zeus' Blitzen in den Händen und in prachtvoller Kleidung mit Basileia herab, und zwar ziemlich langsam, wie der nicht kurze Hymenaios zeigt, der während des Herabschwebens gesungen wird. 1759 steigt Peisthetairos mit Basileia von der Schwebemaschine ab, beide gehen 1762 in das Haus, und der Chor wird 1755 zur Hochzeitsfeier eingeladen. Dennoch ruft der Chor den Neuvermählten nur Glück zu und entfernt sich hierauf. Es scheint demnach, dass er für jetzt nicht die Bühne besteigt, sondern durch die rechte Parodos fort geht. Sicher wird er aber nicht verfehlen, der Einladung Folge zu leisten, nachdem er auch Hochzeitsschmuck angelegt hat. Denn an ein Ballet, wie Seeger es vor den Schlussworten des Chores annimmt, ist nicht zu denken. Peisthetairos kann es nicht mit Basileia auf der Bühne tanzen; und fiel es dem Chore zu, so müsste der Text noch vorhanden sein. Veränderungen in der Scenerie kommen, wie die vorstehenden Bemerkungen zeigen, im zweiten Acte nicht vor; von Thüren werden nur zwei, die linke Seitenthür und die Mittelthür, gebraucht.

Geppert (pag. 159) ist der Ansicht, dass im ganzen Stücke nur eine Scenerie ist, theilt aber nicht mit, wie er sich dieselbe von 1566 an beschaffen denkt. — Sehr eigenthümlich sind die Vorstellungen Genelli's (pag. 256, Anm. 11). Er denkt sich eine buschige Wildniss, in der Epops residirt, und zwar in der Art, dass er sagt: „Orchestra und Logeion, alles geht anfänglich für Pisthetairos und Euelpides bergan.“ Links von den Zuschauern soll ein hoher Fels auf der Scene sein, von dem die schwerbewaffneten Vögel herabkommen. Genelli denkt ferner, dass, wenn Gebüsch auch theilweise auf den Coulissen gemalt war, doch vor demselben noch eine Reihe wirklicher Baum- und Strauchzweige aufgestellt war. Vor dem Gebüsche der Vögel habe sich eine Mauer hingezogen, in deren Mitte



sich eine Thür befunden habe, und an dem rechten Ende sei eine offene Küche vorgebaut gewesen, versehen mit den nöthigen Kochgeräthen. Endlich soll vor der Skenenmauer ein Altar, auf dem Peisthetairos geopfert habe, sich befunden haben. Die so eben beschriebene Residenz aber habe in der berühmten Nephelokokkygia d. h. mitten in Athen gelegen. — Ich bemerke hierzu nur, dass man von Nephelokokkygia in dem ersten Acte nichts sieht und sehen kann, weil Boten, die von dorthier kommen, von aussen her erscheinen. Der hohe Felsen ist im Stücke nicht bezeichnet; die Oberfläche der Orchestra kann nicht geneigt sein; die natürlichen Gebüsche sind durchaus überflüssig und entstellen die Scenerie; von der Mauer in der Nähe der Wohnung des Epops weiss das Stück nichts. Endlich kann die Burg der Vögel nicht den Anblick zeigen, den Athen irgendwo hat, falls dies etwa die Ansicht Genelli's sein soll. Kanngiesser endlich spricht sich über unser Stück so aus (pag. 166): „In den Vögeln wird die Oberbühne gebraucht, ein Luftschloss aufzurichten (838), um den Himmel gegen die Götter zu verbauen. Dahin fliegt in Vogelgestalt Euelpides (l. l.), daher kommen Boten (1120, 1173). Von der oberen Kuppel des Proskeniums, die auch hier den Olymp vorstellt, lässt sich Iris herab, entgeht der Wache in der Vogelburg (1174), fliegt vorbei und durch die Luft herab auf die Unterbühne (1200). Eben daher lässt sich auch Peisthetäros herab, als er durch Prometheus' Rath und Herkules' Abtrünnigkeit die Basiläa vom Himmel geholt hat. — Die Scene der Oberbühne bildet hier eine Stadtmauer, die sich vor den Augen der Zuschauer erhebt, während Vogelgestalten daneben als Erbauer beschäftigt sind.“ — In dieser Exposition ist mir zuvörderst nicht klar geworden, wo die Wohnung des Epops zu denken ist, ob oben oder unten. Dass eine Stadtmauer den Zuschauern sichtbar ist und Vögel an ihr arbeiten, deutet der Dichter nicht an. Wenn es sichtbar war, welchen Weg Iris vom Himmel annahm, so ist der Botenbericht überflüssig. Die Annahme einer Oberbühne ist durchaus entbehrlich u. a. m.

Σ φ ῆ κ ε ς.

Die Scenerie bleibt durch das ganze Stück dieselbe, und ist, wie mir scheint, von Geppert pag. 159 und Seeger Bd. II. pag. 34 im Ganzen richtig bestimmt worden. Die Handlung erfordert nur die Darstellung eines einzigen Hauses, und dieses

wird in der Mitte der Skene gelegen haben. Da es in der Stadt sich befindet, und die Schauspieler gegen Ende zu einem in der Stadt zu haltenden Schmause abziehen, so ist nach rechts hinter die Lage des Hauses näher bestimmende Stadttheil gewiss sichtbar gewesen. Die linke Seite der Bühne wird für die Handlung nicht in Anspruch genommen, und die dort befindliche Decoration ist demnach lediglich von der Lage, die dem Hauptgebäude in der Stadt gegeben worden ist, abhängig. Das Hauptgebäude selbst muss ein ziemlich ärmliches Aussehen gehabt haben; denn Philokleon stösst ein Loch durch die Wand 206 (vergl. 128); er ist oben im Schornstein, und alsbald auch an der Hausthür (zwischen 148 und 152) und gleich darauf im Stalle; die Ausdehnung des Hauses nach Höhe und Breite kann also nur gering gewesen sein. Das Dach des Hauses war flach 68, 148; über diesem ragte der Rauchfang hervor, so dass man sehen konnte, wie Philokleon 144 aus demselben herausssteigen wollte. Fenster nach der Skene hin (ὀπί 318) sind wenigstens zwei gewesen, eines, durch welches der Närrische heraustritt, und ein anderes, durch welches Philokleon sieht. Thüren zählt man drei, die eine, die in das Haus selbst führte, eine zweite, die in den an das Haus anstossenden und mit ihm in Zusammenhang stehenden Stall ging 178, 182 (es scheint dies die rechte Nebenthür zu sein), und eine dritte, die nicht in das Haus führte, sondern in den Hofraum 138 und 169, der demnach dem Hause zur Seite, wie der Stall, bis vorn an die Strasse reichte. Vor dem Hause und zwar neben dessen πρόπύλαιον befand sich der Apollon Agyieus (389 und 875) vielleicht nur als Gemälde am παραπέτασμα, wenigstens ist nicht mehr erforderlich; Geppert und Seeger sprechen von ihm freilich als von einer wirklichen Statue. Nicht nur die Fenster, sondern auch das ganze Haus war mit Netzen umhangen (131 und die Scholien zu 164, 367 ff.). Eine Statue der Artemis wird um des Gebetes (368) willen nicht nöthig, wie Kanngiesser meint; eben so wenig ein Hekateion, welches Geppert geneigt ist anzunehmen. Wie viele dergleichen auch in Athen sein mochten, die Handlung verlangt, und das Stück indicirt keines. Eben darum möchte ich auch dem Hause nicht mit Bestimmtheit Erker beilegen, wenn sie auch sonst in Athen mögen häufig gewesen sein. Denn Aristophanes braucht selbst dergleichen gestaltete Häuser in den Ekklesiazusai. Wahrscheinlich genug ist es freilich, dass auch hier dergleichen Vorbaue nicht gefehlt haben.

Veränderungen der Scenerie treten im Stücke nicht ein; Thüren werden vier gebraucht, nämlich ausser den drei genannten noch ein Zugang durch die rechte Seitenthür nach und in die Stadt.

Beim Beginne des Stückes liegen zwei Sklaven (denn es ist früh Morgens 2, 9) auf Wacht vor dem Hause und schlafen. Sie können nur durch's Ekkyklema an ihren Ort gelangt sein. 136 ruft Bdelykleon den Sklaven zu aufzupassen, heisst den einen um das Haus herumgehen, den andern sich gegen die Thür stemmen (142, 152). Bdelykleon selbst ist auf dem Dache (vergl. 68), und hält dort den Vater zurück 148, der durch den Schornstein entweichen will, indem er den letzteren zudeckt. Als Philokleon im Hause an der Hausthür poltert, muss natürlich der eine Sklave an die vordere Hausthür, der andere durch die Hofthür an die nach hinten aus dem Hause führende Thür eilen; und durch die Hofthür tritt auch der Sohn des Alten 168 heraus. 178 bringt der eine Sklave durch die Stallthür einen Esel auf die Bühne, unter dessen Bauche Philokleon hängt, der aus dem Hause sich in den Stall begeben hat. Weiter wird Philokleon in's Haus zurückgedrängt, wird aber 206 wieder sichtbar, indem er unter dem Dache des Hauses ein Loch durch die Mauer stösst. Nachdem er auch von hier entfernt worden ist, und sein Sohn 227 in's Haus, (wahrscheinlich durch die Hofthür, da die Hausthür zu öffnen gefährlich scheinen konnte) zurückgegangen ist, erscheint 230 der Chor der Richter aus der Stadt her, und mit ihnen vier leuchtende Knaben (vergl. Beer pag. 49), und stellt sich vor Philokleon's Hause auf. Der vom Chore gerufene Philokleon erscheint 318, und ist eben im Begriff zu entweichen 379, 383, da ruft Bdelykleon 395 dem an der Hausthür schlafenden Xanthias, er solle aufpassen. Das Rufen geschieht wohl von einer Oberstube aus, in der Bdelykleon schläft 337, zumal da er bald darauf 402 den Vater in die Höhe zu ziehen scheint. Philokleon, der sein Vorhaben gehindert sieht, ruft 400 den Chor zu Hülfe; die schwachen Greise sind Willens 403, es zu thun, fordern einander darum 422 auf, dem Leidenden zu Hülfe zu kommen; der Sklave Xanthias aber, der sie 456 (458) vom Hause (*ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας*) fortprügeln soll, scheucht sie 460 (vergl. 484) fort. — Wo erscheint, wo verbleibt in dieser Scene der Chor? Beer (pag. 46) lässt ihn in die Orchestra einziehen, äussert sich aber nicht weiter über dessen ferneres Verbleiben; Seeger ebenso wenig, und auch die Scholien verhelfen zu keiner Sicher-

heit.\*) Mir scheint der Chor ebenfalls in der Orchestra einzutreten; da er hereinschleicht, kann es nicht auffallen, dass die Parodos fehlt. Das Gespräch der Greise mit den ihnen leuchtenden Knaben hat (man denke an die Chorscene im Rhesos) nichts Auffallendes; und da die Orchestra dem Orte der Handlung benachbart ist, so ist Philokleon's Warnung, der Chor solle leise sprechen und die schlafenden Wächter nicht aufwecken (336 ff., 371), auch unter solchen Umständen wohl angebracht. Für das Eintreten der Greise in die Orchestra, so dass sie sich in einiger Entfernung von Philokleon's Hause halten, spricht aber ganz besonders ihre übergrosse Furchtsamkeit; auf den Hülferuf Philokleon's ermuthigen sie sich 403 nicht dazu, ihm zu Hülfe zu kommen, sondern nur zu dem Entschlusse, dies thun zu wollen. Dies kann von echt komischer Wirkung gegenüber andern eben ausgesprochenen Prahlereien nur dann sein, wenn sie auch da noch in der Orchestra verbleiben. Erst 422 sind sie so weit, es auf eine Hilfsleistung ankommen zu lassen. Jetzt also erst werden sie die Bühne besteigen, werden aber bald darauf von Xanthias (456, 460) wieder in die Orchestra zurückgejagt. Der Sohn geht 798 in's Haus, kommt von da 805, Philokleon aber holt sich zwischen 833—843 die zu einer Gerichtssitzung für nöthig erachteten Schranken, und es beginnt 891 der Hundeprozess, nach dessen Beendigung 1008 alle in's Haus gehen. Nachdem so die Bühne leer geworden ist, folgt die Parabase bis 1121. Darnach kommen Vater und Sohn mit einem oder mehreren Sklaven 1251 aus dem Hause, und gehen 1264 durch die rechte Seitenthür zu einem Gelage ab. Von dorthier kommt 1292 der Sklave Xanthias, 1324 tammelnd von eben daher Philokleon, und 1364 (vergl. 1360) auch Bdelykleon. Von der rechten Seitenthür her erscheint 1396 die Bäckerfrau und geht dahin zurück 1412. Von eben dorthier erscheint ein anderer Ankläger mit einem Zeugen 1415—1441; endlich wird Philokleon von Bdelykleon in's Haus (1443) ge-

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\*) Ein jüngerer Scholiast zu 248 (*ἵνα ἡ ὀρχήστρα πληρωθῇ*) lässt sie in der Orchestra auftreten; der Venet. zu 266 (*γενόμενοι περὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φιλοκλέωνος*) und ein anderer zu 270 (*πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Φιλ. σιάντες οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ — ἄδουσι*) scheinen entgegengesetzter Ansicht zu sein. Der Rav. (zu 408 *ἀποδυσάμενοι διδόασιν τοῖς παιδίοις τὰ ἱμάτια, ἵνα ὀρχήσωνται εὐκόλως*) und ein anderer zu 415 (*ἀλλὰ μὴ κεκράγατε: ταῦτα, ἵνα ἀποδὺς ὀρχήσῃται ὁ χορὸς καὶ ἀπέλθωσιν οἱ παῖδες*) scheinen ein Verbleiben in der Orchestra anzunehmen, aber anders, als jetzt geschieht, im Text gelesen zu haben.

schleppt 1449. Nach dem Chorgesange meldet Xanthias, der 1474 aus dem Hause kommt, dass Philokleon im Hause rast; man hört letzteren 1482; 1484 kommt er heraus, und 1500, 1505 und 1508 kommen drei Jungen (1532), mit denen Philokleon um die Wette tanzen will, indem er 1514 sagt: *καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτούς*. Man könnte glauben, die Jungen wären von rechts her gekommen, und Philokleon, der etwas höher aufwärts am Hause sich befunden habe, wolle weiter hervortretend mit ihnen auf der Bühne um die Wette tanzen. Damit stimmt es aber nicht, wenn der Schlussgesang des Chores 1516 beginnt:

*φέρε νυν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ξυγχωρήσωμεν ἅπαντες,\*)*  
*ἔν' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἡμῶν πρόσθεν βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς.*

und wenn es am Schlusse heisst (1535 ff.)

*ἀλλ' ἐξάγεται, εἴ τι φιλεῖτ' ὀρχούμενοι θύραζε*  
*ὑμᾶς τάχυν τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,*  
*ὀρχούμενον δστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγῶδῶν.*

wozu der Scholiast bemerkt: *εἰσέρχεται γὰρ ὁ χορὸς ὀρχούμενος, οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἐξέρχεται*. Denn indem der Chor bei Seite tritt, ist klar, dass derselbe voraussetzt, der Tanz werde in der Orchestra vor sich gehen. Das kann der Chor aber, da Philokleon sonst nichts darüber gesagt hat, nur dann wissen, wenn die drei Jungen in die Orchestra gekommen sind, und er aus *καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτούς* den Willen des Philokleon, in die Orchestra hinabzusteigen, ersieht. Dass dies aber geschieht, sehen wir aus dem Schlusse des Stückes, wo es heisst, dass der Dichter sich etwas erlaube, was gegen alle sonstige Gewohnheit sei; es kann dies nur darin bestehen, dass Schauspieler in die Orchestra gehen und von hier mit dem Chor, offenbar nach der rechten Seite hin, sich entfernen. Sicher erscheinen demnach die drei Jungen durch die rechte Parodos in der Orchestra, und Philokleon steigt zu ihnen in die Orchestra hinab, (dem analog ist die Schlusscene in den Ekklesiazusen). Dadurch wird nun auch 1517 *ἡμῶν πρόσθεν* erklärt, und der wild nachtanzende Chor bedarf keines weiteren Schlusswortes. Tanzte dagegen Philokleon mit den Jungen auf der Bühne, so müsste der Chor, nachdem jene von der Bühne sich entfernt haben, stumm und dumm fortgehen, was seinem Charakter in keiner Weise angemessen ist.

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\*) Schol. Rav. zu 1516 *ἐπ' ὀλίγον συσταλῶμεν*.

Geppert (pag. 162) erklärt die Worte 1498 ff.

*εἴ τις τραγῳδός φησιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καλῶς  
ἐμοὶ διορχησόμενος ἐνθάδ' εἰσίστω.*

in der Weise, dass *εἰσίστω* heissen soll: der komme zu mir auf die Skene (nicht aber: in mein Haus) im Gegensatz zur Orchestra, und er hält dafür, dass die Kinder des Karkinos zu ihm auf die Bühne steigen und dort tanzen. Aber *εἰσιέναι* wird nie gesagt, um anzuzeigen, dass man aus der Orchestra auf die Bühne kommen soll\*). Dagegen ist es der eigentliche Ausdruck für den in seine Wohnung gehenden Schauspieler. Diese Bedeutung kann dem Worte aber hier nicht gegeben werden, da Philokleon eben erst aus dem Hause gekommen ist, und zwar um draussen zu lärmern und zu tanzen. Ausserdem aber wird *εἰσιέναι* (vergl. das oben angeführte Scholion zu 1535) auch von dem Schauspieler gesagt, der von aussen her im Theater, und namentlich auf der Bühne erscheint; und diese Bedeutung ist es, die man hier festhalten muss. Unter den Greisen des Chores kann Philokleon keinen Tragöden erwarten; er kann also seine Aufforderung auch nicht an den Chor, wie Geppert meint, ergehen lassen, sondern an andere sonstige Tragödiendichter. In der That kommen auch die sich Meldenden von aussen her; der Chor dagegen kommt dem Wunsche des Philokleon nicht nach; er tritt bei Seite, und erst durch das Tanzen der Uebrigen ermuthigt entfernt er sich ebenfalls tanzend.

### E k k l e s i a z u s a i.

Die Handlung entwickelt sich in einer Strasse oder an einem Platze von Athen, und die Scenerie stellt, wie es scheint, eine Reihe Häuser mit einem oder mehreren Eingängen zu Seitenstrassen vor. Mit Bestimmtheit lässt sich freilich nur sagen, dass das Haus der Hauptheldin Praxagora vor der Mittelthür der Skene sich befindet, und neben demselben andere Häuser stehen, aus denen die Frauen auftreten, die nicht durch Statisten dargestellt wurden. Da aber die Untersuchung in Betreff der auf der Bühne durch Schauspieler dargestellten Personen noch nicht zu ganz festen Resultaten gelangt zu sein scheint\*\*), so lässt sich nicht angeben, welche von den Freun-

\*) Die aus der Eirene von Geppert angeführte Stelle beweist es nicht.

\*\*) Vergl. Bergk's Ausg. des Aristophanes II. pag. XIV. und Enger in Jahn's neuen Jahrb. Bd. 68, H. 3, pag. 257.



dinnen der Praxagora aus der rechten, welche hingegen aus der linken Nebenthür kommt, und eben darum lässt es sich auch von den Männern dieser Frauen nicht sagen\*). Zwei Thüren scheinen indess für die genannten Personen hinreichend zu sein. An der rechten Seitenthür führt der Weg zur Pnyx; die linke Seitenthür ist vielleicht gar nicht gebraucht worden. Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt bis 876 nicht ein. Alsdann geschieht ein Scenenwechsel, über den später das Nöthige gesagt werden soll.

Der Chor erscheint anfangs nicht in der Orchestra, sondern auf dem Logeion, wie auch Beer anzunehmen scheint, wenn er pag. 103 von Frauen in dieser Scene spricht, welche später den Chor bilden. Seeger, Geppert und Enger lassen dagegen den Chor in der Orchestra auftreten. Letzterer sagt nämlich (Jahn's neue Jahrb. Bd. 68, H. 3, pag. 257): „nach dem Monologe der Praxagora tritt der Chor in Reih und Glied durch die Parodos ein, und stellt sich auf der Orchestra auf.“ Demnächst soll die Chorführerin 30 und 31 sprechen, Praxagora den Chor mit *ἐγὼ δὲ γ' ὑμᾶς προσδοκῶς ἐγρηγόρειν* anreden, und hierauf sollen sich andere Frauen und zwar auf der Bühne einfinden. — Aber mag der Chor in geschlossenen Reihen, wie Enger will, oder vereinzelt, wie Geppert pag. 251 glaubt, in die Orchestra einziehen, unerklärt bleibt bei dieser Annahme das Fehlen der Parodos. Am meisten fällt es zwar auf bei Enger's Ansicht, der zufolge der Chor vollständig geordnet eintritt; aber auch wenn Geppert's Annahme vorgezogen wird, fällt es auf, dass die Parodos nicht später nachgeholt wird. Dem Auftreten des Chores in der Orchestra steht ferner entgegen, dass der Chor sich in der Orchestra niederlässt (vergl. die wiederholte Anrede der Praxagora 165 *ὦ γυναῖκες αἱ καθ' ἡμεῖς*); dies thut er nie, ausser einmal im Rhesos, wo die Sache durch ganz besondere Umstände motivirt ist. Ferner

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\*) Genelli (pag. 255) setzt zwei Häuser in den Ecken des Proskenion an, eines dem Blepyros, das andere der zweiten auf der Skene sprechenden Frau gehörig. Sobald aber Praxagora nach Hause gekommen ist, soll die Handlung erfordern, dass das zweite Haus einem andern Manne gehöre, nämlich dem, der die Sachen auskramt, die er zum Gemeingute hingeben will. Am Ende gehören beide Häuser wieder zwei andern Weibern an, der hässlichen Alten und der jungen Dirne. — Wenn jedes alles bedeuten kann, lohnt es nicht, von der Beschaffenheit der Scenerie zu reden; denn das wirkliche Aussehen derselben ist dann etwas ganz Gleichgültiges, und die Scenerie wird eigentlich ganz überflüssig. — Ueber Geppert's Ansicht später.



macht sich das Erscheinen des Chores in der Orchestra bei Aristophanes stets dadurch bemerklich, dass er an dem Dialoge alsbald lebhaft Theil nimmt; nie steht er im Anfange als stummer oder passiver Zuschauer da. In unserm Stücke dagegen theilt ihm selbst Enger nur 30, 41 und 49 zu; dies spricht also nicht dafür, dass er sich in der Orchestra befindet. Vielleicht lässt sich endlich noch erwähnen, dass die närrische Verkleidung der Frauen nur dann ihre volle Wirkung that, wenn die Frauen auf der Bühne waren, wo sie über das nächste Terrain erhöht erst recht vollkommen allen in die Augen fielen, wie denn der Dichter aus gleichem Grunde einzelne Vögel von recht wunderbarem Aussehen in den Aves eben deshalb auf der Bühne erscheinen lässt. Alles dies veranlasst mich zu glauben, dass der Chor anfangs auf der Bühne erscheint \*). — Dass der auf der Bühne redenden Frauen ausser Praxagora nur zwei oder drei sind, scheinen mir Beer und Enger hinlänglich bewiesen zu haben. Praxagora tritt also wohl im Anfange aus der Mittelthür auf; die zwei ausser ihr redenden Frauen kommen wohl aus den zwei Nebenthüren, die übrigen von rechts her, wo der Eingang zu einer Strasse sichtbar gewesen zu sein scheint. Von

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\*) Wenn die eine der Frauen 279 sagt: *ἡμεῖς δέ γε προῖωμεν αὐτῶν*, und Beer pag. 103 nebst Enger (l. l.) *αὐτῶν* auf den Chor bezieht, so halte ich das nicht für richtig. Praxagora fordert 277 alle anwesenden Frauen auf zu gehen, und heisst sie dies eiligst thun (282), wie man daraus sieht, dass der Chor 285 sagt *ᾧρα προβαίνειν ἡμῖν ἐστι*, und die Aufforderung auf sich bezogen hat. Wollte nun eine der auf der Bühne anwesenden Personen unter diesen Umständen sagen: wir wollen denen dort (nämlich dem Chore) voraufgehen, so musste sie *τούτων* oder ein dem ähnliches Pronomen demonstr. brauchen. Das *αὐτῶν* geht sicher auf *ἀγροίκων*, und in *ἡμεῖς* sind weder die Schauspieler, noch einige andere auf der Bühne anwesende Personen, sondern alle beim Spiel Betheiligten, seien sie auf dem Logeion oder in der Orchestra, zu verstehen, und es heisst also: wir (die wir aus der Stadt sind) wollen ihnen zuvorkommen, wie auch der hieran sich anschliessende begründende Satz zeigt. — Enger (l. l. pag. 258) sucht das frühere Abziehen der auf der Bühne befindlichen Frauen auch damit zu begründen, dass er sagt, es fänden die drei Schauspieler alsdann während des folgenden Chorgesanges Zeit sich umzukleiden, indem sie gleich darauf wieder auftreten müssten. Aber der Grund scheint mir nicht zu reichend. Im Kyklops kleidet sich der Chor, wie es scheint, während zehn Versen um. Hier dagegen ist es nur ein Schauspieler, welcher bald nach dem Abziehen der Frauen wieder auftreten muss, nämlich der welcher den Blepyros spielt. Da dieser aber nichts weiter zu thun hat, als den Männermantel abzuwerfen, den Frauenrock umzuhängen und vielleicht die Maske zu ändern, so bedarf er nur eines Augenblicks um sich umzukleiden.

der Bühne können die Frauen nur nach rechts hin abgezogen sein, und da das Lied, unter dem es geschieht, zweistrophig ist, so kann es wohl sein, dass sie in zwei Halbchöre gesondert abgehen.

310 (wie auch 477) wird das ganze Theater leer, ohne dass ein Szenenwechsel eintritt. Die zunächst auf 310 folgenden Männerscenen sind sehr einfach. 311 kommt Blepyros aus der Mittelthür, 327 ein zweiter Mann aus der rechten Nebenthür, der (vergl. 352) durch die rechte Seitenthür zur Volksversammlung abgeht (356). Von eben daher kommt 372 (vergl. 376) Chremes, und beide gehen nach Hause, Blepyros durch die Mittelthür, der andere durch die linke Nebenthür 477. Hierauf zieht der Frauenchor, der aus der Volksversammlung kommt, in die Orchestra ein. Um sich zu verbergen, schleichen sie dicht an der Wand des Logeion hin, die hier ein *τείχιον* vorstellt (496 *ἐπὶ σκιᾷ πρὸς τὸ τείχιον*), und sehen 500 die aus der Ekklesia auf der Bühne mit Andern auftretende (509 ff.) Praxagora, die demnach durch die rechte Seitenthür, wie der Chor durch die rechte Parodos erscheint. Praxagora, die den Chor warten heisst 517, selbst aber in ihr Haus gehen will, wird durch die Dazwischenkunft ihres aus dem Hause tretenden Mannes daran gehindert 520 \*), geht 724 wieder zur *ἀγορά*, und eben dahin auch ihr Mann durch die rechte Seitenthür 727. Ein zweiter um 520 erschienener Mann geht dagegen in sein Haus, und erscheint von daher wieder 728, indem er seine Sachen dem Staatsvermögen einverleiben will, weshalb er dieselben durch einige Sklaven 867 herausschaffen lässt. Zu ihm tritt aus einer Nebenthür Chremes 746, der sich nicht im Geringsten geneigt zeigt Gleiches zu thun. Als aber der von der rechten Seitenthür her erscheinende Keryx zum Mahle einladet 834—852, macht sich Chremes mit dem andern Manne nach der rechten Seitenthür hin auf 871 u. 876.

Hier tritt nun eine Veränderung der Scenerie ein, und zwar wahrscheinlich in Abwesenheit des Chores, wie sonst immer der Fall ist. Denn da von hier an Personen, die bisher nicht aufgetreten sind, aus Localen, die auf der früheren Scenerie nicht existiren konnten, weil die Thüren der Skene anderweitig verwendet wurden, kommen, so kann die frühere Scenerie, die überdies fortan entbehrlich wird, nicht mehr bleiben. Man hat zwar, um die frühere Scenerie auch ferner beibehalten zu können,

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\*) Auch ein zweiter findet sich alsbald ein; vergl. 710 und über die Scene überhaupt Enger l. l. pag. 258 und Beer.

wie denn auch Beer eine Veränderung derselben nicht zugeibt, angenommen, dass an beiden Seiten der Bühne die Häuser sich befänden, die einer von jetzt an erscheinenden Alten und einer Jungen gehören; aber selbst diese Annahme befriedigt keineswegs. Denn die Scene zwischen dem Jünglinge und verschiedenen Frauen, die sich an ihn machen, die demnächst folgt, kann nur in einer ziemlich engen Strasse gespielt werden, die von mit Erkern versehenen Häusern eingefasst ist. Da nun überdies auch 1125 und 1128 zeigen, dass die neue Scenerie die Zuschauer nicht in die Nähe von dem Hause der Praxagora versetzt, da ferner die in der frühern Scene enthaltene Andeutung, dass Praxagora auf die Agora, nicht wie früher zur Pnyx, gehe, gegeben worden zu sein scheint, um die neue Localität anzukündigen und zu motiviren: so ist wohl an dem Scenenwechsel nicht zu zweifeln.

Die neue Scenerie, besonders die Skenenwand, stellt eine Seite einer Strasse in Athen vor, und namentlich sind es vier Häuser, die deutlich in ihr unterschieden werden. Sie scheinen sämmtlich hervortretende Erker, wobei die Balcone der Bühnenwand benutzt wurden, oder wenigstens Fenster, die nach der Strasse hin im ersten Stock lagen und sich öffnen liessen, gehabt zu haben; wenigstens steht dies für die zwei ersten der an der rechten Hälfte der Bühnenwand liegenden Häuser fest. Von den Häusern gehört das am meisten nach rechts hin liegende einer Alten, das nächste einem jungen Mädchen, die zwei folgenden einer zweiten und dritten Alten zu, und die zu ihnen führenden Thüren sind also die an der Skene von der rechten Seitenthür bis zur linken Nebenthür, oder die von der rechten Nebenthür bis zur linken Seitenthür hin gelegenen. Welches von beiden in der Decoration angenommen war, lässt sich nicht mehr angeben. Ausserdem zeigten beide Periakten Ansichten von Gebäuden; denn nach beiden Seiten hin führen Strassen. Jedenfalls also wurden alle fünf Thüren der Skene verwendet. Eine Veränderung der Scenerie tritt dagegen im zweiten Acte nicht ein. — Indem ich rücksichtlich der Handlung auf Enger (l. l. p. 258—260) verweisen kann, genügt es, wenn ich im Einzelnen Folgendes bemerke: die erste Alte erscheint 877 an dem Erker ihres Hauses (vergl. 930), das junge Mädchen 884 an dem des Nebenhauses (vergl. 961 dafür, dass sie sich in der Höhe befindet). Als 934 der Jüngling von der rechten Seitenthür her erscheint, tritt 936 das Mädchen, 937 die Alte zurück. Die letztere passt inzwischen auf den Jüngling wohl auf, wo er

hin will, und als er 950 vor ihrer Thür vorbeigegangen ist, tritt sie 951 aus der Thür ihres Hauses; ja sie läuft, als er 976 an des Mädchens Thür pocht, zu ihm hin. Während sie ihn zu ihrem Hause zurückbringen will 1037, kommt das Mädchen aus ihrem Hause; letzteres flieht jedoch in's Haus 1048 zurück, als eine zweite Alte von links her aus dem Nachbarhause erscheint, den Jüngling der ersten Alten streitig zu machen. Sie bleibt auch Siegerin, aber als sie, nachdem die erste Alte sich inzwischen wieder von der Bühne verloren hat, 1065 ihn mit sich in ihr Haus nehmen will, kommt aus dem weiter nach links hin befindlichen Hause eine dritte Alte, die, als die zweite Alte nicht nachgiebt, sondern den Jüngling in ihr Haus zieht, ebenfalls mit hineinstürzt 1111 (vergl. 1095 und 1106). Nach einem hierauf eintretenden Chorgesange kommt eine Sklavin von der rechten Seitenthür her (1112), ihren Herrn zu suchen (1125). Dieser kommt auch 1129 von der linken Seitenthür her, und geht 1150 nach rechts zum Orte des Gelages ab. Eben dahin begiebt sich auch danach der Chor tanzend, und zwar, wie es scheint, in zwei Halbchöre getheilt, durch die rechte Parodos. — Die 1112 erschienene Dienerin hat aber den Auftrag gehabt, nicht nur den Herrn, sondern auch (1138) *τασδὶ τὰς μείρανας* zur Mahlzeit mitzubringen. Wer letztere sind, ist streitig; der Scholiast versteht *τὰς τοῦ χοροῦ* darunter, Enger (l. l. p. 261) Tänzerinnen, die sich auf der Bühne befinden. Die Worte des Chores 1114 scheinen nun allerdings anzudeuten, dass noch mehr Personen als die Sklavin auf der Bühne sind; und da der Chor überdies 1152 in *τασδὶ λαβών* sich selbst andern gegenüberstellt, und weiter noch verheisst, singen zu wollen, während der Herr abziehe, so scheinen in der That noch ausser dem Chore andere Frauenzimmer, Tänzerinnen oder dem Aehnliches, auf der Bühne gewesen zu sein. — Wenn der Chor endlich 1152 sagt: *ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ καταβαίνεις*, so ist die Präposition hier gewiss nicht bedeutungslos, sondern der Herr steigt mit seiner weiblichen Begleitung hier in eben so anomaler Weise von der Bühne zur Orchestra hinab, wie es am Schlusse der Wespen geschieht, um in der Begleitung des gesammten weiblichen Chores abzuziehen.

Geppert (l. l. p. 159) spricht sich in Bezug auf die Scenerie folgendermaassen aus: „mehrmals scheint die Scene in den Ekklesiazusen gewechselt zu haben, wenn schon sie Athen nicht verlässt. Bis 728 befindet sie sich vor dem Hause des Blepýros, von da an (bis 876) in einer andern Strasse, darauf (bis

1112) in einer dritten Gegend, die vielleicht jene Gegend des Kerameikos darstellte, von der der Scholiast zu den Rittern 769 spricht, und zum Schluss scheint sie in einen anständiger bewohnten Stadttheil zurückzukehren; doch will ich nicht entscheiden, ob sie mehr als einmal (1112) gänzlich, oder ob nur theilweise verändert worden ist.“ Weiter heisst es p. 165, dass der Dichter, um die Scene wechseln zu können, an solchen Punkten die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuschauer von der Bühne ablenke, und sie für den Chor auf der Orchestra in Anspruch nehme; daher seien einst 728, 876 und 1112 Chorgesänge gewesen. — Ob aber der Dichter die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuschauer an den angegebenen Stellen von der Skene habe ablenken wollen, lässt sich erst dann entschieden behaupten, wenn nachgewiesen ist, dass eine Veränderung der Scenerie an jenen Orten nothwendig eintreten musste. Die vorstehende Analyse der Scenerie wird hoffentlich gezeigt haben, dass gar keine Nothwendigkeit, auch kein erheblicher Anlass dazu da ist.

### *Εἰς τὴν ἡ.*

Der Ort der Handlung ist der Platz vor dem Hause eines Winzers 190, und das Haus selbst wird wohl seinem Aussehen nach ein *εὐτελής* gewesen sein. Ausser der zum Hause führenden Thür existirte eine zweite (30, 49), die in den an das Haus anstossenden Hofraum führte. Dieser mit einer Mauer eingefasst ist in seinem Innern nicht sichtbar; in dem Hofraume aber befindet sich der Käfer, auf welchem Trygaios zum Himmel fährt. Eben um dieser Fahrt willen muss man annehmen, dass es nicht ein Stall, sondern der Hofraum ist, in dem der Käfer gehalten wird. In der Hofmauer selbst scheint noch ausser der Thür eine Art Luke oder eine Oeffnung sich befunden zu haben, durch welche dem Käfer die Mistklösse zugelangt werden. Ueber die weitere Umgebung erfährt man nichts; vielleicht ist noch ein Stück eines Weingartens sichtbar gewesen, und diesen Localitäten entsprechend mag wohl die andere Umgebung gewesen sein. Dass es eine Berggegend ist, in der die Besitzung des Trygaios sich befindet, ersieht man aus dem Fluge des Trygaios; denn da heisst es, dass er hoch auffahrend an und auf Felsen sich befinde; diese müssen demnach den Zuschauern sichtbar gewesen sein und in der Höhe namentlich aus kahlen Felsen bestanden haben. Da aber gegen Ende des Stückes viele Handwerker und andere Personen sich bei Trygaios efinden,

so möchte man geneigt sein daraus zu schliessen, dass es sich nicht als ein ganz isolirtes Landhaus dargestellt habe, sondern vielmehr als in der Nähe einer Stadt liegend. Leicht kann also nach rechts hin etwas abgebildet worden sein, was auf die Nähe der Stadt hinwies, vielleicht gar einige Häuser.

Veränderungen treten in der Scenerie nicht ein; Thüren sind vier erforderlich, die zum Hause des Trygaios führende und die an der Hofmauer befindliche; dann eine an der der Stadt zugekehrten Seite, von woher 1192 und weiterhin viele Menschen zum Hause des Trygaios kommen (vielleicht nicht ein Zugang, sondern zwei, die rechte Neben- und Seitenthür); die linke Seitenthür bezeichnet den Weg in die Fremde.

Das Stück beginnt damit, dass zwei Sklaven (41, 50) auf der Bühne beschäftigt sind, den grossen Käfer zu füttern. Da der eine derselben die Mistklösse dem Käfer durch die Maueröffnung zureicht, der andere die Klösse nahe der Hofthür knetet, so bedarf es für den Beginn der Handlung keiner besondern Maschinerie, sondern die Sklaven treten wohl beim Anfange des Stückes rasch aus der Hofthür und gehen an ihre Arbeit. Der Käfer selbst ist natürlich nicht sichtbar (30). Nach geschehener Fütterung geht der eine Sklave durch die Hofthür 49 zum Käfer hinein, und als Trygaios 60 den andern von innen her ruft, tritt auch dieser an die Hofthür 80; während der Käfer 82 über die Hofmauer sich erhebend sichtbar wird. Es geschieht dies den alten Scholien zufolge vermittels des αἰώρημα, einer Flugmaschine (vergl. Geppert p. 181). Der Sklave ruft hierauf 111 die Töchter des Trygaios aus dem Hause; sie kommen denn auch durch die Mittelthür und entfernen sich 149 eben dahin. Trygaios reitet und fliegt inzwischen auf dem Käfer 154 immer höher, und ist 174 der obern Höhe (dem Episkenion) nahe, 178 am platten Dache der Skene, und nachdem Trygaios dasselbe betreten hat, geht die weitere Handlung hier oben, und zwar an dessen vorderem den Zuschauern zugekehrten Rande vor sich. Auf dem Dache ist die den Zuschauern schwerlich sichtbare οἰκία des Zeus, und der einstweilen dort residirende Hermes, der 180 gegen den Rand des Daches vortretend den Zuschauern sichtbar wird, sagt, dass der Krieg die Eirene (223) ἐνέβαλ' εἰς ἄντρον βαθύ, und zwar 224 εἰς τοῦτ' ἂν τὸ κάτω, und dass er sie mit vielen Felsen überdeckt hat (225: κἄπειθ' ὁρᾷς, ὅσους ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρησε τῶν λίθων), damit die Menschen sie nicht bekommen. Aus alle dem scheint sich zu ergeben, dass die Höhle auf dem Dache des Episkenion zu



denken ist. Wie tief sie unter dem Standpunkte des Hermes liegt oder hinabreicht, sieht der Zuschauer nicht, wie auch die Höhle selbst nicht; nur Hermes und Trygaios, die sich auf der Höhe der Felsen darüber befinden, stehen vor ihr. Als tief in die Felsen hinabreichend bezeichnet aber der Dichter die Höhle, weil er das Heraufziehen der Göttin als ein schweres Stück Arbeit bezeichnen will. Sichtbar hätte die Höhle den Zuschauern nur an dem obern Rande der Skenenwand dargestellt werden können; aber das Aufsteigen der Göttin aus der Höhle ebensowohl, wie das Fortwälzen der grossen Felsblöcke über der Höhle, was alsdann ebenfalls vor den Augen der zuschauenden Menge vor sich gehen musste, hätte grosse Schwierigkeiten bei der Darstellung veranlasst, und zwar ohne Noth, da es nicht darauf ankam, ob die Zuschauer beides sahen. — Nachdem sich Hermes 233 vom Rande des Episkenion entfernt hat, und dadurch den Augen der Zuschauer entschwunden ist, erscheint der Krieg, und zwar in gleicher Weise wie Hermes zuvor, durch Vortreten zum Rande 236. Trygaios hat sich aus Furcht vor ihm 235 versteckt, jedoch so, dass er, wenn er auch dem Kriege hinter den Felsen verborgen ist, doch den Zuschauern nicht verschwindet; denn er spricht auch von seinem Verstecke aus, während der Krieg die Städte in seinem Mörser zerstampfen will\*). Der aus dem Hintergrunde vortretende (252) Kydoimos geht 262 fort, und nachdem er 268 zurückgekehrt ist, 275 abermals ab, um die Keule zu holen; und zwar geschieht dies, indem er sich einmal nach rechts, das andere Mal nach links vom Kriege, allmählich vom Rande des Daches fort, entfernt. Nachdem er 280 ohne Mörserkeule zurückgekehrt ist, wird er mit dem Mörser 287 in's Haus geschickt, und eben dahin geht alsbald der Krieg ab (indem sie vom vordern Rande sich nach hinten zu entfernen). Trygaios, der sich von 289 an allein sieht, kommt nun aus seinem Verstecke hervor und fordert 294 die Hellenen auf, die Eirene aus der Höhle zu ziehen, ehe die neue Mörserkeule fertig wird. Er ruft zu dem Ende alle Stände durch einander auf, (299) mit Hacken, Hebebäumen und Tauen an's Werk zu gehen; und in Folge dieses Aufrufes erscheint der Chor 301. Er erscheint aus der Heimath des Trygaios, also von rechts her, und zwar in der Orchestra; denn es ist kein besonderer Grund vorhanden, dies auf der Bühne geschehen zu lassen. Dazu kommt, dass der

\*) Der Mörser braucht wegen 230 keineswegs sichtbar zu sein.



Chor (325 ff.) einen Tanz aufführt, was auf der Skene nicht thunlich ist. Als der Chor 361 fragt: *ποιὶ τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλ-  
ξομεν*, erscheint Hermes am Rande des Episkenion; und nach-  
dem er in so weit begünstigt worden ist, dass er gegen das Her-  
aufziehen der Eirene nichts weiter einzuwenden hat, räth er dem  
Chore 426 *ταῖς ἄμαις εἰσιόντες ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλ-  
κετε*. Der Chor erklärt sich dazu bereit und bittet den Her-  
mes um weitere Anweisung. Da fordert Trygaios den Chor  
auf, zu den Göttern zu flehen, heisst ihn sofort die Taue zu  
Hülfe nehmen 437, und 458 erfolgt endlich der bestimmte Be-  
fehl: *ὑπότεινε δὴ πᾶς καὶ κάταγε τοῖσιν κάλως*. Der Rath des  
Hermes, zum Trygaios hinaufzukommen, indem sie sich zunächst  
in das Skenengebäude begeben (*εἰσιόντες*, wobei Hermes frei-  
lich aus der Rolle fällt und auf das wirkliche Skenengebäude  
Rücksicht nimmt), wird also nicht befolgt, oder kommt wenig-  
stens nicht ganz zur Ausführung. Denn als die Choreuten dem  
Befehle des Hermes zufolge bis auf die Skene gekommen sind,  
erfassen sie auf des Trygaios Befehl das Seil, welches dieser  
inzwischen herabgelassen hat, und beginnen zu ziehen. Der  
Zweck, den der Dichter dabei hatte, als er den Hermes seinen  
Rath ertheilen liess, ging also lediglich dahin, den Chor auf  
die Bühne zu bringen; und als er dahin gelangt ist, beginnt er  
seine Arbeit\*) (vergl. Schol. zu 1316 und 62). — Es will an-  
fangs nicht glücken, die Göttin aus der Höhle zu ziehen, bis  
511 die Landleute Hand anlegen, und so erscheinen denn 520  
die in der Höhle eingesperrten Göttinnen. In Bezug auf das  
Heraufziehen sagt Seeger zu 458 (p. 219): „wir erfahren nicht,  
dass das Seilende in die Grube geworfen wäre, oder wie sonst  
die Irene herausgezogen wird. Für die Komödie ist dennoch  
der Spass klar genug.“ Allerdings erfahren wir im Stücke nicht,  
wie das Herausziehen eigentlich vor sich geht; aber die ganze  
dazu erforderliche Operation ist so einfach, dass wir im Gan-  
zen nicht weit von der Wahrheit abirren können. Trygaios  
hat nämlich ein Seil, dergleichen oben auf dem Bühnendache  
zum Hinauf- und Herabschweben von Göttern und Menschen wa-

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\*) Der Scholiast zu 727 denkt es sich als möglich, dass der Chor hin-  
auf (auf das Episkenion) gekommen ist. — Dass *εἰσιέναι* schlechthin von  
einem Aufsteigen aus der Orchestra auf die Skene gesagt werden kann,  
wie Geppert p. 162 geneigt ist anzunehmen, dafür fehlt es an Beweisen;  
dass es dagegen solenner Ausdruck für das Eintreten in das Skenenge-  
bäude durch die Thüren der Skene ist, ist bekannt.

ren, herabgeworfen. Die Choreuten erfassen es am untern Ende und ziehen, wie sie denn dazu eben aus der Orchestra auf die Bühne gestiegen sind. Oberhalb des Episkenion hat das Seil über eine in der Höhe angebrachte Rolle hingeführt, und als Trygaios oben auf dem Dache ebenfalls das Seil anfasst um zu ziehen, muss er beim Straffanziehen des Seiles durch die Choreuten in die Höhe gezogen werden und am Seile baumeln (470 ἔλκω καὶ ξαρτῶμαι καὶ πεμπίπτω καὶ σπουδάζω sagt er). — Die aus der Höhle scheinbar heraufgezognen Göttinnen Eirene, Opora und Theoria werden den Zuschauern 520 sichtbar, indem sie dem Rande des Daches näher treten, und 550 heisst Hermes den Trygaios die Landleute zum ἀπιέναι auffordern. Dass hier nicht an ein blosses Verlassen der Bühne zu denken ist, ersieht man aus des Trygaios Worten 555: πᾶς χώρει πρὸς ἔργον εἰς ἀγρόν. Wenn aber trotz dieser Weisung und trotz dem, dass kein Einspruch dagegen von Seiten des Chores erhoben wird, dennoch der Chor sich nicht entfernt, sondern im Theater anwesend bleibt, so geschieht dies, weil Trygaios selbst das Fortgehen dadurch unterbricht, dass er sie 560 auffordert, mit ihm zur Göttin zu flehen. Dadurch wird bewirkt, dass sie von der Bühne nur bis in die Orchestra herabkommen, wo sie wegen der bald darauf beginnenden Parabase sein mussten, und dort bleiben. Das εἰσιέναι und ἀπιέναι, wozu der Chor aufgefordert wird, dessen vollständige Ausführung aber jedes Mal durch den Dichter gehindert wird, sind also die Mittel, deren sich derselbe bedient, um ein Mal den Chor auf die Bühne zu bringen, und das andere Mal ihn wieder in die Orchestra zurück zu führen.

Von den Göttinnen, die auf obern Rande des Episkenion sichtbar geworden sind, räth Hermes dem Trygaios die Opora und Theoria mit auf die Erde hinabzunehmen 706 und 714; die Eirene hingegen, deren im spätern Verlauf des Stückes nicht weiter gedacht wird (vergl. Schol. zu 726), bleibt im Himmel zurück\*). Da aber der Käfer fort ist (721), so räth Hermes dem Trygaios, der fragt: πῶς καταβήσομαι (725), alsbald: τηδὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν θεόν. Welche Göttin dies ist, darüber sind schon die alten Erklärer uneins gewesen (vergl. die Schol. h. l.), indem einige an die Eirene denken, andere an die Athena, de-

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\*) Daher sagt Trygaios 727 ὦ κόραι, ἐπεσθον im Dualis und das Scholion zu 842 ἴσως ἢ Εἰρήνη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔμεινεν, während das Scholion zu 726 auch die Eirene dem Trygaios folgen lässt.

ren ἄγαλμα im Theater gewesen sei. Da aber eine Bildsäule der Athena für das gesammte übrige Stück nicht nöthig ist, der Athena nicht weiter gedacht wird, ferner wenn die Bildsäule unten auf der Bühne stand, es πρὸς, nicht παρὰ hätte heissen müssen, so kann es wohl nur auf Eirene bezogen werden (steig hinab hier auf dem Wege neben der Göttin hin), indem Eirene an der Seite stand, an welcher der Weg hinabführte. Die Art des Hinabsteigens denkt sich Seeger\*) wohl nicht richtig, wenn er sagt: „es steigen Trygaios und die drei Nymphen (soll heissen: zwei) die Bühnentreppe in die Orchestra hinunter“, und annimmt, dass das Hinabsteigen von den Zuschauern gesehen wird. Es geschieht vielmehr im Innern des Skenengebäudes, da eine andere Treppe aus dem obersten Stocke nach unten nicht da ist, und während der demnächst folgenden Parabase keine Personen auf dem Logeion sich befinden durften. Unten erst erscheint Trygaios 818 abermals den Zuschauern; während des Herabsteigens aber singt der Chor die Parabase. Indem er sich aber dazu vorbereitet, sagt er 729: ἡμεῖς τὰδε τὰ σκεύη παραδόντες τοῖς ἀκολούθοις δῶμεν σῶζειν, um sie gegen das Stehlen zu sichern, wie der Chor sagt, in der That aber, um sich, wie die Scholien erinnern, tanzfertig zu machen. Seeger versteht unter den ἀκόλουθοι die Theaterdiener; mir scheinen es vielmehr die Begleiter der den Chor bildenden Landleute zu sein, deren auch früher, namentlich beim Ziehen am Seile, gedacht worden ist; und es entfernt sich demnach hier gerade so ein Theil von dem bisherigen Chor, wie die Frauen und Mädchen in den Fröschen vor dem Beginne der Parabase, während anderwärts die Zahl des Chores durch Hinzutretende vermehrt wird (vergl. Rhesos, Kyklops, Hiketid. des Aischylos etc.). Da ein Sklave des Trygaios den Herrn ankommen sieht 824, so muss Trygaios mit beiden Göttinnen von aussen her die Bühne betreten, also von der linken Seitenthür herkommen. Er lässt nun 842 die Opora in's Haus führen und will die Theoria der βουλή abgeben (846 ἀποδώσω). Der mit der Opora 855 in's Haus gegangene Sklave erscheint 868 von neuem, und Trygaios wiederholt 871 seinen Vorsatz in Bezug auf die Theoria. Als aber Niemand sich meldet, der die Theoria hüten will\*\*), sagt er 882: καταθήσομαι αὐτὸς εἰς

\*) Desgleichen der Scholiast zu 727: κάτεισι ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν κλίμαξιν.

\*\*) Wozu der Rav. bemerkt: ὁ δυνάμενος φυλάξαι τὴν Θεωρίαν, ἕως αὐτὴν παραδῶ τῇ βουλῇ.

μέσους\*) ἄγων, und weiter 905 ὃ πρυτάνεις δέχεσθε τὴν Θεωρίαν· θέας' ὡς προθύμως ὁ πρύτανις παρεδέξατο, und es ist von 908 nicht weiter von der Theoria die Rede, als 923, wo ταύτην ihre Anwesenheit verräth. Eine genügende Erklärung darüber, was mit der Theoria hier geschehen ist, vermag ich nicht zu geben. Jedenfalls scheint sie von Trygaios bis an die in die Orchestra führende Treppe geleitet zu werden\*\*) und dann allein in die Orchestra hinabzusteigen. Was unten weiter aus ihr wird, weiss ich nicht; vielleicht entfernt sie sich allmählich durch die rechte Parodos.

Die Vorbereitungen zum Opfer und Mahle machen keine Schwierigkeit, und es ist nur zu bemerken, dass 942 ein solider Altar da ist, 1034 und 1039 ein Opfertisch und wirkliches Fleisch gebracht wird, auch 1032 auf dem Altare es wirklich brennt. Während des Opfers erscheint 1043 von der linken Seitenthür her (vergl. 1047) Hierokles, der 1126 mit Schlägen abzieht, und da Trygaios zu gleicher Zeit in's Haus geht, so ist der Chor allein noch sichtbar und singt wieder ein Stück Parabase, wie der Scholiast sagt (1127—1190). Mit 1191 tritt Trygaios in Begleitung eines Sklaven (1193) aus seinem Hause, und sieht viele Menschen 1192 zu seinem Hochzeitsschmause von rechts herzuströmen und zum Theil alsbald in sein Haus gehen, von woher später die Kinder erscheinen. Während er noch verschiedene leckere Braten, die eben ankommen (vergl. Schol. zu 1204), durch Sklaven 1195 in's Haus tragen lässt, erscheint 1197 auch von rechts her der Sensenschmied, den Trygaios 1207 ebenfalls mit Andern in sein Haus gehen heisst. Alles hingegen was mit Waffen zu thun hat\*\*\*) und sich blicken lässt (von rechts her kommend, 1208—1263), weist er fort. So jagt er auch von den aus seinem Hause kommenden Kindern 1265 den Sohn des Lamachos fort 1294, während er den des Kleonymos mit in's Haus nimmt, nachdem er noch 1305 vor seinem Abgange den Chor aufgefordert hat, sich tüchtig an die Speisen zu machen. Dieser, dazu gern bereit, (1311) begiebt sich alsbald auf die Skene; und sie wollen eben die Braut aus

\*) Schol. Rav.: τοὺς θεατὰς ἢ τὸ βουλευτήριον. Schol. Ven. zu 887 πρυτάνεις: τὸν λόγον ἀπέτεινε λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὡς παραδιδούς τὴν Θεωρίαν.

\*\*) Genelli p. 253 Note 9 meint, dass Trygaios sie die Stiege hinab zur Thymele führt und sie dort auf den Altarstein stellt.

\*\*\*) Ueber die Zahl der Personen vergl. Beer p. 42.

dem Hause holen, da tritt 1329 Trygaios selbst mit seiner Braut aus dem Hause, und unter Absingen des Hymenaios, während dessen 1339 der eine Halbchor den Trygaios fortträgt (demnach auch der zweite Halbchor die Braut, wiewohl es nicht ausdrücklich gesagt ist; vergl. jedoch die Schol. zu 1340), ziehen der Chor und sämtliche Personen ab, und zwar nach des Trygaios Willen 1329 εἰς ἄγρον. Der Weg dahin steht durch die Orchestra wie über die Skene hin offen; wenn der letztere im vorliegenden Falle benutzt wird, so geschieht es wohl, weil der Chor erst so eben die Orchestra verlassen hat. Man entfernt sich nach links hin; denn nach rechts geht es in die Stadt.

Kanngiesser (kom. Bühne p. 148 ff.) stimmt in den meisten Punkten mit dem, was ich eben angenommen habe, überein und verlegt ebenfalls die eine Hälfte des Stückes nach der Höhe. Ja auch die Art und Weise, wie er die Handlung in der Höhe vor sich gehen lässt, könnte man sich im Ganzen sehr wohl gefallen lassen, wenn nur seine Voraussetzung begründet wäre. Kanngiesser lässt nämlich den Trygaios auf dem Mistkäfer mittels eines Seiles, das von der Himmelskuppel auf die Erdenwelt herabgesenkt ist, reiten, auf der Oberbühne absteigen, und den Käfer höher hinauf zum Kuppeldache der Oberbühne fliegen, wo er den Augen der Zuschauer entwindet. Auf der Oberbühne geht nun die weitere Handlung vor sich. Kanngiesser scheint vorauszusetzen, dass der Palast des Zeus und die Höhle den Zuschauern sichtbar sind, und er denkt sich, dass der Chor ebenfalls oben auf der Oberbühne tanze und die Göttin aus der Höhle ziehe. Am Schlusse der Scene im Himmel lässt er den Trygaios auf Treppen in die Orchestra (oder nach p. 151 vielleicht auf's Proskenion) hinabsteigen; in gleicher Weise auch den Chor, da letzterer nicht ohne seine Geräthe, sondern mit denselben von neuem im Theater erscheine. — Was bei Kanngiesser der Himmel bewirkt, lasse ich durch das Dach des Skenengebäudes möglich werden, und finde daher ein höheres Auffliegen des Käfers, der hinter den das Skenendach bekränzenden Zinnen niedergelassen wird, unnöthig. Ob der Palast des Zeus und die Höhle in dessen Nähe den Zuschauern sichtbar waren, darüber will ich nicht streiten, weil es für die Handlung unerheblich ist; möglich ist das eine wie das andere. Aber auf der Oberbühne (oder dem Episkenion) kann der Chor nicht sein. Nie (mit einziger Ausnahme der Okeaniden im Prometheus) tritt der Chor anderswo als in der Orchestra oder

ausnahmsweise auf dem Logeion auf; es wäre also gegen die sonstige Analogie, wenn er hier in der Höhe sich befände. Man sieht überdies nicht ein, wie er hinaufkommen soll. Dass die Götter in der Höhe wohnen, ist in der Ordnung; Trygaios reitet zu ihnen hinauf; aber die Landleute können nicht ohne Umstände in den Himmel gelangen, ohne weiteres von da zur Erde heruntersteigen; denn selbst das Herabsteigen des Trygaios ist durch die Gesellschaft der Göttinnen, die er bei sich hat, motivirt. In Bezug auf die Treppe, auf welcher derselbe herabkommt, vergleiche den allgemeinen Theil. Nach seinem Herabsteigen endlich erscheint Trygaios, da ein Schauspieler ihn vorstellt, nicht in der Orchestra, sondern auf dem Logeion.

Weit weniger bin ich mit der Vorstellung, die sich Genelli macht, einverstanden. Er sagt p. 256 Note 11: das Haus des Trygaios stehe auf der Seite der Heimath mit einem kleinen Vorhofe bis vorn an das Eck des Paraskenion herausgebaut, und die Mauer eines kleinen Weingartens ziehe sich an der Skenenfront bis in den andern Winkel hin, wo sie an ein verfallenes Tempelchen (mit einem Eingange, und mit einem Altare zur Seite) stosse. Sobald Trygaios in den Himmel d. h. in die Orchestra gekommen sei, sehe er (p. 259 Anm. 13) das Tempelchen für das Haus des Polemos an, und die Skene sei ohne weiteres der Palast des Zeus. Die Luftfahrt des Trygaios bestimmt er p. 259 Note 15 dahin, dass Trygaios von der Seite der Heimath kommend in einer Bogenlinie, auf dem Käfer reitend, in der That in den Aiorai hängend, bis mitten vor die Skene sich senke und dann (p. 256) nach der Seite der Fremde hin auf den Dromos (in der Orchestra) sich niederlasse. Das heisst den Zuschauern und ihrer Einbildungskraft viel, und zwar viel ohne Noth zumuthen. Erst soll die Skene die Heimath des Trygaios mit einem Tempelchen in der Nähe, dessen als auf der Erde befindlich nicht gedacht wird, sein; dann soll das Tempelchen die Wohnung des Krieges bei einem Palaste des Zeus sein, den man nicht sieht, und zwar in der Nähe eines Winzerhauses und dessen Umgebung, die für den Himmel ganz unangemessen ist. Trygaios ferner will in den Himmel steigen, und wir sollen glauben, er komme in der Höhe an, während er sich zur Erde senkt. Ich erwähne weiter nur ganz kurz, dass Trygaios hiebei in die Orchestra gelangen soll, dass der Flug des Trygaios etwas sehr schwer Auszuführendes ist, dass eine Mauer des Weingartens nicht erwähnt, dass der Hauptplatz, das Haus des Trygaios, an die Ecke des Paraskenion hin ver-



legt wird. Was Genelli endlich von dem ungeheuern Käfer erzählt, den der eine Sklave unter dem Arme fortträgt, ist eben so grundlos wie seltsam.

Geppert (p. 167) stellt das Auffliegen des Trygaios als etwas Illusorisches dar; es sei nämlich die Scenerie um ihn herabgelassen worden, dadurch sei eine neue Decoration mit dem Palaste des Zeus zum Vorschein gekommen, nachdem das Haus des Trygaios am Boden verschwunden war. Hierauf sei Trygaios von seinem Käfer abgestiegen und habe sich jetzt vor der Wohnung des Zeus befunden. Ich will nicht hervorheben, dass ein Hinauf- oder Herabziehen der Coulissen an der Skenenwand nicht zu erweisen ist; die Angst des Trygaios wird jedenfalls lächerlich, wenn er sich eben kaum über den Erdboden erhebt. Dazu kommt, dass diese Scenerie dennoch nöthigt, den Trygaios später mit seiner Göttin von der Bühne in die Orchestra auf der dahin führenden Stiege herunter steigen und während der folgenden Parabase die Skene von neuem in das Haus des Trygaios sich umwandeln zu lassen. Alles dies sieht Geppert für zulässig an; aber die Scholien geben keine Andeutung, dass dergleichen geschehen sei, das Stück nöthigt nicht dazu, und der Beweis, dass eine eben dagewesene Scenerie der Skenenfront alsbald von neuem gebraucht worden ist, fehlt.

Wenn endlich Hermann in der Leipz. Littztg. 1817 Nr. 59 (wie ich aus Geppert p. 166 ersehe) den Hermes und Trygaios auf dem Theologeion, die Grube dagegen auf der Erde in der Orchestra sein lässt, so fällt auf, dass Trygaios, um die Göttin aus der Grube zu holen, nicht zuerst zur Erde zurückkehrt und dann die Hülfe des Chores anruft. Dann ist aber auch die Göttin sehr unpassender Weise unter den Menschen verborgen worden, indem die Menschen in dem Falle sehr leicht zu ihr gelangen können. Endlich ist bei dieser Gruppierung nicht möglich, dass das Heraufziehen der Göttin so vor sich gehe, wie es der Dichter geschehen lässt. Die Beihülfe des Trygaios bleibt dann ganz ausgeschlossen, und wie die Göttinnen zu Trygaios gelangen, mit dem sie später zur Erde herabsteigen sollen, sieht man vollends nicht ein.

### N e p h e l a i.

Die Handlung geht in Athen vor den Häusern des Strepsiades und Sokrates vor; beide Häuser können also nicht fern von einander liegen. Das Haus des Strepsiades, welches den



in Athen gewöhnlichen Häusern dem Aeusseren nach gewiss sehr ähnlich war, muss, wie sich aus der Lage von des Sokrates Hause ergiebt, mehr an der rechten Seite der Bühne dargestellt worden sein, und aus der vor dem Hause befindlichen ἀνάλυξ, in der beim Beginne des Stückes Strepsiades mit seinem Sohne schläft, führte (19) eine Thür in das Innere des Hauses; ein umzäunter oder ummauerter Hofraum vor dem Hause wird nicht nur nirgends bemerklich gemacht, sondern kann auch nicht da gewesen sein, da alle von da Ausgehenden immer alsbald auf die Strasse gelangen. — Die Lage von dem Hause des Sokrates mehr an der linken Seite der Skene wird durch das neben demselben erfolgende Niederschweben der Wolken, das an der linken Seite der Bühne vor sich gehen muss, bestimmt; und da die Wolken vom Parnes herabkommen, auf diesen Berg als einen sichtbaren hingewiesen wird (323 und dazu die Schol.), so ist auch dieser an der Coulissenwand sichtbar gewesen, sei es an der linken Periakte geschehen, oder weiterhin zwischen der linken Seitenthür, die im Stücke nicht gebraucht wird, und der linken Nebenthür. Dass die Wolken an der linken Seitenwand der Skene herabschweben, ersieht man daraus, dass Sokrates 326 aus der Rolle fallend sagt, die vom Parnes herabsteigenden Wolken würden παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον d. h. neben der Parodos sichtbar. Das Aussehen des Parnes lernen wir an derselben Stelle kennen; denn die Wolken kommen 325 διὰ τῶν κοίλων καὶ τῶν δασέων, der Abhang des Berges hat also Schluchten gezeigt, und ist wenigstens theilweise mit Gebüsch oder Wald bedeckt gewesen. Das Haus des Sokrates wird 92 οἰκίδιον genannt und hat ein den Zuschauern sichtbares θύριον. Das kleine unansehnliche Gebäude war aber nicht gemalt, sondern solid; denn 1487 steigt der Diener des Strepsiades auf das Dach des Hauses, reisst dessen Balken aus einander und zündet die hölzerne Bude an. Wie man sich die genauere Construction desselben denkt, hängt von der Erklärung der auf 93 folgenden Scene ab. Ich glaube, dass es einem ἐργαστήριον, einem Schuppen ähnlich war, dem entweder in geringer Entfernung vorn eine Mauer mit grossem Thorwege vorlag, oder der selbst vorn mit einem grossen Thorwege verschlossen war. — Obgleich das Haus des Sokrates eigentlich der Ort ist, an dem die Handlung meist haftet, so scheint es doch nicht vor der Mittelthür der Skene gelegen, wenigstens nicht bis dahin sich erstreckt zu haben, weil es von der Seite her auf die Bühne vorgeschoben war. Es lag also wohl in der Gegend der linken Nebenthür.

Die rechte Nebenthür bezeichnet die Lage von des Strepsiades Hause, die rechte Seitenthür und die Mittelthür bilden die Zugänge von Strassen oder Häusern her, welche in der Umgebung der zwei genannten Thüren liegen mochten. Da die linke Seitenthür nicht gebraucht wird, kommen nur vier Thüren in Anwendung. Eine Veränderung in der Scenerie tritt, den Schluss ausgenommen, nur da ein, wo die Denkwirthschaft sich vor den Augen der Zuschauer aufthut.

Im Anfange des Stückes erblickt man Strepsiades unter der *αὐλή* seines Hauses neben seinem schlafenden Sohne Pheidippides und seinen Sklaven (5). Da diese Personen nicht vor den Augen der Zuschauer kurz vor dem Beginne des Spieles sich dorthin begeben und dort niederlegen können, so müssen sie in dem Momente, wo die Darstellung beginnen soll, durch das Ekkyklema oder eine dem ähnliche Maschine dahin hervorgeschoben worden sein, und zwar so, dass dessenungeachtet der Ein- und Ausgang zum Hause dadurch nicht behindert wird. Denn 20 tritt ein Sklave aus dem Hause und geht 59 dahin zurück. Der vom Vater aufgeweckte Sohn geht 125 in's Haus, und Strepsiades 127 zum Häuschen des Sokrates hin; schon 132 pocht er dort an die Pforte des Hauses, ein Schüler des Sokrates wird, aber ohne dass er die Thür öffnet (vergl. 183), sichtbar und unterhält sich mit Strepsiades bis 183. Als dann erblickt bei Oeffnung der Thür Strepsiades die Denkwirthschaft, und zwar zunächst die auf der Erde hockenden Schüler des Sokrates, darauf auch andere, Instrumente, endlich 219 den Sokrates. Wenn es nun auch, weil das Stück selbst keine näheren Indicien darüber beibringt, nicht möglich ist, mit voller Bestimmtheit anzugeben, wie das alles dargestellt wurde, so lässt sich doch sehr wohl zeigen, dass eine Anwendung von besondern Maschinen oder aussergewöhnlicher Skenenänderung hierbei nicht nöthig war. Der Schüler des Sokrates, der zuerst mit Strepsiades in's Gespräch kam, konnte, wenn er neben dem *προπύλαιον* befindlich über eine das Haus vorn umschliessende Mauer guckte, sich ganz bequem mit Strepsiades unterhalten. Aber eben das war auch thunlich, wenn er aus einem Fenster oder einer Oeffnung des Oberstockes sah. Der letzteren Ansicht steht nur das entgegen, dass die Hausthür nach abermaliger Aufforderung des Strepsiades sie zu öffnen zu schnell geöffnet wird, als dass man meinen könnte, der Schüler sei inzwischen von oben her bis zu ihr gelangt. Das *προπύλαιον* selbst denke ich mir, wie gesagt, als einen Schuppen,

der nach vorn hin offen und von der Strasse durch einen kleinen Hof gesondert war; in der Hofmauer aber befand sich ein grosser Thorweg. Als letzterer zurückgeschlagen wird, kommt dem Strepsiades natürlich alles vor Augen, was unmittelbar vor dem Schuppen, und zugleich das, was in dem jedenfalls nicht tiefen, nach vorn offenen Schuppenraume sich befand. Da die Lehrstube des Sokrates, wenn auch nicht dem Worte, doch der That nach, als ein *ἐργαστήριον* von dem Dichter dargestellt wird, indem dort allerhand Menschen kunst- und fabrikmässig auf's Denken und auf Redekünste vorbereitet werden, so liegt es nahe genug, sie als einen offenen Schuppen zu denken. Hierzu kommt, dass Pollux ausdrücklich bemerkt: *ἐν δὲ Ἀντιφάνους Ἀκιστρίαις καὶ ἐργαστήριον γέγονε τὸ καλούμενον κλίσιον· ὃ πρότερόν ποτ' ἦν τοῖς ἐξ ἀγροῦ βοῦσι σταθμὸς καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις, πεποίηκεν ἐργαστήριον*; denn was in der einen Komödie geschah, kann sehr wohl auch in andern geschehen sein. Nur braucht es nicht gerade ein Stall gewesen zu sein, den Sokrates sich ausgesucht hat; ein *οἰκίδιον*, wie es der Dichter 93 nennt, war es in dem Falle doch. Die *κρεμάθρα* aber, auf der sich Sokrates befindet, ist nicht ein in der Schwebe hängender Korb; denn wenn Sokrates in ihm sass oder lag, konnte er nicht sagen (225): *ἀεροβατῶ* (vergl. auch Kanngiesser p. 155). Es war vielmehr eine Darre, die entweder an hölzernen Stangen in der Höhe befestigt, oder durch Seile an den Balken festgehalten wurde und mit einem Boden versehen war, der nur aus einzelnen Latten bestand. Als eine solche Maschine, die zum Aufbewahren, vielleicht auch zum Trocknen von Gemüse und andern häuslichen Producten (namentlich Käse) eingerichtet war, bezeichnet sie schon der Scholiast zu 218 mit den Worten: *νῦν τὰ περιττεύοντα (ὄψα) εἰς αὐτὴν (τὴν κρεμάθραν) εἰώθαμεν ἀποτίθεσθαι*, und er denkt sich dieselbe zugleich als *κρεμαμένην*\*).

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\*) Kanngiesser sagt p. 156: „Strepsiades benennt die Dinge, wie ein unterrichteter Oekonom, nach der Aehnlichkeit von Anlagen auf seinem Landgute, wo solche Käse- oder Obstdarren unstreitig oben am Hause durch einen Vorsprung der Balken — angebracht waren“; und er hält demnach die *κρεμάθρα* (p. 154) für die Oberbühne, die mit einem kleinen Vorsprunge über die Skene vorlief, und an beiden Enden mit den Tragbalken auf den Seitenwänden ruhte; es ist ihm dieselbe also eine Art Balcon. — So wahr es ist, dass Sokrates in der Höhe geht, so ist doch die Ansicht über die *κρεμάθρα* nicht ganz richtig. Sie ist nur ein Theil von dem Hause des Sokrates; sie ist nicht vor, sondern in dem Schuppen; und da das Haus des Sokrates nicht auf der Oberbühne sein kann, so auch

Aus dem bereits Gesagten ergibt sich übrigens, dass das Haus des Sokrates und die *κρεμάθρα* nicht durch ein blosses *παράπτασμα* dargestellt werden konnte; es musste alles dies solid sein und wurde nach den Scholien den Zuschauern durch *παρεγκύκλημα* sichtbar. Der Scholiast zu den Worten 132 *κόπτει τὴν θύραν* bemerkt nämlich: *τοῦτο δὲ παρεγκύκλημα*. Da nun das *κόπτειν* nicht irgendwie hereingeschoben werden kann, so kann das Nomen nur auf *θύραν* gehen. Erinnerung man sich aber weiter, dass Ekkyklema und En- (oder Eis-)kyklema Maschinen sind, vermittle derer Gegenstände aus den Thüren der hintern Skenenwand plötzlich vor die Augen der Zuschauer gebracht, oder ihnen entzogen wurden, sodann auch die auf diesen Maschinen befindlichen Gegenstände selbst, und dass für die von der Seite her in das Theater führenden Eingänge die Ausdrücke *εἴσοδοι* und *πάροδοι* wechseln: so kann Parenkyklema nur eine Maschine sein, durch welche Gegenstände von der Seite her vorgeschoben wurden, sodann auch die auf ihr befindlichen Gegenstände. Hier ist also die *θύρα* als ein solcher durch Verschieben von der Seite her sichtbar gewordener Gegenstand bezeichnet; als eben solcher zu 218 auch die *κρεμάθρα*. Das gesammte Parenkyklema bestand aber nicht bloss aus diesen zwei Theilen, sondern aus dem ganzen Häuschen des Sokrates mit seinem Zubehör. Denn da es solid sein musste, und doch nicht vor den Augen der Zuschauer aufgezimmert werden konnte, so blieb nichts übrig, als das bereits gezimmerte und zusammengefügte Gebäude von der linken Seite her beim Beginn des Stückes hervorzuschieben. Das gesammte Gebäude konnte demnach nicht übermässig gross sein. Mit der eben gegebenen Erklärung stimmt es auch, wenn das Wort Parenkyklema bildlich für Einschicbsel, Nebenscene (vergl. s. v. Passow Lex. herausg. v. Rost etc.) vorkommt\*).

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die *κρεμάθρα* nicht. Seeger's Erklärung durch Hängematte, in der Sokrates sitzen soll (Note 38 der Uebers.), ist ganz unstatthaft.

\*) Was es in den Scholien zu 18 und 22 in unserm Stücke bedeutet, gehört nicht hierher. — Wenn endlich ein späterer Scholiast zu 184 ein Drehen des *ἐγκύκλημα* annimmt, als Strepsiades *ὁρᾷ (ὥς) φιλοσόφους κομῶντας*, so ist das eine Missdeutung des Wortes *παρεγκύκλημα*, das er bei ältern Erklärern gefunden hatte und von dem Ekkyklema nicht unterscheiden wäht. Er überträgt daher alles, was er von dem Ekkyklema wusste, ohne weiteres auf das Parenkyklema, während hier doch von einem während des Stückes erfolgenden Drehen oder Verschieben vermittle der Maschine nicht die Rede sein kann; denn dadurch würde zwar erklärt, wie die Per-

Von Sokrates gerufen erscheinen die Wolken; sie sind anfangs, während man ihren Gesang schon vernimmt, noch unsichtbar, nämlich da wo sie sich ermahnen, vom Okeanos aufwärts auf die Berge zu steigen 276. Auch weiterhin sind sie noch verborgen, indem Sokrates 292 nur auf ihren Gesang,

sonen, Sokrates und seine Schüler, zum Vorschein kommen, dagegen nicht erklärt, wie das solide Bauwerk des *φροντιστήριον* auf die Skene gekommen. Man sieht endlich alsdann nicht ein, warum die Erklärer nöthig gefunden haben, hier von einem Parenkyklema statt des sonst gewöhnlichen Ekkyklema zu reden. An ein einfaches Ekkyklema denkt auch Seeger zu 183 und Note 32, ferner O. Müller kleine Schriften I. pag. 538; letzterer sagt: „in den Wolken bittet Strepsiades den Schüler des Sokrates — inständigst, ihm das Phrontisterion zu öffnen; auf einmal (184) erblickt er, und natürlich auch die Zuschauer die ganze Schaar der Schüler in wunderlichem Costüm und seltsamen Posituren, was nur durch ein Ekkyklem geschehen konnte, welches auch die alten Erklärer nicht unbemerkt lassen. (Schol. zu 184 ὁρᾷ δὲ ὡς φιλοσόφους κομῶντας στραφέντος τοῦ ἐγκυκλήματος (ἐκκυκλήματος Herm.). Vergl. die dritte Hypothesis bei Dindorf: ἐκλυθείσης (ἐκκυκληθείσης Fritsche) δὲ τῆς διατριβῆς οἱ τε μαθηταὶ κύκλῳ καθήμενοι πίναροὶ συνορῶνται u. s. w.). Sokrates erscheint (218) darüber in den Lüften, und zwar auch auf einer kleinen hängenden Bühne herumgehend (ἀεροβατῶν); wohl vermitteltst einer ähnlichen Vorrichtung, wie bei der Studirstube des Euripides zur Anwendung kam. Die alten Erklärer nennen dies obere Ekkyklem ein *παρεγκύκλημα*. . . . Den Zusammenhang beider Ekkyklemen wird man schwerlich genauer angeben können; so viel sieht man, dass das obere und untere ziemlich zugleich verschwinden, bald nachdem Sokrates hinabgestiegen ist (237), da hernach von den Schülern nicht mehr die Rede ist, und Sokrates mit Strepsiades sich vor dem Hause im Freien befindet“ u. s. w. Ich kann mich von der Richtigkeit dieser Erörterung leider nicht überzeugen. Es wird durch sie 1) nur das Leichtere, das plötzliche Erscheinen der Schüler und des Sokrates, erklärt, nicht wie das solide Häuschen an Ort und Stelle gelangt ist. 2) Die Anwendung des Ekkyklema wird dadurch sehr zweifelhaft, dass Müller selbst nicht vermocht hat genau anzugeben, wo das Ekkyklema aufhört, was sich sonst immer sehr bestimmt nachweisen lässt. 3) Da von Schaaren der Schüler nicht die Rede sein kann, so hindert nichts, dass man die zwei bis drei Gruppen derselben durch das geöffnete Thor auch ohne Ekkyklema, nämlich an dem geöffneten Thore sehen kann. 4) Der Text macht selbst bemerklich, wann und wie die Schüler dem Anblicke des Sokrates und der Zuschauer entzogen werden, indem es 195 heisst: εἶσιθι; wenn aber dem Folge geleistet wurde, so war sicher kein Ekkyklema da. 5) Ein in der Höhe angewendetes Ekkyklema, wie es Müller für die Erscheinung des Sokrates nöthig findet, ist ohne alle Analogie. 6) Ueber die Bedeutung des ersten Scholion habe ich mich bereits ausgesprochen; die Hypothesis dagegen kennt kein Ekkyklema; denn die von Fritsche verjunctur ist weder nöthig noch wahrscheinlich.

nicht auf ihre Gestalt aufmerksam macht. Zum Vorschein kommen sie erst mit Anfang der Gegenstrophe, als sie 300 auf Athen zuschweben; und sobald sie in Athen's Nähe sind, schweben sie 323 allen sichtbar vom Parnes herab. Da sie aus der Fremde kommen, können sie nur von links her erscheinen, und zwar thun sie dies 326 neben der εἴσοδος ganz langsam und allgemach (324). Zuletzt lassen sie sich, da nichts ihre Anwesenheit auf der Bühne erfordert, neben dem linken Seitengebäude in der Orchestra zur Erde hinunter\*). Nachdem Strepsiades und Sokrates im Hintergrunde des προτισιτήριον verschwunden sind 509, folgt die Parabase bis 626. Alsdann kommt Sokrates von innen her und ruft 633 auch den Strepsiades heraus. Letzterer bleibt bis 804, wo er nach Hause, also über die Bühne hin, geht, um seinen Sohn zu Sokrates zu holen. Sokrates selbst scheint sich 698 von der Bühne zu entfernen, und in seine Behausung zu gehen, erscheint von daher wieder 731, und geht 813 dahin zurück. Dass Bergk 723—730 einen Schüler des Sokrates als Unterredner mit Strepsiades annimmt, scheint durch 731 vollständig begründet zu werden. Der Schüler, der aus dem Innern der Wohnung her muss zum Vorschein gekommen sein, zieht sich bei oder nach 730 wieder in dieselbe zurück.

Sobald Strepsiades bei seinem Hause angelangt ist (nach 804), geht er in dasselbe hinein, erscheint aber 814 wieder mit seinem Sohne, den er zu Sokrates führen will. Dies geschieht\*\*);

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\*) Hermann ist der Ansicht, dass die Wolken auf dem gewöhnlichen Wege in die Orchestra gekommen seien; auch Geppert pag. 182 Anm. 1 ist derselben Ansicht, und lässt daher den Berg Parnes unsichtbar sein, weil die Scenerie das Innere von Athen dargestellt habe. — Geppert (p. 181) ist geneigt, der μηχανή eine besondere komische Form zu geben; ich sehe dazu keine Veranlassung. Seeger's Vorstellung (Uebers. Note 47) scheint mir richtig zu sein; nur finde ich sie nicht ganz klar. — Kanngiesser (pag. 159) meint, dass die Wolken sich zuerst auf der Oberbühne zeigen, dann, den Zuschauern unsichtbar, auf einer Treppe herunter gehen, und durch einen der gewöhnlichen Seiteneingänge in die Orchestra einziehen, und zwar ohne Wolkencostüm, was ihnen entweder oben bereits abgenommen sei, oder unten bei ihrem Erscheinen von der Theaterbedienung abgenommen werde. Dass dies falsch ist, zeigt der Text des Stückes; denn sichtbar vor den Augen der Zuschauer lassen sie sich allmählich in einer mit Wolken umkleideten Maschine herab, weshalb sie Strepsiades anfangs nicht bemerkt.

\*\*) Nach 843 tritt wohl Strepsiades in ein Haus, ist aber 847 wieder auf der Skene und zwar mit einem Hahn und einer Henne.



Sokrates kommt 868 aus seiner Wohnung, Strepsiades kehrt nach 888 zu seiner Wohnung zurück, Sokrates dagegen in die seinige, nachdem er gesagt hat, dass Pheidippides von den Meistern selbst seine Sache lernen solle. Der folgende Chor fehlt; nach demselben aber fordert der *δίκαιος λόγος* den *ἄδικος* auf hervorzutreten. Unter welchen Umständen dies geschieht, ist uns unbekannt, weil der vorhergehende Chor fehlt. Muthmasslich erscheinen die *λόγοι* aus oder in des Sokrates Hause, und der Scholiast mag wohl Recht haben, wenn er sagt: *ὑπόκεινται ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐν πλεκτοῖς οἰκίσκοις οἱ λόγοι δίκην ὀρνίθων μαχόμενοι*. Auch hier scheinen es aus dünnen Latten bestehende Verschläge gewesen zu sein, die über dem Erdboden erhöht waren, um den Einflüssen desselben entzogen zu sein. Dass der Kampf in Gegenwart des Pheidippides vor sich geht, ersieht man aus 929, 932, 990, 1000, 1043, 1071, aber selbst Strepsiades ist anwesend gewesen, wie 1105 zeigt. Ersterer ist aus des Sokrates Hause gekommen. Wodurch die Anwesenheit des letztern, der nur von seinem Hause hergekommen sein kann, veranlasst worden, ist nicht mehr anzugeben möglich. Sokrates hingegen ist, wahrscheinlich um seine Unparteilichkeit zu zeigen, nicht dabei. 1103 ruft der Anwalt der gerechten Sache: *ἡττήμεθ', ὃ κινούμενοι, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν δέξασθέ μου θοῖμάτιον, ὡς ἐξαντομολῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς\**), d. h. ich gebe jede weitere Vertheidigung auf, und schlage mich zu euch, den Zuschauern; er wirft dabei seinen Mantel weg und entflieht eiligst von der Skene — wohin? wohl nicht in die Orchestra; denn das darf er als Schauspieler nicht, sondern hinter die linke Periakte; von da kann er, wann er will, zu den Zuschauern gelangen, die hier, wie auch wiederholentlich vorher, als der schlechten Sache ergeben dargestellt werden. An das

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\*) Der Scholiast ist freilich ungewiss, ob der *δίκαιος λόγος* oder Pheidippides es sagt; aber ohne Noth; denn aus 1112, wo Pheidippides erklärt, wie ungern er sich dazu verstehe, ein Philosoph zu werden, ersieht man, dass er die Worte in 1103 nicht hat sagen können. Ferner hätte Pheidippides auch nicht sagen können: ich gehe zu euch den Zuschauern über, sondern *πρὸς τὸν ἄδικον λόγον*. — Der *δίκαιος λόγος*, dessen Käfig nahe der rechten Bühnenseite zu denken ist, wirft wohl nach vorn, also in der Richtung auf die Zuschauer hin, seinen Mantel fort, offenbar um durch ihn nicht auf der Flucht gehindert zu werden, steigt dann selbst nach vorn, wie auf die Zuschauer los, hinab; und wenn er dann hinter die Periakte tritt, so konnte wohl Jeder es so ansehen, als schlage er den Weg zu den Zuschauern hin ein.



Kunststück, das Seeger ihn machen lässt, indem er sein Oberkleid in die Orchestra hinunter wirft, und dann hinterdrein springt, ist also nicht zu denken.

Nach 1112 entfernt sich Phéidippides und geht mit dem ἄδικος λόγος in das Haus des Sokrates hinein; Strepsiades dagegen begiebt sich nach Hause, wie man aus 1131 ersieht, wo er von neuem von daher erscheint und zu Sokrates geht. Dieser kommt 1145 aus seinem Hause, Pheidippides 1167. Gleich darauf geht Sokrates wieder in sein Haus zurück, Strepsiades mit seinem Sohne dagegen 1212 in das seinige.

Von woher Pasias 1214 und Amynias 1259, mit denen sich Strepsiades herumzankt, kommen, ist ziemlich gleichgültig, etwa aus einer Strasse oder einem Hause rechts oder links von des Strepsiades Hause. 1302 geht Strepsiades, nachdem Pasias schon 1256, Amynias 1302 sich entfernt hat, in sein Haus, und kommt von da mit Pheidippides 1321. Nachdem Pheidippides 1475 in das Haus zurückgegangen ist, ruft Strepsiades 1485 und 1490 seine Sklaven, lässt das Dach des *φροντιστήριον* einschlagen und zündet den Schuppen an. Umsonst rufen ein Schüler, Chairephon und Sokrates aus dem schon brennenden Hause, was er da beginne; sie schreien wohl, ohne dabei auf die Skene herauszutreten (vergl. Schol. zu 1508). Strepsiades verschwindet von dem Dache des brennenden Hauses aus mit seinen Dienern hinter den Coulissen zur Linken, und der Chor der Wolken zieht, indem von seinem Charakter als Wolken dabei ganz abgesehen wird, durch die linke Parodos ab.

### B a t r a c h o i.

Der Schauplatz in den Fröschen ist theils auf, theils unter der Erde, und da beiderlei Localitäten nicht füglich durch eine Scenerie sich darstellen liessen, so ergiebt sich schon daraus, dass höchst wahrscheinlich eine Aenderung der Scenerie im Stücke werde eingetreten sein. Dass dem so war, erkennen auch die Scholien an, wenn es zu 270 heisst: ἐν ᾿Αιδου λοιπὸν τὰ πράγματα, und noch bestimmter zu 274: μεταβέβληται ἡ σκηνὴ καὶ γέγονεν ὑπόγειος. In der That sind auch an dieser Stelle alle Umstände der Art, dass sie eine Scenenverwandlung begünstigen; der Chor ist nicht anwesend, die Schauspieler brauchen nicht auf der Bühne zu bleiben, das ganze Theater ist mithin leer. Nicht der Art sind die Verhältnisse bei 181, wo ein Scholiast bemerkt: ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πλοίου ὁφθέντος ἰλ-

λοιῶσθαι ἤτις τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἀχερουσίαν λίμνην τὸν τόπον ἐπὶ τοῦ λογείου ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας. Denn hier wird die Skene nicht von den Schauspielern verlassen. Da aber überdies hier keine Nothwendigkeit für eine Scenenverwandlung obwaltet, so ist wohl nicht zu zweifeln, dass das Ende des ersten Actes mit 270 anzusetzen ist.

Die Hauptobjecte in der Scenerie des ersten Actes sind das Haus des Herakles und der Acherusische See. Wie gross oder klein das Haus des Herakles zu denken ist, wie seine Umgebung, sein Aussehen\*) ist, von alle dem erfahren wir durch den Dichter nichts, eben so wenig von der Umgebung des Acherusischen See's. Dass dieselbe öde und traurig sein muss, bringt seine Lage mit sich; auf Felsen, die sich neben ihm befinden, deutet vielleicht 194 *Ἀνείνων λίθος* hin; aber ob sie hoch oder niedrig, ob deren viele oder wenige waren, darüber fehlt jede Andeutung. — Was die Lage des Hauses und des See's anlangt, so hängt sie davon ab, von welcher Seite her man Dionysos im Anfange des Stückes auftreten lässt, und sein Auftreten richtet sich wiederum danach, ob man die Unterwelt als den eigentlichen Ort der Handlung ansieht, oder ob man die Oberwelt als den Ort der Heimath gelten lässt. Da die Handlung bald nach dem Beginne des Stückes in die Unterwelt verlegt wird, und die ganze übrige Handlung dort sich entwickelt, demnach die Unterwelt den Mittelpunkt der Handlung bildet, so scheint es angemessen, den Dionysos von links her auftreten zu lassen; und in dem Falle ist des Herakles Behausung an der linken Nebenthür zu suchen, die linke Seitenthür bildet den Weg, auf dem Dionysos erscheint. Für den Acherusischen See bleibt mithin die ganze rechte Seite der Skene übrig, und der See reicht hier bis an die rechte Periakte heran, ohne dass man dort sein Ende sieht. Nach links hin dehnt er sich bis in die Nachbarschaft von der Behausung des Herakles aus; denn letzterer sagt 137: *εὐθὺς ἐπὶ λίμνην μεγάλην ἦξεις*, und kaum ist Dionysos 180 von Herakles fortgegangen, so lässt sich bereits vom See her der Ruf Charon's vernehmen; ja 184 hat Dionysos bereits ein Gespräch mit ihm angeknüpft. Aus

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\*) Meyer (comm. I. de Ran. Ar. pag. 5) meint, es habe das Aussehen eines Athenischen Privathauses gehabt, aber doch so, dass *Attici homines aliquam cum Heracleo quodam veluti Cynosarge similitudinem animadvertent.*

alle dem scheint sich zu ergeben, dass der See nach links bis über die Mittelthür hinaus gereicht hat.

Zugänge zum Logeion sind im ersten Acte drei erforderlich, nämlich ausser den genannten die rechte Neben- und Seitenthür, über die das Nöthige später bemerkt werden soll. Veränderungen der Scenerie treten im ersten Acte nicht ein.

Im Anfange des Stückes tritt Dionysos mit Xanthias durch die linke Seitenthür auf; denn als Schauspieler können sie nicht durch die Orchestra kommen, und zwar reitet Xanthias auf einem Esel. Da auch in den Wespen ein Esel auf der Skene erscheint, so ist darin nichts Auffälliges. Xanthias übrigens, der mit dem Reisegepäck beladen ist und wenig Lust bezeigt, schnell vorwärts zu kommen, steigt alsbald, während er also noch in der Nähe der Seitenthür ist, ab, und der Esel, dessen hinfert nicht weiter gedacht wird, wird durch die Seitenthür wieder entfernt. Die hierauf folgende Unterhaltung bei dem Hause des Herakles dauert bis 165. Gleich darauf wird ein Todter herzugetragen 170, und mit ihm unterhandelt Dionysos, ob er nicht sein Bündel tragen will. Herzugetragen kann er nur durch Menschen auf einer Bahre werden, und da er schon 171 von Herakles angeredet wird, so muss er die Bahre, falls nicht bei 170 eine Pause stattfand, sehr schnell verlassen haben. Aber es ist wohl überhaupt zweifelhaft, ob die Leichenträger den Zuschauern sichtbar werden, oder nur der Todte allein, nachdem er vor der Periakte, wie man es sich denken muss, abgestiegen ist, auf der Skene erscheint. Der komische Effect verlangt das erstere, wie denn auch der Esel kurz vorher den Zuschauern producirt wurde. Aber auch das zweite ist sehr wohl möglich, wie auch, dass er in dem Falle durch die Parodos herzugetragen worden ist, welcher Ansicht auch Meier\*) zu sein scheint. Sicherheit hierüber zu erlangen dürfte sehr schwer sein. — 180 macht sich Dionysos mit Xanthias auf weiter zu wandern; aber in demselben Momente wird auch schon der Ruf Charon's nach rechts hin vernommen. Da

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\*) Comm. I. pag. 8, wo er sagt: *ex porta funesta (ex Ἡράκλεις πύλαις) funus exportatur pauperioris alicujus hominis ... ab aliquot vespillonibus, qui ubi scenae appropinquarunt escenditque mortuus, una cum feretro recedunt.* Werden die Todtenträger den Zuschauern sichtbar, so spricht die Analogie des Wursthändlers in den Rittern dafür, dass der Todte durch die Parodos hereingetragen wird; erscheint er dagegen gehend, so kommt er sicher durch die linke Seitenthür.

Charon erst rufen kann, wenn er dazu Anlass hat, nämlich wenn er am Ufer des See's ist, so wird derselbe den Zuschauern nicht erst bei 180 sichtbar geworden sein, sondern schon einige Zeit vorher, während er über den See ruderte\*). Den Xanthias will er übrigens nicht in den Kahn nehmen, und dieser ist daher genöthigt, um den See *παρὰ τὸν Ἀνταίνου λίθον* 194 zu laufen, und er entfernt sich zu dem Ende 196. Da der See nur an der Rückwand der Skene in der Scenerie seine Darstellung kann gefunden haben, der Kahn Charon's nur dort, nicht am Rande des Logeion, sich fortbewegt haben kann, so wird der Weg des Xanthias mehr am vordern Rande des Logeion als an dessen Rückwand, diesseit, nicht jenseit des See's hingeführt haben. Aus dem Ausdruck *περιθρέξει*, den Charon braucht, muss man wohl weiter schliessen, dass der Anlandepunkt nicht diesseit des See's, auch nicht am äussersten Ende desselben nach rechts, sondern am jenseitigen Ufer des See's liegt. Xanthias selbst aber kommt während der Ueberfahrt, also im ersten Acte, nicht wieder zum Vorschein; demnach kann auch der *Ἀνταίνου λίθος* nicht den Zuschauern sichtbar gewesen sein; der Fels muss vielmehr weiter nach rechts hin, als die Bühne reicht, gelegen haben, und der Acherusische See ist also nicht seiner ganzen Ausdehnung nach zu sehen gewesen, sondern hat sich nach rechts hin über die rechte Periakte hinaus, wie schon bemerkt wurde, erstreckt. Wie Charon also von der rechten Seitenthür her mit seinem Kahne gekommen ist, so wird er auch bei seiner Ueberfahrt mit Dionysos hinter der rechten Periakte verschwinden 270. — Bevor Charon aber die Rückfahrt antritt, ruft er 197: *εἴ τις ἔτι πλεῖ, πсевδέτω* in den Kahn zu steigen. Es meldet sich Niemand, und da nur Dionysos allein bei der Ueberfahrt gehudelt wird, von Andern, die mitfahren, nicht die Rede ist, so scheint Charon mit Dionysos allein überzusetzen, und der unterwegs angetroffene

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\*) Nach Seeger ist Charon 180 am jenseitigen Ufer des See's; ich meine vielmehr: am diesseitigen, wo Dionysos sich befindet, da dieser bereits 188 aufgefordert wird in den Kahn zu steigen. Auch mit dem, was Meier comm. I. pag. 8 sagt: *ubi relicto logeo (?) Bacchus et Xanthias ad eum accedunt locum, qui nunc tabularum sive καταβλημάτων οpe paludem referebat, appellit navigium, quod hemicyclio repraesentabatur, Charon.... per scalas et portam Charoniam (?) escenderat*, bin ich in keiner Weise einverstanden. Dionysos und Xanthias können nicht die Bühne verlassen, ohne sich vom See zu entfernen, und Charon kann eben darum nicht von der Charonischen Pforte her erscheinen.

Todte hat wohl vorher den Weg eingeschlagen, den auch Xanthias nehmen muss.

In Bezug auf den Chor der Frösche sagt ein Scholiast zu 209: οὐχ ὁρῶνται ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ οἱ βάτραχοι, οὐδὲ ὁ χορὸς, ἀλλ' ἔσωθεν μιμοῦνται τοὺς βατράχους, und Meier (comm. I. p. 9) ist gleicher Ansicht; gewiss mit Recht.

Nachdem 270 Dionysos mit Charon und dem Kahne verschwunden und das ganze Theater leer geworden ist, tritt (und dieser Ansicht ist auch Meier comm. I. pag. 10) die Scenenänderung ein. Die neue Scenerie stellt die Unterwelt vor, und da die Handlung hinfort vor dem Palaste Pluton's, den auch Persephone bewohnt (670 ff.), sich konzentriert: so muss der Palast die Mitte der Scenerie einnehmen. Von dem Baustyle und sonstigen Aussehen des Palastes ist keine Rede, keine Andeutung über dessen Umgebung. Da aber die in der Unterwelt thätigen Wirthinnen nicht aus dem durch Aiakos bewachten Palaste kommen, ja der Dichter sichtlich will durchblicken lassen, dass die Einrichtung in der Unterwelt comfortable genug sei, so ist neben dem Palaste sicher wenigstens noch ein Gebäude gewesen und sichtbar geworden. Je weniger übrigens die Dunkelheit und der in der Unterwelt herrschende Nebel durch eine künstliche Beleuchtung sich zeigen liess, um desto neblichter werden wohl die Gegenstände an den Coulissen dargestellt worden sein. Denn es musste doch irgend etwas gesehen werden, aus dem sich abnehmen liess, dass Xanthias (während der volle Tag ihn und die Zuschauer umgab) Ursache hatte 273 über σκοτός und βόρβορος zu klagen, und Dionysos über jedes Schreckbild, das Xanthias ihm vorlog, in Angst zu gerathen. Tappten doch auch beide so, als umgäbe sie vollständige Dunkelheit, und könnten sie selbst nahe liegende Gegenstände nicht unterscheiden. — Von Thüren ist ausser der zum Palast führenden Mittelthür und der zur Wohnung der Wirthinnen führenden rechten Nebenthür noch die vom Acherusischen See herführende linke Seitenthür erforderlich. Da aber der Chor, der von der Skene her auftritt, aus Greisen, Jünglingen, Frauen und Jungfrauen besteht, und es nicht wahrscheinlich ist, dass sie alle aus einer Thür (der rechten Seitenthür) herkommen, so dürfte die Skene noch mehr Thüren gehabt haben; ihre Zahl vermag ich nicht mit Bestimmtheit anzugeben.

Im Anfange des zweiten Actes erscheinen Dionysos und Xanthias, wenn wir in der Bestimmung des Vorhergehenden

nicht fehl gegriffen haben, durch die linke Seitenthür, und sind im Begriff ihre Wanderung zum Palaste Pluton's fortzusetzen. Aber obgleich Xanthias 277 räth vorwärts zu gehen, so geschieht es doch nur unter dem äussersten Zagen des Dionysos und mit grossen Unterbrechungen, indem Xanthias, des Dionysos spottend, ihn stets von neuem durch angebliche Wunder und Ungethüme, die in ihrer Nähe sein sollen, erschreckt \*). Daher kann Dionysos 315 kaum weit vorgeschritten sein, und jetzt versteckt er sich gar an oder hinter einem Felsen, indem er sich den Coulissen nähert. In den nächsten hundert Versen ist keine Andeutung, dass er weiter vorgeht, und als er 431 die Mysten fragt, wo Pluton ἐνθάδ' οἰκεῖ, wird ihm 434 geantwortet: μηδὲν μακρὰν ἀπέλθης — ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν θύραν ἀφικνέμενος. Aus alle dem ergibt sich also ebenfalls, dass, wenn man den Palast Pluton's in der Mitte der Skene ansetzt, Raum genug für alles, was seit 270 vorgekommen ist, sich vorfindet \*\*). — Der Chor der Mysten, der in der Unterwelt zu Hause ist, muss auf dem Heimathswege erscheinen 316. Aber obgleich seine Gegenwart auf der Bühne in keiner Weise erforderlich ist, so kommt er doch sicher nicht durch die Parodos, sondern durch die Thüren der Skene \*\*\*), und steigt erst mit den 353 beginnenden Anapästten in die Orchestra hinab, um dort 372 einen Chortanz zu beginnen. Von der Bühne her lässt aber der Dichter den Chor wohl darum erscheinen, weil er der Ein-

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\*) Meier comm. I. pag. 11 ist ungewiss, ob die Zuschauer die Ungethüme haben sehen können. An Geschick, sie ihnen zu zeigen, hat es den Athenern sicher nicht gefehlt; aber gesehen haben sie nichts. Denn nur indem sie nichts sahen, zeigte sich die lächerliche Feigheit des Dionysos erst im vollen Lichte.

\*\*) Der Ausruf des Dionysos (297) ἔερεῦ, διαφύλαξόν μ', ἐν ᾧ σοι ξυμπότης scheint mir von einem Scholiasten richtig als Ironie auf die Stelle einer Tragödie gedeutet zu werden (vergl. die Noten in der Didot'schen Ausg. der Scholien zu dieser Stelle). Andere Scholien meinen freilich, dass ein Priester in der Nähe des Dionysos sich befindet, und letzterer sich hinter demselben versteckt; noch andere, dass er sich in der Orchestra neben dem Dionysospriester verbirgt (letzterem stimmen auch Seeger, Genelli und Meier comm. I. pag. 12 bei). Aber beides ist unstatthaft. Das Dasein eines Priesters auf der Bühne ist eben so bezeugt, wie die andern Graungestalten, die Xanthias zu sehen vorgiebt, nämlich durch nichts; in die Orchestra aber kann Dionysos als Schauspieler nicht hinabsteigen.

\*\*\*) Meier comm. II. pag. 3 sagt: *mystarum esse chorum spectatores jam tum possunt ex late splendente facum arcanarum lumine, quas chorus usque ad exitum fabulae (cf. 1546 sqq.) tenet etc.*



bildungskraft der Zuschauer nicht zumuthen mochte anzunehmen, dass die Parodos, durch welche der Chor andernfalls hätte erscheinen müssen, ausser dem Theater mit Strassen und Wegen der Unterwelt in Verbindung stehe. — Der Chor besteht theils aus Greisen, theils aus Jünglingen, theils endlich aus Frauen und Mädchen, wie sich aus 397 — 413 ergibt (vergl. Beer p. 82); auch bemerken die alten Scholien zu 411: *συνεχόμενον γὰρ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες*; ferner deuten eben darauf 324 ff. verglichen mit 345 und 351 hin.

Nachdem der Gesang und der Chortanz in der Orchestra beendigt sind, und Dionysos sich beim Chore nach der Wohnung Pluton's erkundigt hat, zieht der aus Frauen und Mädchen bestehende Theil des Chores 440 (vergl. 441 und die dem Chore später gegebene Anrede *ἄνδρες* 597) ab. Es geschieht dies wohl um der Parabase willen, die ihrem Inhalte nach sich nicht eignete von Frauen gesprochen zu werden. Hat der Dichter demungeachtet bei dem Tanze der Mysten auch das weibliche Geschlecht wollen vertreten sein lassen, so geschah es wohl, weil gerade bei ihm die bacchantische Raserei und der Dionysische Taumel sich am meisten äusserte. Dass der übrige Theil der Mysten im Theater verbleibt, ersieht man aus der folgenden Scene, wo der Chor 534 und 590 am Dialoge Theil nimmt. Die Frauen des Chores können natürlich nur über die Bühne hin abgezogen sein, und da keine Andeutung sich findet, dass sie dabei dem mehr links stehenden Dionysos sich nähern, so geschieht es wohl von der Orchestra aus über die rechte Seitentreppe zu der rechten Seitenthür der Bühne hin.

460 befindet sich Dionysos mit Xanthias an Pluton's Palast, und geräth mit dem dortigen Thürwächter (der vielleicht Aiaikos ist; vergl. Schol. zu 465) in ein Gespräch. Nachdem der Thürhüter 478 wieder in den Palast sich zurückgezogen hat, erscheint 503 eine Magd aus dem Palaste (vergl. die Scholien), welche sich 518 wieder in den Palast zurückbegiebt. Unsicher ist dagegen, von woher die Pandokeutrien 549 erscheinen\*); sie scheinen schlechtweg zu den Schatten der Unterwelt, nicht gerade zum Hausstande Persephone's zu gehören, und mögen also wohl aus einem Gebäude dem Palaste zur Rechten ein-

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\*) Meier comm. III. pag. 7 *de sinistro scenae ostio, unde solebant in comoedia viliores personae exire*, mit Berufung auf Pollux 124: *ἡ δὲ ἀριστερὰ ἢ τὸ εὐτελέστατον ἔχει πρόσωπον* u. s. w. — Dass dies ein unzureichender Grund ist, bedarf kaum der Erinnerung.



treten; sie zanken mit Dionysos bis 578, und entfernen sich dann auf dem Wege, auf dem sie erschienen sind. — 608 tritt Aiakos mit mehreren Sklaven aus dem Palaste\*), und 673 gehen sämtliche Schauspieler in den Palast, damit Pluton entscheide, wer der wahre Dionysos sei. Die Scene wird auf diese Weise leer, und es folgt nun die Parabase bis 737.

Nach der Parabase treten Aiakos und Xanthias aus dem Palaste, und auf Anlass eines zwischen Aischylos und Euripides im Palaste entstandenen lauten Zankes gehen beide dahin zurück 813. Nach dem kurzen Chorliede 814—829 treten in Zank um den Ehrensitz begriffen Euripides und Aischylos mit Dionysos aus dem Palaste, und Dionysos zündet vor dem Beginne des tragischen Wettstreites 875 ff. Weihrauch auf Kohlen an. Hierauf hebt der Wettstreit an. Als aber Dionysos, selbst nicht mit Hülfe einer Wage, zum Ziele kommt, tritt Pluton um 1411 aus dem Palaste (vergl. Beer pag. 83, denn sicher ist er nicht mehrere hundert Verse hindurch stummer und müssiger Zuschauer des Kampfes gewesen) mit den Worten (1414) οὐδὲν ἄρα πράξεις ὥνπερ ἦλθες οὕνεκα auf; und nachdem Dionysos den Aischylos für den vorzüglichern Dichter, den er mit auf die Erde zu nehmen wünsche, erklärt hat, gehen alle 1481 in den Palast zur Tafel. 1500 erscheinen Pluton und Aischylos, ferner als stumme Personen Dionysos und Xanthias aus dem Palaste, und auf Geheiss des Pluton begleitet der Chor den Aischylos mit brennenden Fackeln\*\*). Der Chor muss also wohl zu dem Behufe auf die Bühne kommen und mit Aischylos durch die linke Seitenthür abziehen. Pluton geht in den Palast zurück.

Kanngiesser (l. l. pag. 152) ist der Ansicht, dass Dionysos mit Xanthias und dem Esel auf der Oberbühne zum Vorschein

\*) Meier comm. III. pag. 10 *de sinistra scenae janua exit Aeacus*. Das kann nicht sein, wenn der Palast in der Mitte der Skene war.

\*\*) Dass der Chor bei seinem Erscheinen brennende Fackeln trägt, sieht man aus 340, und da man 1325 nicht sieht, woran die etwa erloschen hätten angesteckt werden sollen, so muss man annehmen, dass sie, oder wenigstens einige derselben, bis zum Ende des Stückes brennend sind halten worden. Das lange Brennen der Fackeln aber, das Brennen selber in dem tageshellen Theater, wo der Effect der Fackeln ein nur geringer sein konnte, geben zu Zweifeln Anlass, zumal da Aischylos Schlusse der Eumeniden sich Aehnliches nicht erlaubt zu haben scheint und auch sonst in der Tragödie nur einzelne kurze Zeit brennende Fackeln vorkommen.

kommen, auf ihr ferner die Behausung des Herakles sich befindet und die zwei nach der Unterwelt Wandernden sich von da an einem Seile herablassen, oder auch vielleicht auf der an der Seite befindlichen Treppe von oben herabsteigen. So gelangten sie bald darauf in die Orchestra oder auf die Unterbühne, die den Hades vorstelle. — Hier ist nicht klar, was die Oberbühne darstellen soll, ob den Himmel oder die Erde. Nach dem, was Kanngiesser sonst über deren Bedeutung sagt, muss man geneigt sein, sie auch hier für den Himmel anzusehen. Aber der Todte, den Dionysos bei Herakles' Wohnung trifft, kann nicht aus dem Himmel unmittelbar in den Hades übergehen, der Esel nicht in den Himmel kommen. Sie kann also hier ausnahmsweise nichts anderes als die Erde bedeuten. Aber auch in dem Falle fällt auf, dass ein Herabsteigen oder gar ein Herablassen am Seile nirgends angedeutet wird, obgleich doch Xanthias, wo irgend Hindernisse ihm entgegentreten, dieselben in Betreff des Gepäcks sehr wohl auszubeuten weiss, und der von tausenderlei Furcht geplagte Dionysos keine Furcht vor diesem Wege zu erkennen giebt, ja ihn nicht einmal andeutet. Dazu kommt, dass Dionysos, sobald er des Herakles Wohnung (die hier auf der Oberbühne sein müsste) verlässt, schon Charon's Ruf vernimmt und sich mit ihm in ein Gespräch einlässt; alles Dinge, die eine solche Scheidung des Vorhergehenden vom Folgenden, wie Kanngiesser voraussetzt, nicht erlauben. Da nun aber Kanngiesser überdies die Oberbühne hier nur einschiebt, weil er meint, dass sich ohne dieselbe die Handlung nicht darstellen lasse, so glaube ich, dass man die ganze Hypothese einer Oberbühne wenigstens für die Frösche aufgeben wird, indem man auch ohne dieselbe sehr wohl zum Ziele gelangt. —

Genelli pag. 266—301 construirt die Scenerie in der Weise, dass er keine Veränderung in derselben annimmt. Ihm zufolge (vergl. Geppert pag. 168) sieht man auf der Skene die Aussenwand eines bedeutenden Wohnhauses mit dem Haupteingange in der Mitte, zwei Flügelgebäude, von denen das auf der Seite der Heimath gelegene bis an die vordere Ecke des Nebenzimmers der Bühne, das Paraskenion, vorspringt. Dionysos und Xanthias kommen durch die rechte Parodos in die Orchestra, ziehen rings um die Orchestra herum, und gelangen so endlich wieder auf die Parodos an die auf's Logeion führenden Stiegen. Hierauf steigen sie diese hinan, und gelangen auf dem Logeion zu dem Hause auf der rechten Seite, welches für jetzt das des

Herakles ist. Die Leiche, mit der Dionysos unterhandelt, soll von der Seite der Heimath in die Fremde durch die Orchestra unten am Logeion hin getragen werden. Der bald darauf erscheinende Charon wird an der Charonischen Stiege sichtbar, die in der Mitte des Halbkreises, den die Schauplätze bildeten, unter den Füßen der Zuschauer sich befand. Von hier aus lässt ihn Genelli im Kahne (dem Hemikyklion, einer Art Schaukelmaschine) um die Thymele fahren, indem er wahrscheinlich auf Walzen stand, und den Dionysos abholen. Während der Chor der Frösche hinter dem Kahne herzieht, fährt Charon mit Dionysos rings um die Sitzplätze herum; Xanthias dagegen muss zu Fuss zu dem Steine des Verschmachtens, den die Thymele darstellt, laufen. Sobald Dionysos im Kahne Charon's auf der andern Seite der Orchestra bei dem Eingange der Fremde angelangt ist, entweichen die Frösche durch die Charonische Stiege, Charon fährt auf dem Wege, den er gekommen ist, zurück, Xanthias findet sich bei Dionysos ein, und beide gehen nun wieder in die Orchestra hinein vorwärts, bis das Erscheinen des Chores sie veranlasst, sich hinter den Sitzplätzen auf der Seite der Fremde zu verstecken. Vom Chore über den Palast Pluton's belehrt steigen sie endlich von der Seite der Fremde her auf die Bühne\*), die nun den mit Flügelgebäuden versehenen Palast Pluton's vorstelle. Auf der Bühne befindet sich an der rechten Seite ein kleiner Altar des Apollon Agyieus, und die weitere Handlung entwickle sich vor dem Palaste. Aus ihm tritt Aiakos, aus der Thür des nach der Fremdenseite liegenden Gebäudes die Dienerin der Persephone, die beiden Garköchinnen dagegen aus der rechten Parodos, wohin sie auch zurückkehren sollen. Von eben derselben Parodos her erscheint ferner nach Genelli der Chor der Mysten. Nach der Parabase sollen Xanthias und Aiakos aus der Gesindewohnung, in die sie vor derselben gegangen sind, auftreten, wie denn auch nach Beendigung des Kampfes der Tragiker das Gesinde sich dahin zurückziehen soll. Zu dem tragischen Wettkampfe lässt Genelli Pluton mit Aischylos und den übrigen zugleich erscheinen, und postirt den Thronessel des Gottes links vor die Gesindewohnung. Am Schlusse der Handlung zieht der Chor nach der Seite der Heimath hin ab, nachdem er an der zum Logeion führenden Stiege den Aischylos abgeholt hat.

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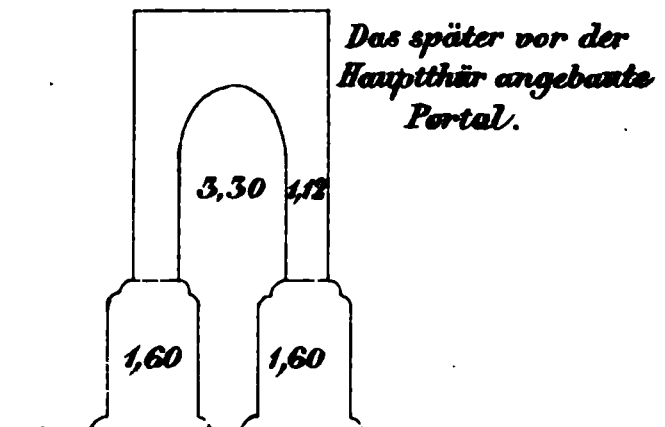
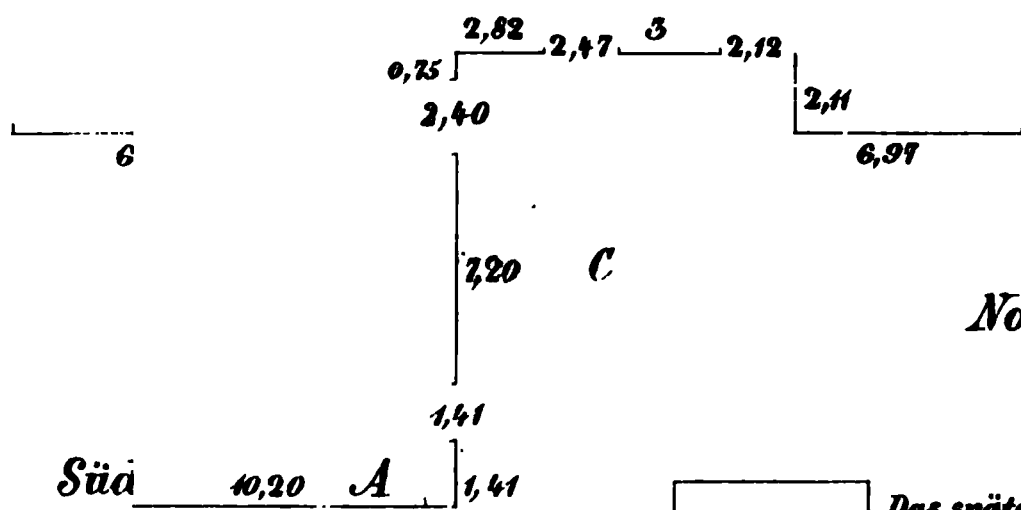
\*) Auch Seeger ist der Ansicht, dass sie aus der Orchestra die Treppe hinan auf die Bühne steigen.

Geppert bemerkt (pag. 169) ganz richtig, dass diese ganze Construction der Scene auf der Annahme beruhe, dass die Komiker mit den Gegenständen der Scene selbst ihr Spiel getrieben, und demnach den Zuschauern zugemuthet hätten, die Dinge jedes Mal für das zu halten, wofür sie sie angesehen wissen wollten, während sie in der That nichts weniger als Aehnlichkeit mit dem Dargestellten hatten. Wenn aber dieser Grundsatz gegolten hätte, so sieht man nicht ein, wozu es überhaupt noch einer Decoration bedurft hätte; denn wenn die Zuschauer sich gefallen liessen zu sehen, was der Dichter gesehen wissen wollte, was sie aber in der That nicht sahen, so ist die Scenerie eine überflüssige Zuthat. Im vorliegenden Stücke reitet nach Genelli Xanthias in die Orchestra ein; später stellt sie den Acherusischen See, endlich einen Platz in der Unterwelt vor. Die Scene, die früher die Wohnung des Herakles in der Oberwelt zeigt, stellt bald darauf, ohne dass die Scenerie geändert wird, die Unterwelt mit dem Palaste Pluton's vor. Gegen all dergleichen Willkürlichkeiten Gründe vorzubringen, lohnt nicht; eben so wenig, wenn Genelli Schauspieler ohne weiteres durch die Orchestra her auftreten, in sie hinabsteigen, in der Orchestra einen grossen Theil der Handlung vor sich gehen lässt.

Mit den von Geppert (pag. 170 und 171) gegebenen Andeutungen stimme ich meist ganz überein. Wenn er die Dienerin der Persephone aus einer Seitenthür her auftreten lässt, so finde ich nur das bedenklich, dass man nicht einsieht, woher sie von der Ankunft des angeblichen Herakles, der sich beim Palaste gemeldet, etwas erfahren hat. Gegen die Verzierung der Thymele mit den Bildern des Iakchos und der Demeter muss ich mich aber aussprechen; denn es kann nicht bewiesen werden, dass die Orchestra oder irgend ein Theil derselben eine besondere dem jedesmaligen Drama angemessene Decoration erhalten hat.

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